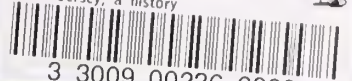





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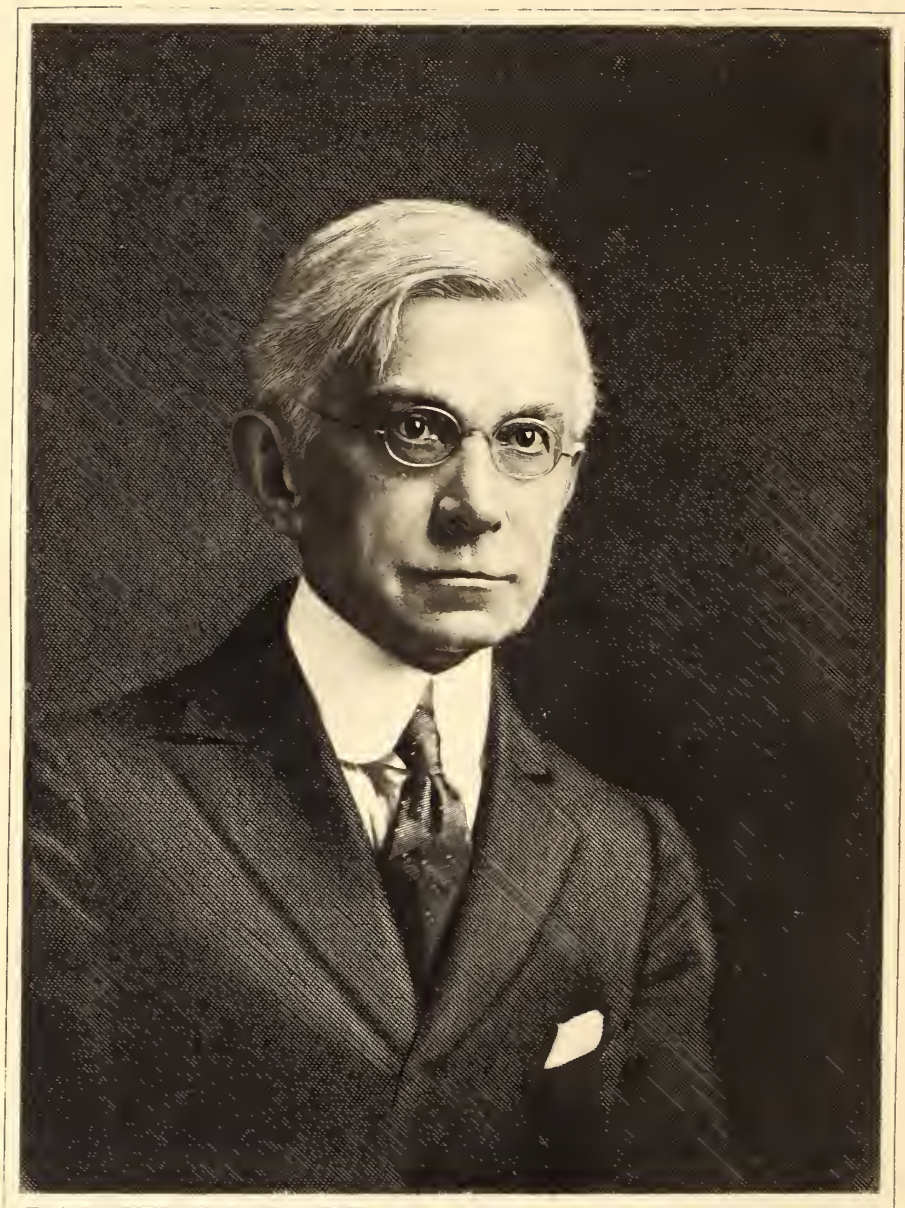


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SOUTH JERSEY

A HISTORY

1664 — 1924

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

ALFRED M. HESTON

*Author of the General History and the Atlantic County Section;
Member of the New Jersey Historical Society; Author
of the Annals of Eyren Haven and Vicinity*

VOLUME I

1924

LEWIS HISTORICAL PUBLISHING COMPANY, Inc.

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Publishers Announcement

At the commencement of this work, a task of imposing proportions, it seemed that only a history of exceptional local value and of widespread general interest could result from the combined efforts of editor and contributors. As the labor of compilation and authorship progressed this belief became a certainty, until, the volumes at last off the press, they are presented to the public which has shown such a genuine interest and which has given such substantial cooperation, encouragement, and support.

The general story of the South Jersey region has been told by Mr. Heston, chosen by popular demand to present this fascinating narrative in the style that has gained him an impressive following among historical students and scholars. From his pen came also the Atlantic County section of the history. Other contributors have been, as originally planned, as follows: Camden County, Charles S. Boyer; early Gloucester County, Frank H. Stewart; Ocean County, William H. Fischer; Cape May County, Lewis T. Stevens (reviewer); Salem County, George W. Price; Cumberland County, Charles E. Sheppard. Burlington County was to have been the province of Miss Caroline H. Haines, of Burlington, who was prevented by circumstances from carrying out her plans in connection therewith, Horace A. Warriner, a staff writer, taking up this department. In this last connection the publishers wish to acknowledge the assistance of Messrs. Charles H. Folwell, editor and proprietor of the "New Jersey Mirror," George M. Sleeper, editor and publisher of the "Mount Holly Herald," and Lorenzo L. Sapp, former president of the Mount Holly Business Men's Association and a trustee of Mount Holly Fire Department. The later data bearing upon Gloucester County was compiled by E. P. Conklin, another staff writer.

The response of the citizenship of the region has been gratifying and it is with deep satisfaction that the results of their cooperation are placed before them. In a work into which the human element enters so strongly as in this, delay and difficulties of course have been encountered, but delinquent matter has been placed at the end of the story and it has finally been completed. South Jersey has received a commendable addition to her historical literature.

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Introduction

DAYS OF YORK
—IN—
SOUTH JERSEY

On the application of Sir George Carteret, following the surrender by Holland in 1673, the Duke of York promised a renewal of his charter. After some delay and hesitation the Duke fulfilled his promise. Previous to this second grant, however, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret had agreed upon a partition of the province. The section assigned to Berkeley was bounded on the southwest by a line drawn from Barnegat Creek to the Rancocas.

(Gordon's New Jersey, p. 31.)

During the joint ownership of Berkeley and Carteret, no territorial division of the province had been attempted, nor is it certain that any had been contemplated, but in the conveyance now made a distinct line was laid down, dividing the territory into two separate parts. Whether this was designed at the time as a final measure or only as a provisional arrangement is not determined, but it was far from making an equal division. It gave to Carteret "all that tract of land adjacent to New England and lying and being west of Long Island and Manhatoes Island, and bounded on the east by the main sea and part by the Hudson River, and extends southward as far as a certain creek called Barnegat, being about the middle between Sandy Point and Cape May; and bounded on the west in a strait line from the said creek called Barnegat to a certain creek in Delaware River called Renkokus; and from thence up the said Delaware River to the northernmost branch thereof, which is forty-one degrees and forty minutes of latitude, and on the north crosseth over and thence in a strait line to Hudson's River in forty-one degrees of latitude." Within these limits much more than one-half of New Jersey was included.

(Mulford's New Jersey, p. 161.)

Had the Carteret-Berkeley "provisional arrangement" been retained, a region of country, distinctively South Jersey, would have been the portion assigned to Lord Berkeley—approximately one-third of the original bounds of New Jersey, which original bounds included a triangular section, comprising more than two hundred thousand acres in Rockland, Orange and Sullivan counties, in the present State of New York. The section of New Jersey tentatively assigned to Berkeley embraced the greater portion of the present Ocean County, most of Burlington, and all of Camden, Gloucester, Salem, Cumberland, Cape May, and Atlantic counties. The history of these counties is traced in the following pages; imperfectly, it may be, but with the hope that some one more capable, at some future time, will complete the work herein begun. We do not presume that this work is faultless, but to approximate a degree of completeness has been our endeavor. These chapters will answer the purpose for which they were written, if they but awaken in the people of South Jersey an interest in the oft-neglected subject of local history, to the study of which pride and patriotism should alike impel us.

Emigration to South Jersey was under the patronage of three companies. The first, in 1675, was under John Fenwick, at Salem. The Yorkshire and London companies, beginning in 1677, settled at Burlington, the former on the north and the latter on the south side of the main street.

Fenwick was a major of cavalry under Cromwell, and attended with his squadron at the beheading of Charles I. His first wife was dead at the time of his coming to New Jersey, and his second wife remained in England, but corresponded regularly with her husband. Fenwick died in the winter of 1683-4. Some writers have confused Major John Fenwick with Sir John Fenwick, who was attainted and beheaded in 1696, in the reign of William III. Fenwick, of Salem, got his title of major from Parliament. The English branch of Fenwicks was ancient and numerous. In America, besides Major Fenwick, there was George Fenwick, who superintended the Say Brooke plantation in Connecticut and died in England in 1657. Cuthbert Fenwick was one of the Roman Catholics who settled in Maryland with Leonard Calvert in 1636. He died at Fenwick Manor, Maryland, in 1655.

The London and Yorkshire companies brought with them a local organization by which they were governed until the arrival of Samuel Jenings, the first deputy governor, in 1680. From that time until 1703, when the province of New Jersey was surrendered to the crown, the landowners resident in England, appointed governors who had in their gift the patronage of appointive officers, which usually fell to friends and relatives. A majority of these were Quakers.

Members of the Assembly were elected at first from the ten parts into which New Jersey had been divided. These were under the control of the three companies. Afterwards the whole province was erected into three counties: Burlington, which extended from the boundary line on the north to Pensaukin Creek and from the Delaware to the ocean; Gloucester, bounded on the north by Burlington and extending to Oldman's Creek on the south, and thence southeast to the ocean; Salem, comprising all of the region below Gloucester.

The meetings of the Quakers were the only gatherings previous to 1700. At their weekly and monthly meetings they canvassed, outside the walls of the meeting houses, the various candidates for office. Subsequently, on the day of election, they gave every one a chance to vote for those already agreed upon. The open primary was unknown in those days.

The Quaker settlements on the Delaware encouraged migrations from Connecticut and Long Island. Most of these new comers settled on the coast and from them is descended a line of old-time families in Atlantic and Cape May counties. Some of the coast settlers were Quakers; others were Presbyterians. Still others were Anabaptists, whose denominational name was afterwards shortened to Baptist.

* * * * *

No apology is offered, no excuse given, for the publication of this history other than that which may be found in an address by a distinguished citizen of New Jersey. At the semi-centennial anniversary of the New Jersey Historical Society, on May 16, 1895, Woodrow Wilson, then professor of jurisprudence in Princeton University, said:

Local history is subordinate to national only in the sense in which each leaf of a book is subordinate to the volume itself. Upon no single page will the whole theme of the book be found, but each page holds a part of the theme. Even were the history of each locality like the history of every other, it would deserve to be written—if only to verify the rest as an authentic part of the national record. The common elements of a nation's life are the warp and woof of the fabric. They cannot be too often verified and explicated. * * * * The local history of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania is much more structurally a part of the characteristic life of the nation as a whole than the history of New England communities, or of the several States of the South. I know that such a heresy will sound rank in the ears of some, for I am speaking against accepted doctrine; but acceptance, be it never so general, does not make a doctrine true. * * * * Read your local history aright, and you will not find

the task too hard. Here upon our own seaboard, as truly as ever in the West, was once a national frontier, with an elder East beyond the seas. Here, too, various peoples combined and effected a wholesome mixture. Here, too, the national stream flowed full and strong.

* * * * *

True knowledge, like true charity, should begin at home. He who fails to study the history of the locality wherein he lives, commences the fabric of his education at the summit, instead of at the base; wherefore, should these chapters direct any native or adopted son of South Jersey to the path of true knowledge, the author's efforts will have been abundantly required.

ALFRED M. HESTON.

Atlantic City, 1924.

Brief of Title—South Jersey

- 1492—Discovery of islands off the continent of North America by Christopher Columbus, aboard the "Santa Maria," chartered by Spain.
- 1498—Discovery of the continent of North America, including the region now known as the United States, by John and Sebastian Cabot, English navigators.
- 1606—King James, of England, granted an extensive territory, including New Jersey, to Sir Walter Raleigh.
- 1609—The Dutch set up a claim to New York, New Jersey, etc., under an alleged discovery by Henry Hudson, in the employ of the Dutch East India Company.
- 1614—Dutch claim to have made settlements on the east bank of the Hudson, and also on the west bank, in Bergen County, New Jersey.
- 1623—Dutch built a fort on the Delaware and took possession of the region now known as South Jersey. The exact location of this fort is unknown, but a commission appointed by the State of New Jersey in 1919 decided that it was at a point near the present city of Gloucester, which site is now covered by the tides. Acting on this information, the commission unveiled a monument within the corporate limits of Gloucester City, on November 22, 1920.
- 1626—Settlements on the Delaware projected by the Swedes, in consequence of a proclamation during the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, approving the action of the West India Company.
- 1627—Swedes and Finns set up a claim to New Jersey, took possession of and made settlements on the Delaware, and exercised government until 1655, when the Dutch, being at that time in the ascendant, dispossessed the Swedes and exercised authority over South Jersey until 1664, when they in turn were dispossessed by the English. The Dutch, however, were permitted to exercise authority over the inhabitants for a short period—three months and three days— or until the Duke of York consummated his grant to Sir George Carteret and Lord John Berkeley.
- 1648—Publication of a pamphlet by Sir Edmund Ployden, entitled "A Description of the Province of New Albion," etc., including New Jersey, claiming title for the English government, by virtue of various discoveries under the English flag, taking formal possession, raising the cross and treating with the natives, etc.
- 1664—Charles II, King of England, granted to his brother James, Duke of York, a territory including New York, New Jersey, etc. The same year the Duke of York conveyed to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret the territory now comprising New Jersey.
- 1669—Carteret and Berkeley agreed upon concessions to settlers, and Philip Carteret, a fourth cousin of Sir George, was appointed Governor of New Jersey, with power to grant lands, on the advice of his Council, to all such as by the concessions were entitled thereto.
- 1675—Berkeley and Carteret exercised government and promoted settlements from 1664 to 1675, when Berkeley sold his undivided half interest to John Fenwick, in trust for Edward Byllinge and his assigns. Meantime (1674), Governor Andros issued a proclamation, confirming all titles under former governments. Byllinge conveyed his interest in New Jersey to William Penn, Gawin Lawrie, and Nicholas Lucas, as trustees for the benefit of his (Byllinge's) creditors. One tenth of the undivided territory was claimed by John Fenwick.
- 1676—Penn, Lawrie, and Lucas, and purchasers of lands, being now Proprietors under the Berkeley grant, effected a division with Carteret. Penn and his associates and Fenwick (who still claimed a tenth part), took over the western part of the province, which was termed West New Jersey. It included practically all of what is known commonly as South Jersey.
- 1676—The "Concessions and Agreements of Proprietors, Freeholders and Inhabitants of West New Jersey, dated 1676, authorized the appointment of commissioners,

with power to "order and manage the estate and affairs of said province of West New Jersey," according to the concessions. The commissioners were thereby authorized to "take care for setting forth and dividing all the lands of said province as are already taken up, or by themselves shall be taken up or contracted for with the natives." The commissioners were also advised as to the laying out of the land "to be planted and settled upon," and to mark the same in the register, and upon some of the trees. The proprietors or commissioners (or their successors) were also authorized to "survey all such lands as shall be granted from any of the proprietors, freeholders, planters or inhabitants" and to certify the same to the registrar to be "recorded."

1677—Thomas Olive, Daniel Wills, John Kinsey, John Penford, Joseph Helmsley, Robert Stacy, Benjamin Scott, Richard Gray, and Thomas Foulk, were appointed the first commissioners. They came in the ship "Kent"—all excepting Gray, who had come from England the preceding year. Kinsey died soon after the "Kent" made anchor in the Delaware.

1680—Government of West Jersey was conducted by the above-named commissioners and their successors from 1677 to 1680, when Byllinge was made governor. He appointed Samuel Jenings Deputy Governor, who called an Assembly, which body passed a number of laws, among them one "regulating land affairs." For this purpose commissioners were appointed as follows: Samuel Jenings, Thomas Olive, Robert Stacy, Thomas Budd, Daniel Wills, Thomas Gardner, and Benjamin Scott, who were authorized to lay out and survey land, and return surveys thereof to the new court, held at Burlington, to be registered by order of the court.

1688—The Proprietors changed their system of laying out and surveying lands. Instead of commissioners appointed by the Legislature, the commissioners were authorized to elect nine of their number to act on behalf of the whole, to survey for one year, as commissioners and trustees. Since then they have been termed the Council of Proprietors, and under that name have had succession until the present time. The records of this body are found in the office of the Surveyor-General at Burlington. Locations between 1677 and 1688 (eleven years) are elsewhere. It appears that a registry was ordered, but where it is at this time is unknown. John Skene, Deputy Governor in 1685-87, was authorized to receive the records, rolls and papers from Thomas Revell and John Reading. They applied to the Council of Proprietors, who directed that the records relating to government might be delivered, but such as related to lands were not to be delivered to the Deputy Governor. Nevertheless, according to Smith (page 266) a warrant was necessarily served on Revell and Reading, to compel delivery of all records, rolls, &c. Whether this demand was complied with or not is not known, as the Council was defiant and refused consent. In a memorial of the West Jersey Proprietors to the "Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations," complaining of the conduct of Governor Cornbury, they charge that he had ordered all public records, books, and papers to be delivered by their late secretary to Jeremiah Basse, their "great debtor and therefore our avowed enemy," and that Basse had "carried the records of deeds and conveyances out of the province." By this action the Proprietors were "deprived of all means to justify their past administration of evidences of their grants of lands to purchasers under them"—all the surveys and patents being recorded in those books—and that such action would "destroy the office of register, or at least disable him to perform his duty in some cases, which by acts of the General Assembly he is obliged to do."

All titles to land in South Jersey proceeded from the Proprietors and the Council of Proprietors, as above set forth, and they in turn secured honorable title to all lands in New Jersey once owned by the Indians, as appears by the records.

1758-1832—Believing that they had never parted with the rights to fish and hunt, secured to them in 1758, when the Indians ceded their lands in New Jersey to the whites, the Lenapes (forty in number) in 1832, desirous of removing from their place of settlement in Western New York, deputed one of their number, Wilted Grass, known among the whites as Bartholomew S. Calvin, to lay their claim before the Legislature of New Jersey. This he did in a pathetic memorial. Having granted his request and voting the remnant of Indians the sum of \$2,000, Calvin addressed another letter to the Legislature, in which he said: "Not a drop of our blood have you spilled in battle; not an acre of our land have you taken but by our consent. Nothing but benisons can fall upon New Jersey from the lips of a Lenni-Lenape."

GENERAL HISTORY

CHAPTER I. THE ABORIGINES—THEIR ORIGIN AND MODE OF LIVING.

Diedrich Knickerbocker, distinguished as the first, if not the most accurate historian of New York, claimed that no man could write a true history of the metropolis without going back to the time of the creation. He argued—and no man can gainsay it—that “if this world had not been formed, the island on which is situated the great city of New York would never have had an existence.” Therefore, he proceeded to show, conclusively, that the world was actually created. Then he gave an outline story of the two hemispheres from the earliest times to the beginning of authentic history.

Undoubtedly, New Jersey is coeval with New York. Therefore, an ante-diluvian history of one is a pre-historic account of the other. It may be said, confidently, that whatever happened in New York from the time of the creation or the flood to a period subsequent to the coming of the Norsemen in the ninth century, happened also, in some degree, in New Jersey; hence we may safely say that as there were Indians in New York in ancient times, there were also Indians in New Jersey at about the same time.

Indeed, ere the foot of white man had trod the soil of Scheyechbi, the country east of the Delaware or Lenape-Wihittuck was a paradise for the Indians. Here they flourished in all their primitive glory. Living in the country of Scheyechbi, the people, of course, were Scheyechbians. In our time inhabitants of the same country are called Jerseymen, and those living in the region whose history is traced in these pages are called South Jerseymen.

William Nelson,¹ of Paterson, now deceased, for many years secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society, was the author of a number of historical books, one of which is entitled, “Indians of New Jersey.” As the edition was limited to one hundred copies, it is a very rare book. A copy, however, may be found in a special collection of historical works in the Atlantic City Public Library. In this book Mr. Nelson says Scheyechbi is pronounced as if spelled Shay-ak-bee and that it means “long land water,” referring to waters enclosing the southern peninsula of the State. Hence, South Jersey has a stronger claim than North Jersey, topographically, to the aboriginal word—Scheyechbi.

The Scheyechbians belonged to the Lenni-Lenape nation of Indians. The name, according to some etymologists, signifies original people, which name, however, suggests a falsehood. There are witnesses in the stones to the probable existence of an entirely different people anterior to the Lenapes. The Scheyechbians may have been the descendants of Chinese navigators who are said to have penetrated the forests of North America in the year 458 A. D., or more than a thousand years before the discovery by Columbus.²

Instead of “original people,” however, recent orthographical research indicates that the real meaning of Lenni-Lenaps is “manly men,” the race name for man being lenape and lenni being another form of illini, as seen in Illinois. Tradition says they were once located west of the Mississippi,

¹ Some of Mr. Nelson's writings were published by the publishers of this work.

² M. de Guignes, 1753; Smith, p. 13, 1765.

whence they migrated eastward to the valleys of the Susquehanna and Delaware. The histories of these so-called original people or manly men consisted entirely of stories handed down through the centuries, from generation to generation, until they finally reached the Indians who were in possession of the country when the white men came among them. The red man's history, therefore, is simply his story.

Mr. Nelson, as the result of careful investigation, places the origin of the Lenapes at a much earlier period than the coming of the Chinese navigators in the fifth century. He says: "The Lenapes had their origin in the neighborhood of Hudson's Bay, and began migrating southward probably three or four thousand years before the Christian era. This statement is based partly upon their traditions and partly upon the kitchen middens or kitchen leavings, traces of which are found in the shell-heaps of New Jersey." The shell-heaps are the production, not only of the Indians living along the coast, but of tribes living near the Lenape-Wihittuck, who made periodical journeys to the seashore for the triple purpose of fishing, fowling, and bathing. These journeys were always made afoot, as the horse was then unknown on this continent.³

One of the largest of the Indian shell-heaps was found on the marsh skirting Great Bay, between Ocean and Atlantic counties. It has been conjectured that this mound marks the site of an ancient pile-dwelling settlement, similar to a settlement of twenty huts found by Columbus on the north coast of South America, to which he gave the suggestive name of Venezuela, or Little Venice.⁴

At Great Bay, in place of a shallow layer of shells scattered over a considerable area (a characteristic of all aboriginal village sites on the sea-coast) there was found a single mound of extraordinary height and proportions. This significant feature, coupled with the fact that the marsh was once an integral part of the bay, naturally suggested a pile-dwelling settlement. Several Indian graves were uncovered on the slope opposite the mound, from which were taken thirty-two skeletons of adults.

In opening a new street at Pleasantville, in February, 1890, workmen discovered the skeletons of twenty-one Indians. The bones were found about three feet underground, and with them were several flints, many arrows, one stone knife, two flakes and a stone mill, used for cracking corn. The latter had been worn nearly in two by use.

³ Until quite recently it was believed that the horse originated in Asia, but late discoveries show that at a period long anterior to the earliest records of Asia, horses were known to mankind in various parts of Europe. Two rare pieces of ancient Chinese sculpture were presented to the University of Pennsylvania by a citizen of New Jersey—Eldredge R. Johnson, president of the Victor Talking Machine Company, of Camden—in January, 1921. They are stone panels of two favorite horses of Emperor T'ang T'ai Tsung, a warring ruler of China in the seventh century. These panels, which for many centuries embellished the Emperor's tomb, were smuggled out of the Orient some years ago, and when the government of China finally agreed to their remaining in this country they were purchased by Mr. Johnson and presented to the University Museum. One of the horses, according to the inscription, was named "Autumn Dew" and the other "Strong Wing-foot." These two steeds were among the six animals shot from under the Emperor in battle. He ordered reproductions of the six and directed that they be placed in his tomb. The panels reveal the saddle horse of the Chinese, in the seventh century, as similar to that now commonly seen in America.

⁴ The Peabody Museum of Harvard University has lately (1923) revealed the discovery of the first two dates in American history, as the result of an expedition to the peninsula of Yucatan in Central America, headed by Dr. Herbert J. Spinden. The first date discovered was August 6, 613 B. C., according to our present system of counting time. This date marked the first day in the record of time by the Mayas, a highly civilized race of Indians who inhabited Yucatan and other parts of Central America for centuries before the Columbian discovery. The second date—December 10, 580 B. C.—marked the formal beginning of the Mayan day-by-day calendar, based on scientific observations, which was kept intact for two thousand years. Discovery of these dates followed Dr. Spinden's studies of theatres on the monuments in the ancient Mayan cities. He was able to adduce scientific proof of his day-by-day correlation of the Mayan calendar in our system of counting time to correspond with the oldest recorded dates in the Mayan system. Dr. Spinden's achievements are a great triumph for the American school of archaeology against German, French and Spanish savants, who advanced an entirely different theory to account for the Mayan dates.

These Indian skeletons revived afresh the finding of human skeletons laid bare by the March winds, in the sandy hills of Chestnut Neck, a few years previous. Two skeletons were found beneath the branches of a large cedar, with the head of one encased in a turtle-shell, indicating that it was that of an Indian who had belonged to the Unami, or Turtle Indians, a tribe of the Lenapes, whose totem was a turtle.⁵

Very early in their history the Indians living along the Lenape-Wihit-tuck instituted summer excursions to the seashore. Early in June, the squaws having previously planted the maize, the tribe was ready for the march to the chosen spot by the sea. Two or three days sufficed to bring them to their place of summer encampment.

Arriving at the seashore, they prepared for a sojourn of many weeks by erecting temporary lodges of skins or cedar barks and boughs, where they lived and feasted on luxuries so bountifully supplied by the waters, the marshes and forests. They visited friendly tribes, up and down the coast, and doubtless enjoyed these sociables as though they themselves and their rude entertainers were people of the highest civilization. The men went fishing and fowling, searched for the eggs of the marshhens and gulls, or gathered muscles and other shell-fish on the flats of the bay. While they were thus engaged, the women attended to the children, cooked the food procured by their lords and masters, gathered the materials and made circular beds of fire on which to roast terrapin, oysters, and clams.

The muscles were converted into wampum, the Indian equivalent of money. It was the precious material of which their ornaments were made; the sacred sanction of their contracts, public and private. The word wampum is derived from an Indian word meaning muscle. It was worked from shells into the form of beads, which were perforated and strung on leather. Six beads were of the same value as a Dutch stiver and twenty stivers made a guilder—the equivalent of six pence currency or four pence sterling. White wampum was made from the inside of the great conch, and black or purple wampum from the clam or muscle shell. Several strings, increased in number with the importance of the occasion, formed a belt of wampum.

Before the advent of Europeans, the Indians made their strings and belts of small pieces of wood, stained black or white. The value of Indian money was raised by proclamation of the Governors and Council of New York, in 1673, at which time it was ordered that "instead of eight white

⁵ Indian relics have been found in other places. A woodchopper discovered the remains of an Indian village, five miles northeast of Hammonton, on June 15, 1896. He was pushing his way through the thicket, when he stumbled over what appeared to be the trunk of a tree, but which proved to be part of an Indian canoe, fastened to a tree. In the canoe, about eighteen feet long, were several stone knives, a tomahawk, an axe shaped like a butcher's cleaver and an earthen pot. Next day a searching party from Hammonton found traces of Indian mounds north of the swamp. In 1897, George W. Senft, of Egg Harbor City, discovered a well-preserved Indian hut, made of hickory, in the woods between Pomona and McKee City, in Atlantic County. Further search revealed four other huts, with many arrow-heads, darts, tomahawks and a quantity of flint. One of the tomahawks had a covering of animal skin and a sharp arrow-head fastened to one end. Ten days later another find was made in the vicinity of Pomona by two Italians, engaged in clearing wood land. In digging up tree stumps they unearthed parts of human skeletons. Subsequently, they uncovered a number of tomahawks and arrow-heads; also two skulls. In Passaic County, as recently as December, 1923, cedar bottoms of three Indian canoes were recovered from the bottom of Witteck Lake. Only one of the canoe bottoms was intact, the other two being incomplete. On all three, the sides and inner structure had disappeared. Witteck Lake originally covered about fifty acres, but was flooded to much greater expanse by construction of a dam. Pressure of the augmented volume of water, according to Professor F. H. Sayville, of the Museum of the American Indian, New York, had served to "bring up" the old lake bottom, forming a "floating island." Professor Sayville added that the cedar of which the canoe bottoms were made is now an extinct variety, not having appeared in New Jersey since long before the time of the white man. He estimated that the canoes were from seven hundred to one thousand years old. The Ramapos, a branch of the Haekensack Indians, who in turn were of the Delawares, flourished in the earlier cycles of the redmen. They were natural boatmen and the quiet waters of Witteck Lake furnished them with facilities for fishing and hunting.

and four black, six white and three black should pass for a stiver, and three times so much the value in silver."

The stiver was a small silver coin formerly current in Holland. Many of the settlers adopted the Indian word, wampum. Indian words are indelibly attached to localities in South Jersey, and to the names of plants and animals, such as persimmon, chinkapin, hickory, tamarack, pecan, etc.

Ere the melancholy winds of October began to blow, the Indians prepared to leave their temporary abode. They loaded themselves with dried shell-fish, winkle-shells for drinking cups, and large sea-shells for crockery-ware. The squaws lashed the papooses to their shoulders, with a string of dried shell-fish on each arm, while the men carried their tomahawks, scalping knives and bows and arrows, besides bundles of wild fowl. Thus equipped, the tribe commenced the journey, Indian file, to their winter wigwams.

Indian "history," which, as already stated, is only another term for tradition, makes the vicinity of the Mullica River the scene of a sanguinary battle. A numerous party of the Unami Indians, while hunting on the shores of the river, encountered a band of the hostile Minsi tribe. Instantly the spirit of vengeance was aroused. Gliding from tree to tree, they battled, Indian fashion, until the sun went down. Still, there was no thought of flight. "Crouching low in their leafy coverts," says the story, they waited for the coming day. At dawn the fight was renewed. Shouts of rage were heard and—so the legend goes—"the undergrowth was dyed with blood." Finally, only two of the Unamis and one of the northern tribe remained. Observing their advantage, the two Unamis advanced to seize their solitary foe. "With a yell of defiance," he plunged into the river, and reaching the opposite shore paused a moment to wave a taunting farewell. Then he disappeared in the forest.

A pamphlet published in 1648, by Beauchamp Plantagenet, entitled "A Description of the Province of New Albion," etc., contains a letter written by Robert Evelin, who passed four years in the province, in which he says: "I find some broken land, isles and inlets, and many small isles at Egbay (Egg Harbor); but going to Delaware Bay, by Cape May, which is twenty-four miles at most—on that north side about five miles within a Port or rode for any ships called the Nook (Maurice River), and within lieth the king of the Kechemeches, having as I suppose about 50 men, and 12 leagues higher a little above the Bay and Bar is the Manteses. The king of the Manteses hath about 100 bow-men; next above about 6 leagues higher is the king of the Sikonesses, and next is Asomoches, a king with an hundred men, and next is Eriwoneck, a king of forty men (the Amarongs), and five miles above is the king of Ramcock (Rankokas tribe) with a hundred men, and four miles higher the king of Axion (tribe of Atsion or Atsionks) with two hundred men, and next to him tenne leagues over land an inland king of Calcefar, with an hundred and fifty men. And six leagues higher, near a creek called Masefian, the king having two hundred men. And then we come to the Fals. The Indians are in several factions and war against the Susquehannocks."

John De Laet, another early historian, mentions other tribes, as follows: Naraticongs, Armewamexes, Maeroahkongs, Sewaposes, Minquoosees,

⁶The author of the pamphlet adds that in addition to those named by Evelin, "there are at least 1,200 under the two Raritan kings on the north, and those come down to the ocean about little Egbay and Sandy Barnegate and about the South cape (Cape May) two small kings of forty men apiece, called Tinans and Tlaseans, and a third reduced to fourteen men at Raymond."—Plantagenet, p. 20; Smith, p. 31.

Mattikongees, and the Sanhigans, the latter being the tribe situated at the falls of the Delaware, or what is now Trenton, but which the Indians called Chickohacki. This was the largest Indian village on the east bank of the Lenape-Wihittuck, and here the great chief of Scheyechbi resided.

Gabriel Thomas, in his quaint little history, mentions a tribe called Amacaronck, located on the mainland northwest of the island whereon Atlantic City is now built, which island he designates as having "some wood land, some sandy ground." Thomas also locates a tribe called Yacomanshag, about where the town of Hammonton is now situated. Remains of this last-named Indian village were found by a wood-chopper, about five miles northeast of Hammonton, in June, 1896.

Undoubtedly, in the enumeration of the Indians, the writers included the men only, as not until the boys reached the age of fifteen did they become bow-men.⁷

We are told that until they reached this age they spent most of their time in fishing. At fifteen they became bow-men, and as soon as they could return to their father's wigwam with a sufficient number of skins, after a day's hunt, they were allowed to marry any girl in the camp who wore a crown of red or blue bays, as an advertisement of her willingness to marry. Usually the male took his first wife at sixteen to eighteen and the female wore her "advertisement" at about fourteen or fifteen.

To approximate the population of a tribe we may safely multiply the number of bow-men by four, and on that basis we find that in the year 1648 there were about 9,000 Indians in the southern and central parts of Scheyechbi, or New Jersey. In the north and northwestern sections there were doubtless several thousand more, as we learn from other sources that there were tribes called the Matas, the Chichequas, the Raritans, the Navesinks, the Nanticokes, and the Tutelos. These all belonged to the Lenni-Lenape nation, of which there were two branches in the South Jersey region of Scheyechbi—the Unami or Turtles, and the Unilachtogo or Turkeys.

The upper valley of the Delaware was the home of the Minsi, or "Mountaineers," whose totem was the wolf. They were the real warriors of the Lenni-Lenapes, and were the least susceptible to missionary influence. Further south, as stated, were the Unami, or "People down the River," whose totem was the tortoise. This signified that as the tortoise was the progenitor of mankind and bore the world upon its back, the Unami were entitled to lead in governmental affairs. In the region from the Rancocas southward to Absegami (Atlantic City) and Cape May, were the Unalachtogo, or "People who live near the Ocean." They were skilled in fishing and spoke more subtly than the other tribes the agglutinative language of the Lenni-Lenapes. They were gentler than the Minsi, and being opposed to war, gained for the Lenni-Lenapes the contemptuous phrase of "women" from the Indian tribes of New York.

About the Delaware, almost all the Indian names of streams have been abolished, but several branches of the Mullica and Great Egg Harbor yet retain their primitive titles.

In the vicinity of what is now Atlantic City, (Egabay) according to the New Albion pamphlet, the country "partaketh of the healthiest aire and most excellent commodities of Europe," and in the forests there were "five sorts of deer, buffes (buffalos) and huge elks to plow and work, all bringing three young at once." The uplands were "covered many moneths

⁷ According to the census of 1920, there are 100 Indians in New Jersey, of whom 38 are in South Jersey—Atlantic County, 3; Burlington, 21; Camden, 2; Cumberland, 11; Cape May, 2.

with berries, roots, chestnuts, walnuts, beech and oak and mast to feed them, hogges and turkeys, five hundred in a flock.”

One tribe of the Unami Indians lived at what is now Leeds Point, another at Wills and Osborn Islands to the north, and still another at Manahawkin. The first-named were a branch of the war-like tribe of Atsionks or Axions, who had their principal settlement near where the present village of Atsion now stands. They claimed the exclusive right to fish in and hunt along all the tributaries of the Mullica. The Tuckahoe Indians, a more peaceful tribe, dwelt along the river of that name, on the southern boundary of Atlantic County. Between the two tribes there was considerable intercourse, and in going from one settlement or camp to another they crossed the Great Egg Harbor River at Inskeep's Ford, near the present town of Hammonton.

Between the tribe whose camp was near the present site of Leeds Point and the two tribes on the north there was a bitter hostility. One night, so the legend goes,—and it is probably another version of the one mentioned on a preceding page—when the Wills Island Indians were sleeping in apparent security the Leeds Point warriors crossed the Mullica, and taking their slumbering foes by surprise, massacred all but one, who fled unnoticed to the Manahawkin tribe, and informed the chief thereof of the fate which had befallen his people. The Manahawkin braves armed themselves and started in pursuit. They arrived the night after the slaughter and found the victorious warriors singing and dancing in exultation of their victory. The Manahawkin braves moved stealthily around to the eastern shore, where they captured the canoes of the Leeds Point tribe, and placing a guard over them, rushed in upon the unsuspecting revelers, slaying them on every hand. Those of the enemy who fled to their canoes found them in the possession of the guard, who killed every warrior that approached, and in a short time there was not a Leeds Point brave left to tell the tale of the battle.

Mulberry field, where this battle took place, has always been remarkable for the fertility of its soil. Near the field were several mounds, and some years ago a farmer who owned the land resolved on turning these mounds to good account. Accordingly, he scattered their contents over the fields for purposes of fertilization. In digging into the mounds many human bones were discovered, there being alternate layers of earth, bones and shells. Mingled with the bones were a number of Indian implements.

Concerning some of the habits of the Lenni-Lenape Indians, we learn from John De Laet, who wrote in 1625, and who was the intimate friend of De Vries, the navigator, that their domestic appliances consisted of calabash ladles, mussel-shell spoons, earthen pots, and oak leaf saucers. They aped no good manners, not even on extraordinary occasions. If they ate at the house of a white man, they insisted on mounting the table and there enjoying their host's hospitality in a cross-legged, tailor-like posture.

The wigwams of the South Jersey Indians were for the most part roofed with chestnut bark, seamed together with strings slit from maize stalks. These huts were so close and warm that no rain could penetrate. The mats covering the sides were made of corn leaves, and the huts were often large enough for several families. The tops were generally conical, with a centre pole, around which was an opening for the escape of smoke. To this pole or to the roof they affixed a beam or hook to support an earthen kettle, under which a fire was kept in place by a rude hearth of stones.

Around this they spread their corn-leaf mats, which served the triple purpose of bed, table, and chairs. Most houses had two doors, which were opened or shut, according to the requirements of wind and weather. In time of war the wigwams of the whole tribe were built together and surrounded with palisades, and these fortifications sometimes ripened into towns. Men and boys hunted and fished while women tilled the soil and did the domestic work. They had their songs and dances for both religious ceremony and for revelry.

In sickness, so long as there was any hope, the people were very attentive to each other, but they considered it waste of time to take care of desperate cases. Always impatient to recover or die, if treatment with herbs failed to be beneficial, they shut themselves up in a closed cabin, where they were steamed by the sprinkling of water upon red hot stones, after which they were hurried to the nearest creek and therein immersed. This treatment either killed or cured. Young babies were plunged into rivers in cold weather to toughen them.

The ceremony of marriage was very simple, and yet significant. In the presence of the relatives, the man gave a bone to his intended wife or squaw, and she handed him an ear of maize, meaning thereby that the husband was to provide meat and the wife bread. From the time of marriage, hunting and fishing was their business, and war their amusement.

Thomas Campanius Holm—the last word being an affix to his proper name, denoting the place of his nativity—who wrote in 1702, pronounces the Lenni-Lenapes “the most sensible nation in all America,” and William Penn says: “He will deserve the name of wise man that outwits them.” They were straightforward and despised bad faith so heartily that Gabriel Thomas says of them: “If any go from their first offer or bargain with them, it will be very difficult for that party to get any dealings with them any more.” The same author, after attributing to the Indian women of Scheyechbi the qualities of neatness, cleanliness, industry and ingenuity, crowns all by saying: “Their young maids are very modest and shame-faced, and their young women, when newly married, are very nice and shy.”

The language of the Lenni-Lenape Indians was sweet, lofty and sententious—one word serving for three in the English. William Penn, in a letter dated August 16, 1683, said that no tongue spoken in Europe could surpass it in melody and grandeur of accent and emphasis.

CHAPTER II.

COMING OF THE WHITES—GOING OF THE INDIANS.

With the advent of the white man the Indians gradually disappeared. Henry Hudson, in the Dutch ship “Half Moon,” a vessel of about eighty tons, sailed along our coast in the early part of September, 1609, but did not attempt to enter any of the inlets until he reached what is now Barnegat.

About the last of August he entered Delaware Bay, but finding the navigation dangerous soon left without going ashore. After getting out to sea again, he steered northeastwardly. The log-book of the “Half Moon” was kept by the mate, Robert Juet. Under date of September 2, 1609, he says:

When the sun arose we steered north again and saw land from the west by north to the northwest, all alike, broken islands, and our soundings were eleven fathoms and ten fathoms. Then we luffed in for the shore, and fair by the shore we had seven fathoms. The course along the land (Absecon Beach) we found to be northeast by north. From the land, which we first had sight of, until we came to a great lake of

water, as we could judge it to be (Great Bay and Barnegat Bay), being drowned land, which made it rise like islands, which was in length ten leagues. The mouth of the lake has many shoals, and the sea breaks upon them as it is cast out of the mouth of it. And from the lake or bay the land lies north by east, and we had a great stream out of the Bay; and from thence our soundings was ten fathoms two leagues from land. At five o'clock we anchored, being light wind, and rode in eight fathoms water; the night was fair. This night I found the land to haul the compass eight degrees. Far to the northward of us we saw high hills for the day before we found not above two degrees of variation. This is a very good land to fall in with, and a pleasant land to see.

The discovery of the inlets above and below Absegami (Atlantic City) may be properly credited to Captain Cornelius Jacobsen Mey, of the ship "Fortuyn," who left New Amsterdam in June, 1614, and cruised down the coast on a voyage of discovery. He called the inlet now known as Barnegat by the Dutch name of Barendegat, meaning "Breaker's Inlet," or, as it is in English, "the inlet with breakers." In the rivers his men in the ship's boat found an abundance of gulls' eggs, and he, therefore, called the streams Great and Little Egg Harbor (the latter now known as the Mullica), and the country Eyren Haven, the Dutch for harbor of eggs. Absecon Inlet he also called Barendegat, these words being used at first not as a name, but merely as a description of the inlet. In the course of time the word was corrupted into Barnegat.¹

A certain William Wood, in his "New England's Prospect," published in London in 1639, describes Indian life, about the time of the Dutch settlement, in the following classic lines:

The dainty Indian maize
Was eat with clamp-shells out of wooden trays,
The luscious lobster with the craw-fish raw,
The brinnish oyster, mussel, periwigge,
And tortoise sought by the Indian squaw,
Which to the flats dance many a winter's jigge,
To dive for cockles and to dig for clams,
Whereby her lazy husband's guts she crammes.

The last line of the foregoing stanza is most likely literally true. A similar practice is prevalent in some regions even unto this day, being one of the habits of the aborigines which our lazy forefathers were quick to adopt and transmit to succeeding generations. In every community there are men whose wives, like the Indian squaws, are required to do all the drudgery, and often feed and clothe the indolent lords of creation.

Campanius Holm, an ingenious and picturesque liar, tells some hideous stories of the country, and of many strange things, among which was the fish tree, which "resembles boxwood and smells like raw fish. It cannot be split, but if a fire be lighted around it with some other kind of wood it melts away." Somewhere in the middle of one of the creeks, we are told, there was a place which was never known to freeze, and there swans were seen at all times. The streams were alive with whales, sharks, sea-spiders, and tarm-fisks, and the shores "with a large and horrible serpent, which is called a rattlesnake, which has a head like that of a dog and can bite off a man's leg as if it had been hewn down with

¹ On Vanderdonek's Dutch map, made in 1656, it is Barndegat, and in his description of the coast, in one place, he calls Absecon Beargat. He says: "There are several fine bays and inland waters, which form good sea harbors for those who are acquainted with the inlets and entrances to the same, which at present are not much used, particularly Barndegat, Great and Little Egg Harbor and Bear-gat, wherein anchorages are safe and secure. But as few Christians are settled at those places, the harbors are seldom used, unless the wind and weather render it necessary for safety."

² A rare and curious book—"one of the most important and highly valued works on the early State of New England"—a single copy of which recently sold for \$45.

an axe. There are horny joints in their tails, which make a noise like children's rattles, and when they see a man they wind themselves in a circle and shake their heads, which can be heard at a distance of a hundred yards. These snakes are three yards long and thick as the thickest part of a man's thigh." Speaking of the king crab, this prevaricator says: "Their tails are half an ell long and made like a three-edged saw, with which the hardest tree may be sawed down."

Robert Evelyn, whose "Description of the Province of New Albion" was published in London, 1648, speaking of what is practically now South Jersey, says that it is "replenished with the goodliest woods of oaks and all timber for ships and masts, mulberries, sweet cypresse, cedar, pines and firres, four sorts of grapes for wine, and raisins and with the greatest variety of choice fruits. The uplands, covered many months with berries, roots, chestnuts, walnuts, beech and oak masts." He also enumerates "sassafras, with wilde fruits, pears, wilde cherries, pine, apples and the dainty parsemenas" (persimmons). * * * "And there is no question but almonds and other fruits of Spain will prosper as in Virginia."

The building of ships and the making of pipe staves is urged in this tract.

The Quakers, who came thirty years later, were loud in their praise of the forests. Mahlon Stacy, writing from Burlington to England, 4th mo. 26th, 1680, says:

"I have seen orchards laden with fruit to admiration, their very limbs torn to pieces with the weight, and most delicious to the taste and lovely to behold. * * * "We have from the time called May to Michaelmas great store of very good wild fruits, as strawberries, cranberries, and hortleberries, which are like our bilberries in England" * * * "Indeed the country take it as a wilderness is a brave country" * * * "and more wood than some would have upon their lands."

In the description of the Province of West Jersey, written by Gabriel Thomas, and printed in London in 1698, we read:

"In this country is a great plenty of working Timber, as Oaks, Ash, Chestnuts, Pine, Cedar, Walnut, Poplar, Fir and Masts for Ships with Pitch and Rosin." * * * "Timber River, alias Gloucester, hath its name from the great quantity of curious Timber, which they send in great Floats to Philadelphia. * * * The Trade in Gloucester County consists chiefly in Pitch, Tar and Rosin." Two miles from Philadelphia were mineral springs that passed "both by siege and urine, all but as good as epsom," and the observant chronicler adds: "I have reason to believe that there are good coals, also, for I observed the runs of water have the same color as that which proceeds from the coal mines in Wales."

In enumerating the streams, Thomas mentions Great Egg Harbor River, "up which a ship of two or three hundred tuns may sail." This country, he adds, "is noted for its good store of horses, cows, sheep, hogs, etc., the lands thereabouts being much improved and built upon." On the map which accompanies his book, the island wherein Atlantic City is built is described as having "some wood land and some sandy ground."

Some of the "wonderful things" found in South Jersey at that time can

³ Nevertheless, it was not until nearly one hundred years later that coal was discovered in Pennsylvania. In 1789, a year or two before its discovery, when the First Congress of the United States set about to formulate a bill to raise revenue to carry on the new government, the Pennsylvania members strenuously opposed the duty on coal, which they wished to import as cheaply as possible, to aid in the development of their iron ores. Behold! Pennsylvania is now the greatest coal-producing State in the country, and her representatives in Congress are the strongest advocates of a duty on coal.

best be described in the language of Thomas: "There are, among other various sorts of frogs, the bull-frog, which makes a roaring noise, hardly to be distinguished from that well-known of the beast from which it takes its name. There is another sort of frog that crawls up to the tops of trees, there seeming to imitate the notes of several birds."

"Gloucester-Town," says he in another part of his book, "is a very fine and pleasant place, whither young people come from Philadelphia in the wherries to eat strawberries and cream, within sight of which city it is sweetly situated." Burlington was then the "chiefest town" in West Jersey, but Salem was the "ancientest."

The coming of the whites meant the going of the Indians. There was no room for two races whose habits and manners were irreconcilable. The Colonial government recognized the rights of the Indians, and in the course of time, when it seemed wise to settle them upon lands that would be free from encroachment by the whites, the Legislature purchased of Benjamin Springer and Richard Smith, in 1758, for £1,600, a tract of 3,044 acres, near Atsion, northwest of the Atlantic County line, in Burlington County, as a reservation for the remnant in New Jersey.

This was the first Indian reservation in the country. The place was then known as Edgepelick, but Governor Bernard felicitously called it Brotherton. It is now known as Indian Mills. The Indians, about two hundred in number, were placed in possession of these lands, holding them (not in severalty) until 1802. During this time they enjoyed the right to fish in all the rivers and bays south of the Raritan, and to hunt in all uninclosed lands.

In 1801 another act was passed, with the consent of the Indians, directing the sale of the Brotherton tract and applying a portion of the proceeds to the removal of the tribe to the Stockbridge reservation, near Oneida Lake, New York. The balance of the proceeds of this sale was invested for the benefit of the tribe.

The Mohegans at Stockbridge had invited the Brotherton tribe to settle on their lands. Their invitation read: "Pack up your mat, and come and eat out of our dish." They added: "Our necks are stretched in looking toward the fireside of our grandfathers, till they are as long as cranes." After several years at Stockbridge, this remnant of the Lenni-Lenapes, reduced to forty, purchased lands of the Indians living near Green Bay, Wisconsin, and in 1832, formed a settlement which they called Statesburg. The New Jersey Legislature appropriated the fund (\$3,551.23) then remaining to the credit of the Brotherton colony for the purchase of their new home and their transportation thither.⁴

Believing that they had never parted with the right to fish and hunt secured to them by the act of 1758, the remnant of forty, before removing to Wisconsin in 1832, deputed one of their number, Wilted Grass, known among the whites as Bartholomew S. Calvin, who had served with credit in the Revolution, to lay their claim before the New Jersey Legislature. This he did in a memorial couched in language simple and pathetic, beginning: "I am old and weak and poor, and therefore a fit representative of my people. You are young and strong and rich, and therefore fit representatives

⁴ An interesting account of the Brotherton tract and the litigation over its subsequent taxation is given in the *New Jersey Archives* (Vol. 9, pp. 357-8). The tract was located a little northwest of the centre of the present Shamong Township, Burlington County, covering what is now the village of Indian Mills, on Bread and Cheese Run. The act of 1758, authorizing the purchase of this Indian reservation, provided: "The lands to be purchased for the Indians as aforesaid shall not hereafter be subject to any tax; any law, usage or custom to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding."

of your people." The Legislature voted the sum asked for, two thousand dollars, wherefore Wilted Grass addressed a letter of thanks to the Legislature, in which he said: "Not a drop of our blood have you spilled in battle; not an acre of our land have you taken but by our consent. These facts speak for themselves and need no comment. They place the character of New Jersey in bold relief, a bright example to those States within whose territorial limits our brethren still remain. Nothing save benisons can fall upon her from the lips of a Lenni-Lenape."

About nine hundred descendants of the Lenni-Lenapes, excluding those who settled in Wisconsin, are now located west of the Mississippi and are connected with the Cherokees and Osages. The tribe was pressed successively to the Susquehanna and Ohio rivers, thence to Missouri and Arkansas, and was finally settled in the Indian Territory, now the State of Oklahoma.

Thus have the Scheyechbians followed the course of empire westward, leaving for the white man only traces of their language and life. Of gold and silver they had none in South Jersey, but the soil was rich in elements that went to make it productive. Evidence of this is found in present-day reports of farm products. South Jersey produces superior corn and potatoes, the best blackberries and strawberries, and more cranberries than are grown in any other one section of the country.⁵

For all of his accumulated millions the South Jerseyman of today is indebted to the foresight of his hard-headed forbears, who bartered gimcracks and gewgaws for future affluence. The consideration for approximately one million acres of virgin soil and forest included matchcoats and guns, kettles and hoes, duffelds and petticoats, lead and powder, knives and axes, combs and scissors, looking glasses and fishhooks, needles and bells, jewsharps and rum. The exchange was effected by three separate conveyances, dated September 10th and 17th and October 10th, 1677.⁶

⁵ The following figures are taken from the last report of the Census Bureau:

	Farm Property Value	Poultry Value	Corn Bushels	Potatoes (White) Bushels	Potatoes (Sweet) Bushels
Atlantic	\$9,290,995	\$141,830	\$104,567	\$91,999	\$186,242
Burlington	26,797,442	359,470	911,922	707,446	84,124
Camden	8,996,611	77,813	172,227	329,657	110,592
Cape May	2,993,964	67,750	82,418	96,045	22,677
Cumberland	21,523,326	487,774	693,825	605,009	246,033
Gloucester	17,851,199	247,037	462,710	742,007	775,730
Ocean	3,568,217	129,809	157,991	59,637	14,183
Salem	17,894,679	259,709	790,739	1,032,926	184,932
	\$108,916,433	\$1,771,192	\$3,376,399	\$3,664,726	\$1,624,513

	Strawberries Quarts	Raspberries Quarts	Blackberries Quarts	Cranberries Quarts	Orchard Fruits Bushels
Atlantic	\$4,486,980	\$1,006,292	\$886,953	\$1,533,648	\$302,525
Burlington	5,789,409	46,431	59,123	4,547,643	1,184,746
Camden	2,382,868	629,011	394,380	20,594	293,315
Cape May	278,640	20,945	28,365	80,140	14,093
Cumberland	2,153,689	3,582	227,937	83,414	218,256
Gloucester	798,267	21,169	58,572	116,770	389,927
Ocean	1,388,630	23,124	41,290	1,092,028	10,100
Salem	367,519	2,360	5,691	5,120	41,067
	\$17,646,002	\$1,752,914	\$1,693,311	\$7,479,357	\$2,454,029

On the basis of land area, New Jersey ranks first in value of all farm products. Her production of blackberries, on the same basis, is the largest in the country, and her asparagus crop second largest. More than half the peppers raised throughout the country are produced in New Jersey. Nearly all of the cranberries are grown in Burlington, Atlantic, and Ocean counties, and the crops of these three counties represent one-fourth of all the cranberries raised throughout the United States.

⁶ The consideration for lands between Oldman's and Timber Creeks was 30 matchcoats, 20 guns, 31 kettles, 30 pair of hose, 20 fathom of duffelds, 30 petticoats, 30 narrow hoes, 30 bars of lead, 15 small barrels of powder, 70 knives, 30 Indian axes, 70 combs, 60 pair of tobacco tongs, 60 scissors, 60 tinshaw looking-glasses, 120 awl blades, 120 fish hooks, 2 grasps of red paint,

To the redman's untutored mind jewsharps and looking glasses, fish-hooks, bells, and other trinkets seemed ample compensation for the soil, but, lo! what vast sums now swell the coffers of his descendants in Oklahoma! With material possessions approximating two hundred millions of dollars, there is no such thing as a poor Indian among the Cherokees and Osages. Every year, since 1915, the latter tribe alone has received, for oils taken from their lands, royalties of \$10,000 for every man, woman and child in a tribe of more than two thousand. The bonuses in eight years have amounted to approximately one hundred and fifty millions of dollars. Two other tribes have received, during the same period, nearly one hundred millions of dollars; and the end is not yet!

CHAPTER III.

DUTCH SETTLERS ON DELAWARE—OLD FORT NASSAU.

In a recently published anthology, "Poems of New Jersey," there are no less than nineteen poems pertaining to the Revolution and thirty-five selections descriptive of people and places in South Jersey. Yet nowhere do we find any reference to Colonial days and ways; no songs like "Evangeline" and "Hiawatha"; no story like that of John Alden and Miles Standish. Nevertheless, there were valiant white men in the New Netherlands six years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock. New Jersey has been prolific of poets and poetry, but unfortunately no Longfellow, no Whittier, no Lowell has come among us to sing of our Colonial forbears.

True, we have the story of Elizabeth Haddon, by Longfellow, and the ripple of Gloucester Spring, by Nathaniel Evans, but these are poems of sentiment, rather than of adventure. In spite of these oversights by the poets, it is a fact, worthy of record in this volume of South Jersey history, that while the Pilgrims were sojourning in Holland, imbibing religious freedom and political liberty under conditions not then existent in intolerant England, Dutch settlers were blazing the way for civilization in North Jersey. That was in 1618, a full quarter of a century before William Penn was born. These pioneers were members of a company of Hollanders who had landed on Manhattan in 1613 or 1614. They had crossed the Hudson to mark out broader fields, or else to traverse the forests of Bergen County in quest of furs.

That there were Dutch settlers on Manhattan about 1614 is evidenced by the birth of one Jean Vigne. This record is based on a statement by two men, Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, who visited Manhattan in 1679 and left a journal, translated by Henry C. Murphy in 1867, and published by the Long Island Historical Society. Dankers says that in September, 1679, he "conversed with the first male born of Europeans in New Netherland, named Jean Vigne," who was then about sixty-five years old. This would place his birth in 1614. Dankers also recorded that he and his friend Sluyter visited Vigne "in order to obtain from him information on various matters relating to the country, as he was one of the oldest inhabitants."

Previous to this discovery the honor of being the first child born to European parents, north of Virginia, had been credited to Sarah Rapelje, born in Albany (Fort Orange) in 1625. In his publication Mr. Murphy adds that the birth of Vigne is "compatible with the very earliest date of the

120 needles, 60 tobacco boxes, 120 pipes, 200 bells, 100 jewsharps, and 6 anchors of rum. The consideration for lands between Timber and Assanpink creeks was practically the same as for the lower division.

sojourn of Hollanders at Manhattan." It is also compatible with the date assigned to Hollanders as living in Bergen County in 1618. Mr. Murphy continues: "The first trading voyages to Hudson River were made by the Dutch in 1613-14 and the first wintering or habitation was in 1614-15. There must have been, therefore, one European woman, at least, in the country at that period." In this he does not take into account the possibility of an alliance with an Indian woman. He adds: "Whether Jean Vigne's parents returned to Holland or remained here during the obscure period between the time of his birth and the occupation of the country by the West India Company it is impossible to determine."

Of Jean Vigne himself we know that he belonged to the class of great burghers and held the office of schepen four different years. His three sisters married Dutchmen of importance, one being the wife of the able but unpopular secretary, Van Tienhoven.

We have already seen that Henry Hudson discovered Delaware Bay in 1609. He was then in the service of the Dutch East India Company and had sailed west in the ship "Half Moon," in quest of a northwest passage to the Indies. Reaching Newfoundland he turned south, discovered Cape Cod, which, in ignorance of its previous discovery, he named New Holland, and proceeded southward until he reached Chesapeake Bay. He then turned northward and on August 28, 1609, entered Delaware Bay. Deeming navigation unsafe, by reason of sandbars, he turned about and sailed northward until he came to Sandy Hook on September 3d. Here he spent a week in examining the shores of Monmouth County, and to communicate with the natives. One of his boats, in passing through the hills between Bergen Neck and Staten Island, was attacked by twenty-six Indians in two canoes, and a sailor named John Coleman was shot through the throat by an arrow. He died almost instantly and was buried on Sandy Hook.

Hudson entered New York Bay on September 12 and sailed up the river which bears his name about one hundred and fifty miles. He then turned and sailed southward till he came again to New York Bay, whence he sailed for Holland in October of the same year. He was not able to ascend as far as Albany, but five of his men made their way by boat to the site of that city.

The western boundary of the country, at that time, was an undefined ocean which navigators called the South Sea. The early French and English navigators believed this country to be a part of the East Indies, across which they sought a passage to the so-called "South Sea." Some of Champlain's explorers, after only a few days march from Quebec in 1603, reported joyfully that from the top of a high mountain they had discovered the unknown sea. The story of Champlain was commonly believed. The South Sea was accessible by water—if only they could find the right passage! Indeed, in 1608, one year before the Hudson discovery, a barge was fitted out in England to convey members of the Council of Virginia up the inland water courses to the South Sea! Captain Smith and his men were ordered "not to return without a lump of gold—a certainty of the said sea." If they could not bring back the gold, they were to return with at least one of the lost colonies of Roanoke.

Adrien Vanderdonck, a Dutch navigator, writing in 1656, says:

This country was first discovered by the Netherlanders. This is evidenced by the fact that Indians or natives of the land, many of whom are still living, and with whom I have conversed, declare freely that they are old enough to remember distinctly that before the arrival of our Netherland ship the "Half Moon," in the year 1609, they did not know there were any other people in the world than those who were like themselves,

much less any people who differed from them so much in race and fashion. Their men were bare on their breast and about the mouth, and their women, like ours, very hairy. They were unclothed and almost naked, especially in summer, while we were all the time clad and covered. When some of them first saw our ship approaching afar off they did not know what to think, but stood in deep and solemn amazement, wondering whether it was a spook or apparition, and whether it came from heaven or hell. Others of them supposed it might be a strange fish or sea monster. They supposed those on board to be rather devils than human beings. Thus they differed among each other. A strange report soon spread throughout their country about our visit, and created great talk and comment among all the Indians.

This Dutchman also said of the present New Jersey:

The coast has double forelands with many islands which in some places, lie two or three deep. These forelands, as well as the islands are well situated for seaboard towns, and all kinds of fisheries, and also for the cultivation of grain, vineyards, and gardening, and the keeping of stock, for which purposes the land is tolerably good. Those lands are now mostly overgrown with different kinds of trees and grapevines; having many palms, hazlenuts and strawberries, and much grass. The waters abound with oysters, having many convenient banks and beds where they may be taken. Besides the many islands which lie between the aforesaid bays, many of which are high land, there are also several fine bays and inland waters which form good sea harbors for those who are acquainted with the inlets and entrances to the same, which at present are not much used, particularly Barnegat, Great and Little Egg Harbors, the Bear-gat (Absecon) etc., wherein the anchorages are safe and secure. But as New Netherlands is not yet well peopled, and as there are but few Christians settled at those places, the harbors are seldom used unless the winds and weather render it necessary for safety.

Following Hudson, Thomas West (Lord Delaware) on a voyage to Virginia, in 1610, touched at Delaware Bay, and gave his name to the river which forms the western boundary of New Jersey. It is also recorded that Cornelius Hendrickson, in the "Onrest," or "Restless," a ship built at Manhattan in 1614, by Adrien Block, after the burning of his "Tiger" in East River, sailed up the Delaware as far as the mouth of the Schuylkill. The same year, we are told, three Dutch traders, setting out from Fort Orange, now Albany, to explore the interior, struck across the headwaters of the Delaware, down which they traveled to the Schuylkill. Here they were made prisoners by the Minguas, but were ransomed by Captain Hendrickson for "kettles, beads and other merchandise."

After Hendrickson, no other European is known to have explored the Delaware till 1623. In that year Captain Cornelius Jacobsen Mey was sent out by the East India Company, accompanied by two other vessels. He sailed in the "Blyde Broodschap" (Glad Tidings) with Adrien Jories or Jorissen second in command, aboard the "De Endragt." After a brief stay at New Amsterdam, Mey sailed south, and arriving at what is now Cape May, to which he gave his name, found a look-out which had been left there by Cornelius Hendrickson, of the "Onrest," when he entered the Delaware.

Mey made a settlement at a place which the natives, whose chief was Techaacho, called Hermaomissing, about the mouth of the Sassackon, the most northerly branch of what is now called Timber Creek, where a fort was erected and called Fort Nassau, after a town on the upper Rhine. This was the first attempt to establish a permanent settlement in West or South Jersey—five years after the Dutch explorations in Bergen County. Mey and his associates did not remain long, however, though the exact time of their departure is unknown.

According to the deposition of Catelina Tricho, the colonists who built

¹ In the New Jersey Historical Collections Bergen is represented as the oldest village in New Jersey. It was "founded in 1616 and received the name from Bergen, in Norway." Thomas F. Gordon, in his "History of New Jersey," published in 1834, presumed that between 1617 and 1620 a settlement was made at Bergen and that the name was taken from the capital of Norway.

Fort Nassau were accompanied by females. In the "Documentary History of New York" is this curious record:

New York, February 14, 1684-5.

The deposition of Catelina Tricho, aged four score years or thereabouts, taken before the right hon'ble Collo. Thomas, Lieut. and Governor under his Royll high'ss James, Duke of York and Albany, etc., of N. York and its Dependencies in America, who saith and declare in the pr'sens of God as followeth:

That she came to this Province either in the year one thousand six hundred and twenty-three or twenty-four, to the best of her remembrance, an that four women came along with her in the same shipp, in which the Governor, Arien Jorriessen, came also over, which four women were married at sea, and that they and their husbands stayed about three weeks at this place, and then they with eight seamen more went in a vessel by orders of the Dutch Governor to Delaware river and there settled. This I Certify under my hand and ye Seale of this province.

Tho. Dongan.

A second deposition by Catelina Tricho, made in 1688, before William Morris, sets forth that in the year 1623 (this time she says 1623 and not 1624) she came into this country on the ship called "Unity," of which Tienpont was commander. As soon as they came to "Mannatans, now called New York," they sent two families and six men to Harford River, two families and eight men to Delaware River, and eight men they left at New York to take possession, and the rest of the passengers went with the ship as far as Albany, which they then called Fort Orange; that there were about eighteen families aboard who settled themselves at Albany and made a small fort, and as soon as they had built themselves some huts of bark, the Indians came and made covenants of friendship. She says she lived in Albany three years, and in 1626 left that place and settled in New York.²

Captain Mey, wherever he steered, bore with him the esteem of the natives, who long contrasted his conduct with the wrongs of his successors.

In 1631, eight years after the erection of Fort Nassau, Captain David Pieterszen De Vries, another Dutch navigator, who had sailed from the Texel on December 12, 1630, arrived in the Zuydt, or Delaware River, "bringing with him a colony of thirty-four persons and the proper implements for the raising of tobacco and grain and the carrying on of whale and seal fisheries."

Their first landing was at a place which the Dutch called Hoar-Kill, now Lewes, on the west side of the bay. It is believed that some of the company took possession of the log fort and other improvements on the east side of the river, at the mouth of the Sassackon. De Vries soon returned to Holland, leaving the colonists in command of Gillis Hosset. During his absence, on account of outrages, particularly upon the Indian women, they were exterminated by the natives. Returning in December, 1632, De Vries found no trace of the colony at Hoar-Kill or Hoornekill, as it is sometimes spelled, save their skulls and bones.

² The colony on Manhattan from which came the settlement of New Amsterdam, later changed to New York, was not Dutch, but Walloon, that is, Belgian and French. The colony planted there in May, 1624, was sent out by the Dutch West India Company, under charter of the States-General of the United Netherlands. It consisted of "thirty-two families, mostly Walloons," according to the Dutch historian, Nicholas van Wassenaer, writing at the time of the sailing of those colonists. These Walloons were Belgian and French Huguenots, who refused to change their faith at the command of the King of Spain, and who fled for refuge from persecution to Holland, where at Leyden they were neighbors of the Plymouth Pilgrims. The idea of coming to America was conceived by Jesse de Forest, a Walloon of Hainault, who first sought from the British government permission to settle in Virginia. That permission being refused, he turned with better success to the Dutch West India Company, then recently formed, and led his comrades to the region which had been discovered and explored by the Dutch under the lead of the Englishman, Henry Hudson, but which had not been permanently colonized. In later years thousands of Dutch came to Manhattan and far outnumbered the original Walloons. It is always to be remembered, however, that it was the Dutch government, then the freest in Europe, that had generously given the Walloon fugitives asylum and protection and that made it possible for them to come hither and found "New Belgium."

Of those who crossed the river from Hoar-Kill to Fort Nassau we have this interesting record: De Vries, on his return from Holland, in 1632, formed a new treaty with the Indians and in order to obtain provisions ascended the river above Fort Nassau. Pretending to comply with his request, the natives directed him to enter Timmerkill, now known as Cooper River. A bluff on the river bank furnished a convenient place for their designs upon the unsuspecting Dutch, but the interposition of an Indian woman saved them from destruction. She warned De Vries of the plot and said that a number of whites in a boat had been killed by the Indians. They may have been a remnant of those left at Hoar-Kill the year before. De Vries was near the mouth of Timmerkill when thus warned. Fort Nassau, or so much of it as remained, was occupied by the Indians. On approaching the fort a score or more of Indians boarded his vessel. De Vries told them that the Manitou or Great Spirit had revealed their designs and that they would be punished if they did not leave the vessel.

Meantime, expecting that De Vries and his companions were killed, in true Indian fashion, the men at the fort indulged in an exulting dance. They were thus engaged when De Vries hove in sight with his lugger. Beside him was a swivel, which "not until that day had received a swabbing." The Indians, who had already pillaged the fort, were much surprised. They surrounded the Dutch vessel in their canoes and some of the braves boarded her, perhaps on De Vries' invitation.

He said to these as to the others, that their treachery had been revealed by Manitou, and that he had been directed to use his "big thunder" on them if they refused to leave the vessel at his command. The Indians did as the Great Spirit directed, and thus not only saved their own lives, but the fortunes of the Dutchmen. This bloodless capture and reprisal, abreast of Timber Creek, was the first if not the most illustrious naval engagement on the Delaware.

Disappointed in obtaining provisions, De Vries left a part of his crew in the bay and proceeded to Virginia, where, as the first visitor from New Netherlands, he was kindly received and his needs supplied. Returning to the Delaware and finding the whale fishery unsuccessful, he hastened his departure for Holland, by way of New Amsterdam, taking with him the remaining colonists. Thus twenty-five years from the time of the discovery by Hudson, not a single European remained on the shores of the Delaware.

The story of Penelope Stout and of her rescue by a friendly Indian, after the murder of her husband, in the days of the Dutch occupation, is familiar to most students of New Jersey history. As the incident happened in East Jersey, it does not pertain to a history of South Jersey. There is, however, one circumstance connected with this narrative of Indian chivalry that is worthy of record. It is known, of course, that after reaching New Amsterdam she married Richard Stout, previous to 1648, at which time she and her husband settled at Middletown, Monmouth County. The old Indian who had saved her life used frequently to visit her after she settled at Middletown. On one occasion she noticed that he acted as though he had something on his mind. The story is that he "gave three heavy sighs," after which she asked why he was depressed. He told her he had something to tell her in friendship, though at the risk of his own life, which was, that the Indians were that night to kill all the whites. He advised her to go to New Amsterdam and she asked how she should get off. He told her he had provided a canoe at a place which he named. "Being gone from her she sent for her husband out of the field, and discovered the matter to him, who not

believing it, she told him the old man never deceived her, and that she with her children would go." Accordingly, going to the place appointed, they found the canoe and paddled off. When they were gone the husband began to consider the thing and sending for five or six neighbors, "they set upon their guard." About midnight they heard the dismal war whoop; presently came up a company of Indians; the whites first expostulated, and then told them if they persisted in their bloody design they would "sell their lives very dear." Their arguments prevailed; the Indians desisted, and entered into a league of peace, which was kept without violation.

Old Fort Nassau on the Delaware—After the discovery in 1492 and until 1584 no attempt was made to colonize the New World. Most of the voyages were for additional discoveries—to find, if possible, a passage to far Cathay. In 1584 Sir Walter Raleigh, having fitted out an expedition, landed on the coast of North Carolina. Others made voyages as far north as Newfoundland. During the seventeenth century there were fairly accurate surveys of rivers and bays by latitude and longitude.

As the territory was vast, extending from Newfoundland to South Carolina, it was quite impossible for Great Britain to hold actual possession. Beyond protesting against settlements at the mouth of the Hudson, Great Britain made no effort to dispossess the Dutch. The Raleigh charter included New England, New York, New Jersey, and other lands adjacent to the coast. New Jersey was thus originally a part of Virginia, within the bounds of what was afterwards known as the Plymouth Colony.

Presuming that their claim to New York would not be disputed, the Dutch sent an expedition to the Delaware under Capt. Cornelius Mey, who in 1623 sailed up the river as far as the mouth of Big Timber Creek. An account of this adventure is given on preceding pages. The landing was at a point near the present Gloucester City, and theirs was the first white settlement in West Jersey. Captain Mey built a log stockade for protection against the Indians, and named it Fort Nassau, after a town in the Rhinish Provinces. While the people traded with the Indians, Mey employed his time in exploring the territory. He finally returned to New Amsterdam, leaving a small colony at Fort Nassau.

The region was again visited by Europeans in 1631, when Capt. David Pieterse De Vries, on behalf of the Dutch West India Company, touched there, intending to establish a colony, having ample stores for the purpose. He found that the first settlers had been murdered or carried away and old Fort Nassau destroyed. He erected a new fort, which naturally was named after the first. The erection of this new fort led to confusion as to the site of Old Fort Nassau. After its destruction, the first settlement was known as the "old fort."

The location of the second fort may have been on the south side of Big Timber Creek, for at that time the Swedes were attempting to establish colonies in the New World, and disputed all claims to prior discoveries. They first settled at the mouth of Raccoon Creek and established a community as far inland as Swedesboro, southward to Salem Creek and northward to Raccoon Creek. To give color to their claim, they purchased the land from the Indians.

About this time, also, Charles I granted a charter to Lord Ployden, who settled at the mouth of Pensaukin Creek, and attempted to found a principality. He established an order of knighthood known as the "Albion Knights of the Conversion of the Twenty-three Kings." A thousand knights, barons,

viscounts, merchants and other adventurers were preparing to emigrate when the Swedes suddenly swept down upon him and drove him and his followers out of the territory. For twelve years the Dutch and Swedes disputed this territory. Finally an English fleet captured New Amsterdam. Then all the territory under Dutch and Swedish Dominion passed into the possession of Great Britain.

After the battle of Sedgemoor, when the Duke of Monmouth was defeated and his army dispersed or captured, many of those who escaped into Wales or France, assuming to be Quakers, obtained the protection of William Penn, who in the meantime had become one of the assignees of Byllynge. From a favorable report by George Fox, founder of the Quakers, who had visited this section and recommended it as an asylum for his persecuted people, Penn established a colony in New Jersey in 1676. After landing at Raccoon village, at the mouth of Raccoon Creek, they were driven out by the Swedes and landed at Gloucester. They finally founded the city of Burlington, which afterwards became the shire town of West Jersey.

While these facts were known for two hundred and ninety-five years, and in later years the history of old Gloucester was regarded with pride, no effort was made to have the events marked by a monument to commemorate them until 1919, when the late John H. Fort, of Camden, prepared a bill, which was introduced in the Legislature by Harry T. Rowland, of Camden. It was passed by the Senate and Assembly and carried an appropriation of \$500 for the erection of a granite boulder or shaft, with a bronze tablet, giving historical data.

Thereupon, Governor Walter E. Edge appointed the following commission: President, John H. Fort, Camden County; Frank H. Stewart, Gloucester County, and Alfred M. Heston, Atlantic County, representing old Gloucester County. The citizens of Gloucester City appreciated the honor of having the town marked as the most likely site of Fort Nassau, as was evidenced by the fact that its City Council granted to the Old Fort Nassau Monument Commission the privilege of erecting a monument in its City Square. At the dedication, on November 22, 1920, over a thousand of its citizens turned out in parade, with three bands of music. Among the paraders were the local Masonic Lodge, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, Red Men, Knights of Columbus, and all the school children of both the public and parochial schools, the latter singing patriotic airs. A descendant of one of the Revolutionary families, Miss Martha Powell, unveiled the monument, Father Maurice E. Brick delivered the benediction, and Rev. R. A. Conover the invocation.

The monument is of pink granite. It is eleven feet six inches high and four feet six inches thick. A bronze tablet, with a model of the Dutch ship "Wolvis," is bolted to the shaft and bears this inscription:

Erected by the State of New Jersey in 1919 to commemorate the first white settlement in West Jersey, at the mouth of Big Timber Creek, and the erection of Old Fort Nassau, by the Holland Dutch in 1623, under Captain Cornelius Jacobese Mey, of the Dutch West India Co. Commissioners—John H. Fort, Alfred M. Heston, Frank H. Stewart.

CHAPTER IV.

ALBION KNIGHTS IN NEW SWEDEN.

Following De Vries, the English attempted to colonize South Jersey. About the year 1633 a company of noblemen and gentlemen, calling them-

selves the Albion Knights, under a grant from Charles I, settled in New Jersey, but neither the number nor exact location can be determined. Sir Edmund Ployden, or Loeyden, was Lord Proprietor and Captain-General, while Beauchamp Plantagenet was made agent of the knightly settlers. Plantagenet, at a later date, put out a prospectus, entitled: "A Description of the Province of New Albion; and a Direction for Adventurers with small stock to get two for one, and good land freely. And for Gentlemen, and all Servants, Labourers, and Artificers to live Plentifully"—and so on and so on—a ponderous title for a pamphlet of thirty-eight pages. On a map printed in 1651, "Lord Delewar's Bay and River" were laid down with the remark: "This river the Lord Ployden hath a patten of, and calls it New Albion, but the Swedes are planted in it, and have a great trade of Furrs."

Plantagenet claimed descent from the royal house which had given England her first three Edwards. His first visit to New Albion was in 1636, but on this occasion he ascended the Delaware a distance of only sixty miles and did not, therefore, meet his countrymen, who had already built a fort at the mouth of the Pensaukin, where they were residing in patient expectation of the golden reign of Ployden himself.

These followers of Ployden were all extreme Royalists, who fled from the fierce spirit of democracy which began to shake the throne of Charles ere he had fairly seated himself upon it. They listened with dismay to the republican nomenclature which had begun to prevail, such as "cavaleers, independents, roundheads and malignants," which Beauchamp describes as "new names and terms like an unknown language, unheard of in all the globe as far as our antipodes."

The settlers at the mouth of the Pensaukin were Captain Young, his nephew, the famous Robert Evelin, and thirteen other traders, who seated themselves in the country of the Amarongs, after whose chief Eriwoneck, they named their first fort. At this fort, the exact site of which is now lost, Evelin and his uncle kept up a trade with the Indians for four years, or until 1637, when Evelin returned to England.

Just when Earl Ployden came to New Albion is unknown, but he was here in 1641, as will be presently shown. He and the royal Plantagenet "marched, lodged and cabinned together among the Indians." So few Royalists, however, redeemed their pledge to Ployden by leaving England and joining him in his new earldom that, disgusted with the treachery of the men he had loaded with titles and promises, he finally returned to England with his faithful Plantagenet. The latter, however, decided to make another effort to settle the country, and, accordingly, his book on New Albion was revamped and sent forth in 1648, but in vain. In the whirlwind that now seized the popular mind, more eloquent pens than Plantagenet's were unheeded. New Albion was written into oblivion!

Of the mode intended to be pursued by these knights in proselyting the Indians, Plantagenet has left us a hint, for he tells us that any gentleman out of employment and not wishing to labor might come to New Albion, "and live like a devout apostlelike soldier, with the sword and the word to civilize and convert them to be his majesty's lieges, and by trading with them for furs, get his ten shillings a day," which he thought much better than contracting with the government at home "to kill Christians for five shillings a week."

Beauchamp Plantagenet was here in person about seven years and became well acquainted with the country and the Indians. A government was formed and the machinery of civil administration put in operation, but its

duration did not last longer than nine years, or until the year 1642.

The authority of these knights in the region now known as New Jersey was apparently confined to the present bounds of Burlington, Camden, Gloucester, Salem, Cumberland, Cape May, and Atlantic counties. Probably some of those who, years afterwards, welcomed Penn to the shores of the Delaware were the survivors of these Albion Knights.

Of Earl Ployden little is known, except that he was of ancient family, who derived their name from their bravery in resisting the Danes; that he had served King James I, in Ireland, and that he was a rank monarchist. Foreseeing, probably, the storm which was brooding over England, and anxious to provide an escape from the terrors it promised all friends of royalty, he petitioned Charles I, and procured a tract of land in America, of whose limits we can premise that they embraced all of Southern New Jersey, Delaware and the eastern shore of Maryland. As to its length, Robert Evelin, writing in 1648, says: "I take it to be about 160 miles." As to the coast line he adds: "I find some broken land, isles and inlets, and many small isles at Egday (meaning Egg Harbor, above and below Atlantic City), but going to Delaware Bay, which is 24 miles at most, the country is, as I understand, very well set out and printed in Captain Powell's map."

The Dutch were not dismayed by the exploitations of Ployden and Plantagenet. They continued to assert their dominion on the Delaware, in spite of the English occupancy. About that time another company of English emigrants sought a settlement on the Delaware. In 1641, during the administration of William Keift, the Dutch governor, fifty families were sent out from England by the New Haven Company, with a view of effecting a permanent settlement. They touched at New Amsterdam on their way to the Delaware, where they were to take possession of lands lately purchased from the New Haven Company by Captain Nathaniel Turner. Previous to this, a small party of Englishmen, under the command of Captain Holmes, had proceeded to the vicinity of Fort Nassau, where they were arrested by the Dutch and sent as prisoners to Manhattan.

Fort Nassau was not yet non-existent. At a still earlier date (about 1633) attempts were made by Governor Wouter Van Twiller to improve the settlements of New Netherlands. Arent Corssen was then commissary at Fort Nassau. Orders were issued that Fort Amsterdam should be rebuilt and strengthened, a church erected for general worship and a mansion raised for the Director General. A "large house with balustrades" was to go up at Fort Orange for the use of the commissary, with smaller buildings for the other settlers, and "one large house" at Fort Nassau, presumably for the commissary. It is recorded that the "garrison at Fort Nassau had been greatly reduced and perhaps at times entirely dispersed; yet the post had never been finally abandoned and Director General Van Twiller resolved that it should now be strengthened anew."

Captain Turner's company of Englishmen, already mentioned, was instructed to keep in close touch with the mother country. They were to plant the lands and engage in trade; also establish churches in "gospel order and purity." This company, consisting of nearly fifty families, sailed in a vessel belonging to one Lambertson. The vessel was commanded by Robert Coggs-well. They touched at New Amsterdam and thus apprised the Dutch of their project. William Keift was then Governor and he immediately issued the following testy and lofty protest:

I, William Keift, Director General, in behalf of the High and Mighty Lords of the States General of the United Provinces, of his Highness of Orange, and the Noble

Lords Directors of the Privileged West India Company, residing in New Netherlands, make known to you, Robert Coggswell and your associates, not to build nor plant on the South River, lying within the limits of New Netherland, nor on the lands lying along there, as lawfully belonging to us, by our possessing the same long years ago, before it was frequented by any Christians, as appears by our forts which we have thereon, and also at the mouth of the rivers sealed with our blood, and the soil thereof, most of which has been purchased and paid for by us, unless you will settle under the Lords, the States and the Noble West India Company, and swear allegiance and become subject to them as the other inhabitants have done. Failing whereof, we protest against all damages and losses that may accrue therefrom, and desire to be holden innocent thereof.

It is true that the lands in question had been "purchased and paid for" by the Dutch at various times. One of the three ships that came over in 1629 visited an Indian village on the southwest corner of Delaware Bay and the agents aboard purchased from three Indian chiefs, in behalf of Samuel Goodyn and Samuel Bloemmaert, a tract of land, above Cape Henlopen, thirty-two miles long and two miles wide. The following year on May 5, 1630, other tracts were purchased of nine Indian chiefs, in behalf of the same Dutch gentlemen, including sixty-four square miles on the Cape May peninsula. The Cape May purchase was made by Peter Heyser, skipper of the ship "Walvis" (Whale) and Giles Coster, commissary. It was the first purchase of lands from the natives within the limits of New Jersey. Subsequently, the Dutch purchased other lands along the Delaware as far up as the present site of Trenton.

To the protest of Governor Keift, Captain Coggswell replied that it was not his intention to settle his company under the Dutch government, if any other place could be found, but should they settle within the limits of the States General, they would become subjects to the government. The company then proceeded and finally reached a place which they selected for a settlement not far from the Delaware, on a small stream called Varcken's Kill or Hog Creek, now Salem Creek.

It is not certain whether these English settlers were aware of the rights and claims of Ployden and Plantagenet, but finding the Albion Knights in the country as holders of a grant from the English Crown, they submitted to the rule of Sir Edward Ployden, to whom they swore allegiance in the presence of the earl's commissioners. This fact attests the presence of the earl in 1641. Shortly afterwards they found themselves in need of protection and assistance, which Earl Ployden was unable to render, and their settlement having been observed by Jan Janssen Van Ilpendam, the Dutch commandant, who resided at that time (1642) at Fort Nassau, he apprised Governor Keift of the situation. Keift immediately ordered two vessels to be dispatched to the Delaware to disperse the Coggswell colony. This order was speedily obeyed.

The Dutch entered upon the settlement at Varcken's Kill (Salem Creek), took possession of the goods, "not even suffering their servants to take a just inventory," burned the trading houses and detained a number of the people as prisoners, in spite of the fact that the English, as they averred, had "duly purchased of the Indian sachems and their companions several parcels or tracts of land on both sides of Delaware Bay or River, to which neither the Dutch nor Swedes had any just title."

The commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, upon investigation, directed Governor Winthrop to remonstrate with the Swedish Governor Printz, and to claim indemnity for the losses, amounting to one thousand pounds. Winthrop addressed letters to both Keift and Printz, but received no satisfactory answer.

In their subsequent account of this affair the English said: "The Dutch Governor compelled Mr. Lamberton, our agent, to give in at the Manhattans an account of what beavers he had traded within the New Haven limits at Delaware, and to pay recognition for the same. That John Johnson (Jan Janssen Van Ilpendam) the Dutch agent, with the Swedes Governor at the Delaware, charged Mr. Lamberton as if he had plotted with the Indians to cut them off—a capital crime, for which they imprisoned and tried him, but could bring no proof to satisfy themselves, who not only accused but sat as judges; yet they set a fine upon him for trading within New Haven limits."

The attack of the Dutch upon the settlement at Varcken's Kill led to no further hostilities. After the retirement of the forces sent out from Manhattan, the Dutch commander at Fort Nassau continued at his post and was directed by Keift "to take care and preserve dominion and to defend the honor of the High and Mighty States, and of the Honorable West India Company."

However necessary this vigilance may have been, with respect to the New Haven settlers, whose destination, after they left Varcken's Kill, is unknown,¹ it was scarcely necessary with respect to the Albion Knights. If possessed of any ability for combat, Earl Ployden was not disposed to offer any opposition to the Dutch. He was less apprehensive of the Dutch than of the Swedes and is reported as saying that "he would have no misunderstanding with the Dutch, though he was much offended with and bore a grudge against the Swedes."

This brings us to a consideration of the Swedes. The first Swedish colonists in America landed near the mouth of Christiana Creek on March 29, 1638. A monument, marking the site of their fort, was erected by the Delaware Society of Colonial Dames in 1903. This fort was destroyed by the Dutch, who regarded the Swedes as intruders. The Swedes built another fort about 1642, on the island of Tinicum or Tennekong, just below the mouth of Timber Creek, where their governor, John Printz, built an elegant mansion, called Printz Hall, and started a fine orchard. The principal freemen are also said to have had their plantations on this island.

Printz received his commission as Governor John I, of New Sweden on August 16, 1642. His annual salary was \$1,200 in silver, with an allowance of 400 rix-dollars for expenses. The Secretary of State received eight rix-dollars per month and the gubernatorial barber ten. Printz arrived in the Delaware on February 15, 1643, and after administering the government in person for more than ten years, sailed for Sweden the latter part of 1653, leaving his son-in-law, John Papegoya, in charge. The latter was called John II. During Printz's administration he had a number of disputes with the Dutch, and to a suggestion from the latter that they were the earliest settlers on the Delaware and consequently the rightful owners of the land, Printz replied that "the devil was the oldest possessor of hell, but he sometimes admitted a younger partner."

Governor John Printz ruled his subjects along the Delaware with a high hand. His first act was a violation of his instructions from the crown of Sweden, and in his whole reign of ten years he acted independently of the mother country. Printz, indeed, was more despotic at Tinicum than Gustavus at Stockholm. It is related that he forbade many emigrants to land, and that in returning to Sweden some of them perished. Most of those who

¹In his "Ancestral Heads of New England Families," Frank R. Holmes says one Robert Cogswell was at New Haven, Connecticut, in 1643 (one year after the fiasco on Salem Creek), whence he removed soon thereafter."

were permitted to land were kept in slavery, being employed in digging the earth, throwing up trenches and erecting fortifications. He even sent back a whole cargo of convicts whom the government at home had transported to the Delaware River shore. The settlers in New Sweden were by him divided into four estates or classes, the lowest of which, the slave class, were vagabonds, malefactors and the victims of Sweden's triumphs in war, who were employed in all the base services of pure villenage, equal in severity to that of the middle ages. This fourth and lowest class of Printz's subjects were kept apart from the other classes, and confined to particular spots of land, which they dare not leave, except upon the bidding of their masters.

John II reigned two years and then resigned the scepter to John Risingh—John III—the last of the viceroys of New Sweden, on whose doors "Icha-bod" was thereafter written. That year (1655) witnessed the coming of Peter Stuyvesant, who was governor of all Dutch America, and right valiantly did he watch and defend the rising empire of the States-General in the New Netherlands.

The Swedes and Dutch had previously formed a compact to dispossess the Albion Knights, and in this joint effort they were partially successful. The compact, however, was soon broken. The Dutch complained that the Swedes exercised too much freedom with their vessels as they passed up the river, sending men aboard to know whence the vessels came. This, the Dutch claimed, was exercising too much authority in a country not their own.

Finally, in August, 1655, Stuyvesant fitted out an expedition of six or seven hundred men and seven ships. He sailed up the Delaware and captured Fort Elsinburgh (near Salem), then held by the Swedes. He also captured other forts on the Delaware, including Tinicum, plundering the inhabitants of their possessions and killing their cattle. The officers and principal inhabitants among the Swedes were carried as prisoners to New Amsterdam and thence to Holland. The common people, consenting to submit to the Dutch rule, were allowed to remain in the country.

Although the fort was surrendered "for want of men and ammunition," it seems that the latter was an article entirely superfluous on both sides, as all these "battles" between the Swedes and Dutch were decided in this wise: Taking it for granted that the most numerous party would conquer, if they fought, they also took the fighting for granted, and solved the problem of victory by an equation of noses. After some diplomacy, this philosophical appeal to arithmetic instead of to the sword and gun was consented to by the Swedes. The latter were outnumbered by the seven hundred Dutchmen, and the standard of Holland therefore waved in bloodless triumph over the ramparts of Tinicum.

But the Dutch were not long in possession of the country they had wrung from the Swedes. In the course of a few years Indians, Swedes, and Dutch, were all brought into subjection to the English. The Swedes and Dutch hated each other too heartily to have any ill feeling left for Charles II of England, who, on March 12, 1664, granted to his brother James, the Duke of York, all "New England from the St. Croix to the Delaware," and directed the Dutch to be dispossessed.

Accordingly, a bloodless conquest of the South Jersey settlements was made in October, 1664. The same year the Duke of York conveyed the territory of New Jersey to John, Lord Berkeley, and Sir George Carteret and in 1673 Berkeley in turn conveyed his moiety or half part to John Fenwick for the sum of one thousand pounds sterling and a royalty of forty beaver skins annually. The money for this purchase was provided by Edward

Byllynge, who had become involved with his creditors, and to avoid the payment of his debts had procured the conveyance to his friend Fenwick. The number of Byllynge's creditors and the amount of his debts led to close inquiry in regard to his estate, and it was discovered that he was interested in a transaction designed to defraud his creditors. The truth of this Byllynge at last admitted. The matter was finally settled by Fenwick relinquishing all but one-tenth of the grant, the balance being placed under the control of William Penn, Gaven Laury, and Nicholas Lucas, trustees of Byllynge.

CHAPTER V.

THE DUKE OF YORK AND ENGLISH SUPREMACY.

In the matter of the subjugation of the Swedes and Dutch on the Delaware, the right of England to the soil of New Jersey and the establishment of English sovereignty on the Delaware and Hudson, we have recourse to a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. In a case involving title under Indian grants, (Johnson against McIntosh) Chief Justice Marshall, in delivering the opinion, said:

On the discovery of this continent the great nations of Europe were eager to appropriate to themselves so much of it as they could respectively acquire. Its vast extent offered an ample field for the ambition and enterprise of all, while the character and religion of the inhabitants afforded an apology for considering them a people over whom the superior genius of Europe might claim an ascendancy.

The potentates of Europe found no difficulty in convincing themselves that they made ample compensation to the inhabitants of America by bestowing on them civilization and Christianity in exchange for unlimited independence. * * * They established the principle that discovery gave title to the governments by whose subjects or by whose authority it was made, against all other European governments, which title might be consummated by possession.

The exclusion of all other Europeans necessarily gave to the nation making the discovery the sole right of acquiring the soil from the natives and establishing settlements. It was a right with which no other nation could interfere; a right which all asserted for themselves and to the assertion of which by others all assented. The relations which were to exist between the discoverer and the natives were to be regulated by themselves. No other power could interpose.

The rights of the original inhabitants were in no instance entirely disregarded, but were necessarily, to a considerable extent, impaired. They were admitted to be the rightful occupants of the soil, with a legal as well as just claim to retain possession, and to use it according to their own discretion; but their rights to complete sovereignty were necessarily diminished and their power to dispose of the soil at their own will, to whomsoever they pleased, was denied by the fundamental principle that discovery gave exclusive title to those who made it.

While the different nations of Europe respected the rights of the natives, they asserted the ultimate dominion to be in themselves. As a consequence of this ultimate dominion, they claimed and exercised a power to grant the soil while yet in the possession of the natives. These grants were understood to convey a title to the grantees, subject only to the Indian right of occupancy.

The most eminent of our American jurists thus minimizes the opinion of an eminent New Jersey historian, Thomas F. Gordon, who says: "By an act of flagrant injustice and tyrannical usurpation the English overthrew Dutch dominion in North America, after it had subsisted for more than half a century."

The English set up their claims to the whole of the Dutch New Netherlands by virtue of surveys made by John and Sebastian Cabot in 1497-98, and if the Dutch had any valid claim, it was not recognized by England. When the latter protested against Dutch occupancy to the States-General of Holland, the reply of the Dutch was that the enterprise was not that of

the Dutch Government, but the Dutch West India Company. Under the prevailing rule, the Dutch inhabitants were intruders in a land discovered by another power, and if their intrusion was not supported by a license from the King, they were subject to expulsion.

On account of this intrusion and for other reasons, to be stated hereafter, Charles II made the grant to the Duke of York in 1664. It was in the nature of an ordinary conveyance of land holden of the King "as of our manor in East Greenwich, in the County of Kent, in free and common socage." By the same letters patent the Duke was granted power to govern all the King's subjects who should adventure themselves in the lands.

The Duke sent out four of the King's fleet to take possession of the country. There is some doubt as to who was in command of this fleet, but it was either Sir Robert Carre or Colonel Richard Nicolls. As stated on a preceding page, there was a bloodless conquest. The Dutch settlers were not ejected from the lands occupied, or deprived of their liberties.

After Colonel Nicolls had established the English authority, he issued a proclamation, publishing the terms whereby the inhabitants might acquire property. The first condition was an Indian title by purchase from the sachems, to be recorded before the Governor. Purchasers were not to pay the Governor for the liberty of purchasing from the Indians. They were to set out a town and inhabit together, and no purchaser was to contract with a sachem without a special warrant from the Governor.

Liberty of conscience was allowed, provided such liberty was not converted to licentiousness or the disturbance of others in the exercise of the Protestant religion. The several townships were to have liberty to make their particular laws and decide all small cases within themselves.

In heeding the advice of his courtiers to take possession of the New Netherlands, the King was influenced by his enmity toward Holland, rather than by any love for his trans-Atlantic subjects. His sentiments were also enforced by the interest of the Duke of York, who had placed himself at the head of a new African company, with the view of extending trade and profiting by slavery. The Duke's company found its slave traffic impeded by the Dutch.

It should be noted, also, that the subjugation of the settlements on the Delaware was not completed until 1668. Meantime, public affairs in that region were conducted by Dutch magistrates, under the supervision of Captain John Carre, aided by a council consisting of Hans Block, Israel Holme, Peter Rambo, Peter Cock, and Peter Aldrick, from whom an appeal could be taken to the Governor and Council at New York.

The Duke's proclamation, noted above, ended by declaring that every township should have the free choice of officers, both civil and military, and those who took the oath of allegiance, if not servants or day laborers, were to be esteemed free men of the jurisdiction. They could not forfeit that character without due process of law.

The subsequent conveyance of West Jersey to Carteret and Berkeley, noted in a preceding chapter, was dated June 23, 1664. No specific consideration was named, but it was declared to be a competent sum of good and lawful money. The granting clause bargained, released and confirmed to Berkeley and Carteret the whole of New Jersey, with all the rivers, mines, minerals, woods, fishing, hawking, hunting and fowling and all other royalties, profits, commodities and hereditaments appertaining to said lands, in as full and ample manner as the same had been granted to the Duke of York. The habendum was that the lands thus conveyed were to yield to

the Duke of York, annually, twenty nobles of royal money of England, if the same should be lawfully demanded at the Inner Temple Hall, London, at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel. As the title to lands conveyed by Charles to his brother was all that the King possessed by right of discovery, it was the only title which Berkeley and Carteret acquired from the Duke. Indian titles were undisturbed by this conveyance.

Berkeley and Carteret commissioned Philip Carteret as Governor of New Jersey, with power to nominate a Council, consisting of not more than twelve or less than six, unless the constituents should choose all or any of such Council. On the same day (February 10, 1664-65) Berkeley and Carteret issued what they called the "Concessions and Agreements of the Lords Proprietors of Nova Caesarea or New Jersey, to and with all and every the adventurers and all such as shall settle or plant there."

The relationship between Sir George Carteret and Governor Philip Carteret has been the subject of doubt and inquiry for many years. Collins' "Peerage," published in 1735, is full of information regarding the Carterets. It traces minutely the ancestry of Sir George, but gives no particulars regarding Governor Philip. However, in the "Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society," for the year 1867, a Carteret pedigree is quite clearly and minutely traced back to 1500, and the ancestry of Philip Carteret is clearly shown, from which it appears that Sir George, the Proprietor, and Philip, the Governor, were fourth cousins.

As neither of the Proprietors, Berkeley or Carteret, were in New Jersey, obviously it was impracticable to confer title upon purchasers by actual conveyances from Berkeley and Carteret. The long distance and the slow transmission of letters and papers seemed to forbid such an attempt. It is true that they might have constituted the new Governor their attorney in fact, to make the necessary conveyances, but they did not do so. On the contrary, they devised a very ingenious scheme which, if their title to the lands in New Jersey be considered by itself (says Justice Swayze, of the New Jersey Supreme Court), lacked legal correctness.

The scheme which Berkeley and Carteret set out for the general planters and purchasers was this: The Governor and Council, with the General Assembly (if there was any) were to divide all lands, and the Governor was to issue a warrant, directing the Surveyor-General to lay out such a number of acres as the applicant was entitled to; the Surveyor-General should then certify to the Chief Secretary or Register the location and number of acres laid out, and thereon a warrant should issue directing the Chief Secretary to prepare a grant of such land to the purchaser in fee, yielding, however, and paying yearly, on March 25, one-half penny of legal money of England for every acre. To this grant the Governor was given power to put the seal of said Province and to subscribe his name. The major part of the Council was then to subscribe their names and the grant was to be recorded. It was then declared to be effectual in law for the enjoyment of the lands.

Berkeley's subsequent transfer of West Jersey to a company of English Quakers, headed by William Penn, naturally made the Society of Friends a dominant influence in that province. Salem was settled by Fenwick in 1675 and Burlington and Gloucester two years later. During the succeeding ten years the shore communities of Cape May and Tuckerton came into existence. Indeed, the Quakers of West Jersey established a number of communities in which the life of the people was different from that of East Jersey. Good faith was kept with the Indians, and capital punishment was practically unknown. Disputes were settled by arbitration.

The conveyance by Berkeley was made on March 18, 1672. Meantime, in 1672, New Jersey had been recaptured by the Dutch. They held the colony until the early spring of 1673.

The population of New Netherlands at that time is unknown, excepting only New Amsterdam, whose inhabitants numbered about three thousand. Of these, one half returned to Holland after the surrender. In Bergen County, Dutch settlers were numerous and both shores of the Delaware were studded with plantations of Dutch and Swedes. Three Dutch families were settled at "Lazy Point," now the site of Burlington, and in 1668 Peter Jegow received a license to keep a house for the accommodation of travelers and strangers at this point.

England's second war with Holland, began, as stated, in March, 1672. A Dutch squadron destroyed English colonies on the Virginia coast and proceeded thence for more important work in the vicinity of New York. They had the good fortune to arrive during the absence of Governor Lovelace. Consequently, command of the English devolved upon Captain Manning, who obstructed the preparations of his people and rejected their aid.

On the first intelligence of the enemy's approach, he struck his flag, even before the vessels were in sight. As the Dutch fleet advanced, the garrison showed their readiness to fight, but Manning forbade a gun to be fired, under pain of death. He surrendered the fort, unconditionally, to the invaders. After this extraordinary performance, he repaired to England, and the following year returned to New York, where he was tried by court martial, on the charge of treachery and cowardice. To these charges he pleaded guilty and received a sentence as extraordinary as his conduct the year before, to wit: "Though he deserves death, yet, because he has, since the surrender, been in England and seen the King and the Duke, it is adjudged that his sword be broken over his head, in public, before the City Hall, and himself rendered incapable of wearing a sword, and of serving his majesty in any public trust." The circumstances attending the surrender and the mitigation of Manning's offence serve to prove a statement that the Duke had repented of his sale to Berkeley and Carteret and would stoop to any measure that would restore to him that province.

As a salve for the return of the province to the British, the Dutch received the colony of Surinam (now commonly known as Dutch Guiana), which they had already conquered from the British. The Dutch had no reason to regret this result, since they could not have long preserved New York against the increasing strength and rivalry of the British in New England, Maryland, and Virginia.

Following the Dutch surrender in 1673, a question arose as to the Duke of York's title after that date. His first title, granted while the English were in full and peaceful possession of the country, though apparently good, seemed to have been impaired by the subsequent surrender to the Dutch. The Duke deemed it prudent to remedy this defect by a new patent.

Presumably, another object influenced him in this procedure. It afforded him an opportunity of dispensing with his grant to Carteret and Berkeley, since the Dutch conquest had extinguished the proprietary rights and the country had been acquired, *de nova*, by the crown. About that time, Governor Lovelace having been removed, was succeeded by Edmund Andros, who governed both New York and New Jersey. With respect to the people of New Jersey, it was a case of jumping from the frying pan into the fire. Lovelace was incapable; Andros intollerant.

Apparently, the Duke sought an excuse to effectuate his iniquitous in-

tentions with respect to Berkeley and Carteret, as appears when Carteret applied for a renewal of the charter. Previous to this second grant, Carteret and Berkeley had tacitly agreed upon a partition of the province, the country described being bounded on the southwest by a line drawn from Barnegat to Rancocas.

Though he finally consented to restore New Jersey to Berkeley and Carteret, the Duke endeavored to evade the full performance of his engagement, pretending to have reserved certain rights of sovereignty, which Andros endeavored to assert. When complaints against Andros were made to the Duke, he showed his usual indecision and duplicity. He said he could not depart from a prerogative which had always belonged to him, but directed the relaxation of its exercise, as a matter of favor to his friend, Sir George Carteret. By this time the province had been effectually divided into two jurisdictions and it was in the western part (South Jersey), no longer controlled by Carteret, that the Duke sought to exercise his "prerogative."

The special privilege which he extended to East Jersey served to irritate the inhabitants of West Jersey. They incessantly importuned him for redress. The answer came in the form of a five per cent. tax, imposed by Andros, on all importations of European merchandise. This provoked the people to additional vehemence. Wearied by the importunities of the people, rather than moved by the justice of their complaint, the Duke referred the subject to commissioners, by whom it was finally submitted to Sir William Jones.

The argument in behalf of the West Jersey Colonists was chiefly prepared by William Penn and George Hutchinson, the latter of Hopewell, now Trenton. It breathes a spirit of liberty well worthy the founders of South Jersey. Indeed, it foreshadowed the principles which subsequently found expression in the Declaration of Independence.¹ The Duke, therefore, without further delay, abandoned all claims on West Jersey, confirming the soil and territory in the fullest terms, to William Penn, Gawen Laurie, and Nicholas Lucas, trustees for Byllynge, and to John Eldridge and Edmund Warner, assignees of John Fenwick, according to their several interests. They expressly conveyed the government to Edward Byllynge, his heirs and assigns.

The circumstances under which Eldridge and Warner were named in this instrument are interesting. Measures had been taken, at an earlier date, by Fenwick, then in London, to effect a settlement of the province. Lands were sold to a number of persons with the expectation of settlement. Before Fenwick's departure from England, he borrowed a sum of money from Eldridge and Warner. To secure the payment of this loan he executed a lease upon his portion of the province for one thousand years, allowing Eldridge and Warner to sell so much of the land as would reimburse them in the amount of their claim. The effect of this lease was to place the control of the lands in the hands of the lessees, subject only to a contingent claim remaining with Fenwick. Notwithstanding this conveyance, Fenwick considered himself as still possessing such rights in the province as would warrant him in entering at once and using it for his own particular benefit. In attempting to exercise these rights, he provoked the wrath of Governor Andros, before whom he was taken as a prisoner in New York. The outcome of this proceeding is shown in the history of Salem County.

¹ Unpalatable as the arguments of Penn and Hutchinson must have been to the British court, they were triumphant. The commissioners, on August 6, 1680, pronounced judgment in conformity with the opinion of Jones "that as the grant to Berkeley and Carteret had reserved no profit or jurisdiction, the legality of the tax could not be defended."

Fenwick, in 1675, sailed from London, accompanied by his family and a considerable number of passengers. They landed at a pleasant place on a branch of the Delaware, to which they gave the appropriate name of Salem. Nearby, in 1651, the Swedes had erected a fort as a means of protection against the aggressive Dutch, who proceeded to oust the intruders. The latter chose a most opportune time for their assault, since the Swedes were driven out, not by the guns of the Dutch, but by an invisible and invincible enemy, the mosquitoes. It is recorded that the pesky insects swooped down upon the Swedes in countless numbers and by their persistency compelled them to abandon their fortification. In honor of these elusive assailants, the place was thereafter known as Moschettoesburg.² Under the law of 1906 much work was done in the northern counties. It showed surprising results in the lessened number of mosquitoes. As a result of an investigation made in 1913, shore line property values between Jersey City and Rumson were found to have increased over five million dollars.

Last year (1923) the New Jersey Mosquito Extermination Society, at their annual meeting in Atlantic City, resolved to urge an appropriation of one million dollars by the State to complete the work of stamping out the pest in the undrained saltmarshes. It was pointed out that of 296,000 acres of salt marsh mosquito breeding areas, only one-half have been drained. Ten counties in the State, where the salt marsh mosquitoes breed, spent \$280,000 in 1923, while the State appropriated only \$18,000. Undoubtedly, it is the business of the State rather than the counties to rid New Jersey of the pestiferous night-buzzer, the invisible enemy of those who would lie down in peace to sleep.

CHAPTER VI.

SETTLEMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF COUNTIES.

From the date of the "concessions," in 1676, to the meeting of the first Legislature, on November 25, 1681, West Jersey was governed by proprietary commissioners. Nine commissioners were appointed by the Proprietors, with power to divide and sell lands, to lay out towns, etc., until March, 1680, at which time, and thereafter, eleven commissioners were to be elected annually by the people, until a General Assembly could be chosen.

Soon after the purchase, the Proprietors resolved upon the division of their territory into ten parts and each of these ten parts into ten smaller precincts, the whole constituting one hundred shares or proprietaries. The commissioners were to "mark in the register and on some of the trees" in each of the ten parts the letters A to K (omitting the I) as a means of designating the respective party. The inhabitants of each division were empowered to elect one commissioner (one hundred in all), and for the "avoidance of noise and confusion," all elections were to be by ballot.¹

²The domination of mosquitoes in parts of New Jersey, during the summer, is now nearly at an end. Conditions similar to the above have existed in South Jersey and North Jersey, too, since the earliest days. Finally, in 1901, the nuisance became so intolerable that a few public-spirited citizens of East Orange resolved upon a movement that would eliminate mosquitoes as one of the by-products of New Jersey. These Orangemen had little information as to the habits and varieties of mosquitoes, so necessary in the work of elimination, and their work proved more or less discouraging because, in spite of the money spent and the work done, there were times when great hordes of mosquitoes infested the community.

About that time, the late Dr. John B. Smith, State Entomologist, and one of the greatest pioneers in this work, began to investigate the situation, and proved beyond doubt that inland mosquitoes sometimes come from the salt marsh. Dr. Smith created so much interest and was so successful in proving possible elimination of this pest that he finally succeeded in getting the Legislature to pass an act appropriating \$350,000 for the work. Subsequent legislatures added to this fund, as did the governing boards of counties in which the work of extermination is prosecuted.

¹At no time were the full one hundred elected. There were no commissioners from the four lower tenths, which then comprised the present Cape May County, Maurice River Township in Cumberland and Egg Harbor, then attached to Cape May, but now the County of Atlantic.

The commissioners were also instructed to favor certain Yorkshire settlers, for themselves and their friends, who were described as "a considerable number of people who might speedily promote the planting of the said province," in the choice of tenths. They specially mentioned Thomas Hutchinson, Thomas Pearson, Joseph Helmsley, George Hutchinson, and Mahlon Stacy. Others, who purchased ten or more proprietaries, were to select from the remaining parts, and after all such were satisfied, any others who could make up among themselves the requisite number might elect to settle in any tenth not already appropriated, the commissioners being empowered to see that such tenth part was laid out and divided into ten proprietaries.

To encourage emigration, the Proprietors offered certain inducements, as follows:

1. To all persons who, with the consent of one or more of the Proprietors, should transport themselves or servants to the province before April 1, 1677, seventy acres "for his own person and the same for each able man servant; also fifty acres for each "weaker servant," male or female, exceeding the age of fourteen; also fifty acres to every servant, at the expiration of his service.

Upon lands of this class there was reserved an annual quit-rent of one penny an acre in towns, and a half-penny elsewhere, the rent to commence two years after the lands were laid out.

2. To masters and able servants arriving before April 1, 1678, fifty acres; weaker servants, thirty acres; servants after the expiration of their service, thirty acres.

Upon lands of this class the quit-rent was one penny and a farthing an acre in towns, and three farthings elsewhere.

3. To every freeman arriving in the province between April 1, 1678, and April 1, 1679, with intention to plant, forty acres; every able man servant forty acres; weaker servants, twenty acres; servants at the expiration of service, twenty acres.

Upon lands of this class the quit-rent was one and a half penny an acre in towns, and one penny elsewhere.

Lands thus granted were to be holden on condition that every hundred acres contain at least two able men servants or three weaker servants, and proportionately for a greater or lesser number of acres. In event of failure to comply with this condition, the occupant was given three years to complete the number of servants; and if within the three years, the holder of the lands failed to provide the requisite number of servants, the commissioners, on the verdict of a jury of the neighborhood, were empowered to dispose of the lands not "planted with the due number of persons, for any term not exceeding twenty years, to such other person as would plant the same, reserving to the proprietor his rents." This proceeding could be vacated by the General Assembly, should they judge it to have been "impossible to keep such number of servants."

It was further provided that every Proprietor who personally inhabited his tenth should maintain one person for every two hundred acres. Proprietors who did not emigrate and therefore did not inhabit in person were required to keep one person on every one hundred acres. Failure in this respect necessitated the disposal of the lands as above.

In 1677, eight of the commissioners from London, representing the trustees of Byllynge, arrived in the ship "Kent," Gregory Marlow, commander, and landed their passengers, two hundred and thirty in number,

about the mouth of Raccoon Creek, where the Swedes had some scattered habitations. One commissioner, Richard Guy, had preceded them in the ship "Griffin," which landed at Salem in 1675. Those aboard the "Kent" were too numerous to be provided for in the houses, and some were obliged to lay their beds and furniture in cow stalls and stables. Snakes were so numerous, moreover, that they were frequently seen under the buildings in which the settlers were sheltered. As a result of this exposure, one commissioner, John Kinsey, died at Shackamaxon, now a part of Philadelphia. He was buried at Burlington, in ground appropriated for a burial ground, but now a street. The other seven commissioners were Thomas Olive, Daniel Wills, John Penford, Joseph Hemsley, Robert Stacy, Benjamin Scott, and Thomas Foulke. They were not only empowered to administer the government for the Proprietors, but also to protect the rights of two companies of Friends, one from Yorkshire and one from London. The eight commissioners then proceeded further up the river, landed at Chygoe's Island (from Chygoe, an Indian chief, now Burlington Island), and fixed upon the site of the present city of Burlington. They were afterwards joined by most of the Griffin colonists.

The settlers applied to the Swedes on Raccoon Creek for interpreters, that they might treat with the Indians, and Israel Helmes, Lacy Cock, and Peter Rambo, were recommended for that purpose. They purchased, on September 27, 1677, of the Indian chiefs Mohocksey, Tetamchro, and Apperinges, all the land from Oldman's Creek to Timber Creek, giving in exchange therefor "30 match coats, 20 guns, 30 kettles and one great one, 30 paire of hose, 20 ffadome (fathom) of duffels, 30 petticoats, 30 Indian axes, 30 narrow howes, 30 barrels of lead, 15 small barrels of powder, 70 knives, 60 paire of tobacco tongs, 60 sissors, 60 tinshaw looking glasses, 70 combs, 120 aul blades, 120 fish hooks, 2 grasps of red paint, 120 needles, 60 tobacco boxes, 120 pipes, 200 bells, 100 jewesharps and 6 anchors of rum."

The land above Timber Creek, as far north as the Rancocas, had been previously purchased (September 10, 1677), of Katamas, Sekappio, Penato alias Enequeto, and Rennowighwam, the consideration being 46 fathoms of duffels, 30 blankets, 150 pounds of powder, 30 guns, 200 fathoms of wampum, 30 kettles, 30 axes, 30 small hoes, 30 awls, 30 needles, 30 looking glasses, 30 pairs of stockings, 7 anchors of brandy, 30 knives, 30 bars of lead, 36 rings, 30 jewesharps, 30 combs, 30 bracelets, 30 bells, 30 tobacco tongs, 30 pairs of scissors, 12 tobacco boxes, 30 flints, 10 pewter spoonfuls of paint, 100 fish hooks and 1 gross of pipes. This bargain was witnessed by Andrew Swanson, Swan Swanson, and Lacy Swanson. During the winter the Indians supplied the settlers with corn and venison.

The Yorkshire commissioners, Hemsley, Stacy, Foulke, and Emley, the latter taking the place of Kinsey, having the preference, on behalf of their constituents, chose the tract between the Falls of the Delaware and the Rancocas, which was called the first tenth. The London commissioners, Olive, Penford, Scott, and Wills, selected lands below the Rancocas, and proposed starting a town at Axwamus, an Indian settlement near the present site of Gloucester. Theirs was called the second tenth.

When the Yorkshire commissioners, who had proposed locating near the Falls, found that the others were likely to settle at such a distance, they proposed to the Londoners that if they would fix upon a site further up the river, they would join them in starting a town, and that they should have the larger share, in consideration of the Yorkshire settlers having the "best lands in the woods."

Being few in numbers and the Indians numerous, the Londoners agreed to this proposition. Accordingly, the commissioners employed a surveyor named Noble, who had come over with Fenwick, to lay out a town plot. After determining on the main street, Noble divided the land on each side into lots, assigning the easternmost to the Yorkshire Proprietors and the rest to the London settlers. The town thus founded was called Beverly, afterwards changed to Bridlington, and finally to Burlington.

In the same year (1677) two other vessels arrived in the Delaware, one the "Willing Mind," with about seventy passengers, all of whom were landed near Salem, and the other the "Martha," with one hundred and fourteen passengers, who were landed at Burlington. A year later, in December, 1678, the ship "Shield" reached Burlington, the second* vessel to proceed so far up the river. The passengers went ashore on the ice. About the same time another vessel arrived at Burlington and among the passengers was John Kinsey, son of the commissioner who had died after the landing at Raccoon Creek. The care of the family had devolved upon young Kinsey. He became a man of prominence in public affairs, and his son was the distinguished Chief Justice Kinsey, of Pennsylvania.

Samuel Jenings, whom Byllynge appointed Deputy Governor in 1680, called an Assembly in November, 1681, and with them agreed upon certain fundamental principles of government. In May, 1682, for greater convenience in the administration of justice, the province was divided into two jurisdictions, with a court of quarter sessions, a sheriff, and clerk. These jurisdictions were named from the two towns which they included—Burlington and Salem. No provision was made for the convenience or welfare of the people living in the middle district, embracing the territorial limits of old Gloucester. Accordingly, the Legislature enacted "that the two distinctions or divisions, heretofore called the Third and Fourth Tenths, be and is hereby laid into one county named, and from henceforth to be called, the County of Gloucester, the limits whereof, bounded with the aforesaid river, called Crapwell (formerly called Pensaukin), on the north, and the river Berkley (formerly called Oldman's Creek) on the south." It is supposed that the eastern boundary was intended to be a right line drawn between the headwaters of these two creeks.

The counties of South Jersey grew out of the division of the region below Trenton into tenths. It was found, however, that the surveyor, having located the sixth tenth within the area of the present county of Cumberland, was unable to survey the remaining four lower tenths within the remaining area. As the region was then unsettled, the survey was discontinued and the six divisions accepted, as they met the necessities of those living in the settlements along the river, between Salem and Burlington.

The first and second tenths, with other lands, became the county of Burlington, embracing the present counties of Mercer and Hunterdon, the third and fourth tenths became the county of Gloucester, which originally included the counties of Atlantic and Camden, and the fifth and sixth tenths became the county of Salem, which originally included the present county of Cumberland, excepting Maurice River township.

* Contrary to the generally accepted statement that the first vessel to ascend the Delaware as far as Burlington was the ship "Shield," in 1678—a misstatement of New Jersey historians—the first Englishman to reach the Falls of the Delaware, or the present site of Trenton, was a lieutenant under Captain Thomas Young, who had received a commission September 23, 1633, from the English Government, granting him power to establish Trading Posts in America. On August 29, 1634, he navigated his ship up what is now called the Delaware River as far as he could conveniently go, and then anchored three leagues from the falls. On September 1, 1634, he sent his lieutenant in a shallop up the river to investigate its condition and report whether his boats could pass beyond the falls. Thus the young lieutenant, in 1634, was the first Englishman to visit the Falls of the Delaware.

Cape May County was erected in 1692, at which time it assumed jurisdiction over old Egg Harbor. Subsequently (1694) Egg Harbor was attached to Gloucester and later it became the county of Atlantic. The original bounds of Cape May also included the present Maurice River Township, Cape May County. That Cape May assumed jurisdiction over Egg Harbor is evidenced by the records of that county for the year 1693. On March 20, the court sitting at Coxe Hall, on the bay side, appointed John Somers, living at what is now Somers Point, as supervisor of roads and constable of Great Egg Harbor. An act passed in 1694 setting forth that "the inhabitants of Egg Harbor shall belong to the jurisdiction of Gloucester County to all intents and purposes," was supposed to determine the political status of old Egg Harbor, but it required another act of the Legislature, in 1709, to settle a dispute between Gloucester and Burlington, and incidentally the status of Egg Harbor.

It is a matter of record in old Gloucester County that the "proprietors, freeholders and inhabitants of the third and fourth tenths"—those living in the territory between Pensaukin and Oldman's Creek,—met at Axwamus (Gloucester) on May 28, 1686, and organized a jurisdiction or county by the adoption of a so-called "constitution." Up to that point the generally accepted theory that May 28, 1686, marked the beginning of Gloucester County is correct. This meeting was held pursuant to authority given by the Legislature on the preceding May 15. It is this last indisputable fact that upsets the statement by historians, since the time of Mulford in 1834, including Gordon, Mickle, and Lee, that "Gloucester is the only county in New Jersey that can deduce its existence from a direct and positive compact between her inhabitants," with "full powers of legislation."

The people of the third and fourth tenths, when they met to organize themselves into the county of Gloucester, did only what they were duly authorized to do by the West Jersey Assembly. To Dr. C. E. Godfrey, Director of the New Jersey Public Record Office at Trenton, belongs the credit of dispelling an accepted tradition as to the origin of Gloucester County, and numerous errors in a hitherto accepted authority—Leaming and Spicer's "Grants and Concessions."

Dr. Godfrey says:

In my endeavor to ascertain the origin of Gloucester County, I was surprised to find in such standard histories as Mickle's "Reminiscences of Old Gloucester," Mulford's "Civil and Political History of New Jersey," Tanner's "Province of New Jersey," and Cushing and Sheppard's "History of the Counties of Gloucester, Salem and Cumberland," that there were no legislative sessions held in the Province of West New Jersey between November 25, 1685, and November 3, 1692; and that by reason of this circumstance and other political disturbances in the Provincial government, the people of the third and fourth tenths "seized upon the first opportunity" of organizing the County of Gloucester by an instrument dated May 28, 1686, which has become locally famous as the County Constitution.

Dr. Godfrey adds:

I examined Leaming and Spicer for the laws enacted by the West Jersey Assembly in November, 1692, and find, at page 510, that legislative sessions were held in this province in the months of May and November in every year "for several years past." This fact, in connection with the allegation that no sessions were held between 1685 and 1692, induced me to test the accuracy of Leaming's and Spicer's work, by comparing that publication with the original manuscript contained in a book entitled "Concessions, 1681-1699," in the office of the Secretary of State. The minutes show that on May 15, 1686, the West Jersey Assembly gave the people residing in the third and fourth tenths permission to establish a Court in Gloucester County, to be held alternately at Newtown and Red Bank, and appointed William Warner, sheriff, and John Reading, clerk thereof.

Further comparison discloses the fact that on page 426 (Leaming and Spicer), the first paragraph is substituted in the manuscript by a provision for the laying out of lands, which is omitted in the printed text. The first fifteen sections, immediately following are imperfectly printed; and, with the exception of the 25th section, none of the remaining sections appear in the manuscript record.

The proceedings of the West Jersey Assembly enumerated by Leaming and Spicer, from pages 502 to 506, are alleged to have been held on November 25, 1685. On the following page, 507, commence the deliberations of the same Assembly on November 3, 1692. In comparing this work with the original manuscript, it will be found that the resolve terminating on page 506 is incomplete, and that the same is followed in the manuscript by six other resolutions of equal importance; closing with a paragraph, showing that the legislative session closed on November 28 (instead of November 25, as stated by Leaming and Spicer), 1685, to convene again on the 12th of the ensuing May. Besides these omissions, Leaming and Spicer also omit from their compilation, the entire proceedings of the West Jersey Assembly from the 12th to the 15th of May, in 1686, comprising nine large manuscript pages.

Dr. Godfrey thus casts serious doubt upon the accuracy and completeness of Leaming and Spicer's "Grants and Concessions," which has been considered an authoritative record of New Jersey's early history. Unfortunately, among the early settlers there were malcontents and fomenters, also despoilers and reprobates who merited condign punishment. Civilization has not repressed crime, nor has religion, morality, temperance, prohibition or legislation placed all of the criminals in jail. It has been said and commonly believed that the early Quakers on the Delaware were opposed to the use of malt and spirituous liquors. With equal positiveness, it has been said they were opposed to slavery. Both statements are subject to qualification.²

Not only in Gloucester County, but throughout South Jersey, where the Quakers dominated, there was intemperance and crime. One was a custom of the times; the other the result of England's policy of sending felons to America. South Jersey got her full share of the latter. Consequently, we find the justices and grand jury of Gloucester County making a presentment in 1689, criticizing the county officials "for their not erecting a common goale for the securing of prisoners." whereupon Daniel Reading undertook to "build a goale" which was to be "a logg house of 15 or 16 feet square, provided he may have one lott of land conveyed to him and his

²The early Quakers were by no means opposed to malt and spirituous liquors. Indeed, we are indebted to one of that sect for the introduction of the term "wet goods"—as applied to intoxicants. Jacob Heston, a collateral ancestor of the author and immediate ancestor of a number of leading citizens of old Gloucester, including the Whitneys, of Glassboro, Thomas Whitney Synnott, of Wenonah, and Mrs. Charles Evans, of Atlantic City, conducted a general store at what is now known as Cooper's Point, Camden, in connection with his son Thomas, afterwards a Revolutionary colonel and founder of Heston's Glass Works, later called Glassboro. Another son of this good Quaker was also a fighting Quaker—Colonel Edward Heston, founder of Hestonville, now a part of Philadelphia. The father of these two fighting Quakers was responsible for the following advertisement, which appeared in the "Pennsylvania Journal" on January 11, 1775:

"To be Sold—by Little and Flower, at their store in Second street, six doors above Arch street, sixty tons of Batsto pig iron. Likewise, to be sold at the store of Jacob Heston and Company, near Samuel Cooper's Ferry, opposite the city of Philadelphia, a large and neat assortment of wet and dry goods."

Wet goods were in common demand, even among the Quakers. William Penn, greatest of them all, had his private brewery. Gabriel Thomas, the historian of Penn's day, was an eye witness to the brewing of spirituous liquors by the founder and others, both in West Jersey and Pennsylvania. In writing of the wonderful vineyards and orchards, he says:

"Next, I shall proceed to instance the several sorts of wild fruits, as excellent grapes, red, black, white muscatel and fox, which upon frequent experience have produced choice wine, being daily cultivated by skillful vinerons; they will in a short space of time have very good liquor of their own, and some to supply their neighbors, to their great advantage, as these wines are more pure and much more wholesome; the brewing trade of sophisticating and adulterating of wines, as in England, Holland (especially) and in some other places not being known there yet, nor in all probability will it in many years, through a natural probity so fixed and implanted in the inhabitants, and (I hope) like to continue."

Again, on another page, he says:

"The common planting fruit trees are apples, from which a kernel (without inoculating) will shoot up to be a large tree and produce very delicious, large and pleasant fruit, of which much excellent cider is made, in taste resembling that in England pressed from pippins and pearmains, sold commonly for ten and fifteen shillings per harrel; pears, peaches, etc., of which they distill a liquor much like the taste of rum or brandy, which they yearly make in great quantities."

heirs forever, and ye sd house to serve for a prison till ye county makes a common goale, or until ye sd logge house shall with age be destroyed or made insufficient for that purpose." At the same time William Royden undertook to "convey ye lott he being paid three pounds for the same at or before ye next courte."

Gloucester County was then without a court house, and the courts were held at taverns or private houses. It had been ordered in December, 1695, that "a prison be with all convenient expedition built 16 feet long, 12 wide in the clear, and 8 foot high, to be made of loggs, with a floor of loggs, above and below, covered with cedar shingles, and a partition to the middle." This order was changed on June 1, 1696, so as to require a prison twenty feet long to be built in Gloucester, with a court house over the same, and with all convenient expedition finished, to be paid out of the last county tax.

Twelve years later, the necessities of the county required increased conveniences, so that on October 5, 1708, the Grand Jury, "being mett together at Gloucester to consider of the present imergancies of the same," did consider it necessary that an addition of twelve feet in the clear be annexed to the old building of stone and brick, two stories high, "with a stack of chimneys joining to the old house, and itt be uniform from ye foundation to the court house." The cost was met by a tax of one shilling upon every one hundred acres of land, six pence per head for every horse and mare more than three years old, two pence for neat cattle, three shillings for each negro over twelve years old. This was "to be paid in current silver money or corn, or any other country produce, at money price, to be delivered and brought into the county treasury at his dwelling house."

This building did not satisfy the public taste, for on "the fifth of the second month called April," 1715, the justices and freeholders determined to build a jail twenty-four feet long, nine high, wall two feet thick, &c. This building was finished in 1719, the old court house and prison being sold in March, 1719, to William Harrison for eight pounds. In December of the same year the new building was declared to be defective, and the authorities resolved to tear it down "to ye lower floor and rebuild upon the same foundation, with good fresh lime and sand." The plan and specifications were set forth with great particularity and care. The meeting adjourned to meet in June following "to inspect the work done and to allow or disallow ye same according as it is acted."

Ordinarily, the stock as a "machine for holding the feet and hands of criminals" is associated with primitive New England and the whipping post with little Delaware. Nevertheless, South Jersey was not without her stocks and whipping post. Among the entries on the Gloucester County clerk's book, in 1689, is this: "It is agreed by this meeting that a payor of substantial stocks be erected near the prison, with a post at each end, well fixed and fastened with a hand cuff iron att one of them for a whipping post."

In the minutes of the justices and freeholders in March, 1786, an entry shows that the question was whether the court house and jail should be repaired, or whether the Legislature should be petitioned for a law to enable the inhabitants to erect new buildings. The majority voted for new buildings to be erected in such place in the county as a majority of the people should determine by vote. Immediate action was taken. An election was held, which resulted in the choice of Woodbury, and a court house and jail were erected in 1787. John Bispham offered a lot four rods front and fifteen rods back, which was unanimsly accepted. At a special meeting on December 6, an appropriation of fifty pounds was made to pay for the lot.

Three thousand five hundred pounds were ordered to be raised as needed for the buildings. When a final settlement was made, on June 19, 1790, it was found that the cost of the court house and jail in the money of today was \$12,286.

The question of removing the seat of justice to Camden was frequently agitated during the early part of the nineteenth century, and in November, 1824, an act was passed by the Legislature to take the vote of the people. The election was held on the 8th of February, 1825. It resulted in a vote of 2,516 for Woodbury, and 1,640 for Camden. Woodbury, therefore, continued to be the county town.

Twenty years later (Atlantic County having been, meanwhile, set off from Gloucester) there was a revival of the old-time opposition to Woodbury as the county seat, which culminated in a movement to further dismember old Gloucester.

The Legislature of 1843-4 was Democratic and given to gerrymandering schemes for political advantage in all parts of the State. Gloucester County sent a divided delegation—Joshua P. Browning, to the Council; Nathan T. Stratton, and Thomas B. Wood, Democrats, and Samuel W. Cooper and Benjamin Harding, Whigs, to the Assembly. The Democrats prepared to form Camden County out of the upper townships. Instead of making the division on the present natural line, they ran it so as to annex Washington Township (then including Monroe) and secure the vote of Wood, living in that township. Mr. Stratton opposed the bill and voted with the Whigs. It passed by a party vote of thirty-one to twenty-three, except Stratton, Field and Swackhamer, Democrats, who voted with the Whigs. The Council passed the bill by a vote of ten to eight—Browning voting against it.

Thus the original third and fourth tenths became a trinity of counties—Gloucester, Atlantic, and Camden—but happily, the bounds of Gloucester were restored to the proper lines in 1871, when the Legislature passed an act re-annexing Washington and Monroe townships to Gloucester County.

Selfish interests undoubtedly played a part in the dismemberment in 1844. This is evidenced by the later narrative of Hon. John F. Bodine, of Williamstown, long since deceased. At a meeting of the West Jersey Surveyors Association, in 1878, Judge Bodine said:

In the winter of 1844 application was made by residents of Camden to set off Camden, Waterford, Newton, Union, Delaware, and Gloucester townships into a new county, to be called Camden. At that time one of the members of the Legislature from Gloucester County lived near Williamstown. He was strenuously opposed to the new county and knew that the sentiment of Washington township was also against separation. Our member came from Trenton one Saturday and showed me remonstrances against the passage of the bill, which had been placed in his hands. He assured me that he would heed the remonstrants. Next week we learned to our dismay that the bill had been re-committed and the township of Washington added to those included within the bounds of the proposed county. The bill was then passed, our Washington township member reversing himself and voting for adoption. Soon after the Legislature adjourned he removed to Camden, having in the meantime been appointed clerk of the new county.

When Washington and Monroe townships were restored to Gloucester County, in 1871, Judge Bodine consented to serve the county as Senator. He was afterwards appointed a lay judge of the county.

CHAPTER VII. TURMOIL AND DISSENSION.

The political axiom, "All men have their price," is commonly ascribed to Walpole. It was true of those who manipulated public affairs in Colonial

days and it is, unfortunately, true of some men in high places today. Even as these lines are written the daily papers are reporting the embezzlement of \$225,000 by the Governor of a Western State. In the United States Senate, also, at this writing, a former Cabinet officer is accused of having accepted a bribe of \$100,000 to dispose of government oil reserves, from which one of the bribers admitted he would realize one hundred million dollars as his share of the loot. The accusing member said, on the floor of the Senate: "It is far more infamous for a government official to sell government oil fields to private interests than for Benedict Arnold to sell or try to sell a rocky fortress on the Hudson to the British army."

Turning from these recent instances of corruption in high places, we note what an honorable citizen of South Jersey was impelled to say, in very truth, of a man whose name is familiar in the annals of the State, one whose book on the "concessions" is found on the shelves of attorneys and public libraries throughout the State. John Clement, of Haddonfield, long a member of the New Jersey Court of Errors and Appeals, antiquarian and president of the New Jersey Historical Society, said, in 1879:

In 1752 a number of people formed an association to bring about the sale of lands in Cape May County, still owned by the West New Jersey Society, of London, of which Lewis Johnson was the general manager in New Jersey. He lived in Perth Amboy and was a man of more than ordinary ability. The association was too tardy to suit some people in Cape May County, whereupon Jacob Spicer, one of the members, determined upon a plan to obtain title to the lands and then sell them to others at a profit. He proceeded secretly to carry out his scheme. In August, 1756, he went to Perth Amboy and secured an interview with Johnson. In the course of the conversation Spicer discovered that Johnson was given to conviviality, and recalling the saying, "when wine is in, wit is out," he proceeded to profit thereby. While the agent was deep in his cups, Spicer induced him to sign a deed, dated August 7th, of that year, conveying the remaining lands in Cape May County to himself for three hundred pounds—a ridiculously low price. The purchaser returned to Cape May, seemingly well satisfied with his bargain. Subsequently, his neighbors called it "sharp practice." Johnson himself was so ashamed of his conduct that, conscience stricken, he tried to make amends in his will, some years afterwards, by bequeathing one thousand pounds to the London society as part payment of the money out of which it had been wronged. When Spicer's conduct was revealed, there was much ill feeling toward him in Cape May County. He was slighted and even abused by his neighbors, including his former associate, Aaron Leaming. The controversy was long and bitter and culminated in a public meeting on March 26, 1761, in the Presbyterian church, at which time Leaming, on behalf of the people, submitted certain questions to Spicer. These the latter did not answer satisfactorily and a suit in chancery was threatened. Spicer was not moved by this threat and continued to hold the estate until his death, when it passed by will to his son Jacob, who, in 1795, conveyed his rights to an association. Subsequently, the Legislature passed acts of incorporation, strengthening the association's title and enlarging its powers, going far to establish the rights of riparian owners on the coast of New Jersey. The validity of these titles was afterwards questioned and later court decisions and acts of the Legislature seemed to ignore them altogether. Jacob Spicer, senior, never recovered the confidence of the people of Cape May County. His old friend and law partner refused to recognize him thereafter.

Early in 1760, fourteen months before the turbulent meeting, George May was appointed South Jersey representative of the West New Jersey Society. He settled on the Great Egg Harbor River, built a landing and founded the present May's Landing, county seat of Atlantic County. Undoubtedly, duplicity, bribery, corruption, confiscation, theft, overriding of the popular will and other forms of rascality characterized the early politics of New Jersey.

With respect to West Jersey, the disputations began with the convening of the first Legislature on November 25, 1681. The members disagreed with the new Pennsylvania government concerning the ownership of certain is-

lands in the Delaware and it required years to settle that dispute. In a little while there was a serious rupture between Governor Byllynge, still in England, and the new Assembly. Deputy Governor Jenings, the personal representative of Byllynge, arrived in September, two months before the convening of the Legislature. With his personal council and an elected Assembly, Jenings formed the first General Assembly, at which time Burlington was fixed upon as the capital of the province, though provision was afterward made for the holding of alternate courts at Salem.

It was not until fifteen years later that the quaint Gabriel Thomas wrote in his little history of West Jersey: "Burlington is the chiefest town, but Salem is the ancientist," adding, on another page: "Gloucester-Town is a very fine and pleasant place, whither young people come from Philadelphia in the wherries to eat strawberries and cream, within sight of which city it is sweetly situated."

Two years after the sitting of the first Legislature, the old question of title and government, with respect to the rights of the Duke of York, Berkeley and Carteret and those to whom Berkeley had sold his proprietary rights, came before the Assembly. In all of these matters William Penn was an interested party and advised with Governor Jenings. Indeed, there is credible authority for the statement that "in her early Colonial days New Jersey learned a lesson of sobriety from Pennsylvania." Penn was accustomed to sail up the Delaware in his barge to his manor house at Pennsbury, above Bristol, and on these journeys he would stop at Burlington to see Jenings. The Jerseymen assembled with Jenings were accustomed to put aside their pipes in order not to offend Penn, who disapproved of smoking. On one occasion he came upon them unawares, "before they had time to conceal the evidence of their dissipation," and noticing their embarrassment, Penn remarked, pleasantly, that he was glad they had the sense of propriety to be ashamed of smoking, whereupon Jenings said: "We are not ashamed, but we desist in order that we may not by our example lead a weak brother into temptation." Jenings could be witty as well as sarcastic.

Following one of these conferences, the Assembly declared that the rights of Berkeley and Carteret had been purchased by Penn and his associates. Jenings acquiesced, whereupon the Assembly, fearing the autocratic Byllynge might remove his deputy, proceeded to elect Jenings to the position of acting Governor. At the same time they renewed their declaration of popular rights. This action seems to have been taken in compliance with a previous recommendation by Penn that the people of West Jersey should "secure themselves."

The advice of Penn, however, was not the only moving force in the proceeding. Doubtless the Assembly's action was taken as the result of previous action on the part of Byllynge, who had asserted that as grantee of Berkeley he had become possessed of political power; which power, however, he withheld from his assigns, in spite of the fact that he was a party to the "concessions" under which his rights were conveyed to Penn and his associates.

The conduct of Byllynge affords an instance of the corrupting force of power and of human inconsistency, even among members of the Society of Friends, whose tenets are founded on brotherly love. To avoid conflict with the Governor, the Assembly delegated Samuel Jenings and Thomas Budd to visit England and explain the necessity of having some one resident of West Jersey duly clothed with authority as governor to approve of legislative enactments. Reaching London, Jenings and Budd stated their case

to Byllynge, who coolly referred the matter to the Society of Friends. The Society in turn submitted it to the "judgment and determination" of George Fox and thirteen other Friends of influence. The award of the referees was made in October, 1684, when eight of the fourteen reported that Byllynge was Governor and that the Legislature had no power to appoint a deputy, nor could a deputy give his approval to legislative enactments. Naturally, this decision did not mitigate the rupture between the Assembly and Byllynge; nor did the death of the latter, in 1687, put an end to the disputations.

Meantime, a new charter, the precise nature of which we are left to conjecture, was given by Byllynge. It was entrusted to Thomas Olive and Thomas Gardner, with instructions to have it recorded, but Dr. C. E. Godfrey, director of the Public Records Office, states that it is not found among any of the parchments at Trenton or Burlington, nor is there any trace of its present existence. This new charter probably restored the government to the footing of the "concessions." At any rate, the Assembly recognized John Skeine, appointed by Byllynge, as his deputy, who served until his death in February, 1688.

On the death of Byllynge, in 1687, his interests were purchased by Dr. Daniel Coxe, of London, who was already a large land owner in the province.¹ The latter soon tired of his possessions, and in 1692 "despairing of an adjustment of the many complications," conveyed most of his lands to the West New Jersey Society, a corporation formed in London, the consideration being nine thousand and eight hundred pounds. The deed of conveyance included 95,000 acres, comprising almost all of the present county of Cape May; also "all the town lots in and near Gloucester-Town and Egg Harbor, in West New Jersey."

One of the first acts of the West New Jersey Society was to declare themselves organized for the purpose of "mutual benefit, profit and advantage," and "the better and more orderly managing and improving of the said hereditary government, lands and tenements."

Setting forth that they reposed "special trust and confidence in the fidelity, prudence, knowledge and provident circumspection" of Jeremiah Basse, the Society appointed him agent, "to inspect and direct ye selling and buying of goods, and to act, observe and doe all such matters as concerned" them in West Jersey. They particularly directed Basse to agree with a French cooper, "now at Plymouth," in the "making of casks, which is the thing we principally aim at, but also in the making of wines and brandy, and when ye season of ye year is fit for it, let him exercise his talents a little in making some wine and send us a cask of each sort, the wine in small casks and the brandy in bottles." In the same letter of instructions they directed Basse to "sell none of ye land that lies convenient for ye whale fishing till ye hear further from us. We mean ye land upon Cape May, lying next ye bay or upon ye sea coast, for that we will not sell." Basse

¹ Under date of September 5, 1687, Coxe communicated with the Council of Proprietors, apprising them of his purchase and explaining his views and expectations. The Council of Proprietors consisted of eleven persons chosen from the general body of Proprietors, with full power to act for their constituency in all matters affecting their affairs. For this they were paid two shillings for each day of actual service. Under their direction the land affairs of West Jersey were conducted for many years, and indeed their "authority" is recognized to this day over all lands belonging to members of the Society. They meet once a year at Burlington and Gloucester and elect officers, whose duties are entirely perfunctory. The first Council of Proprietors was composed of Samuel Jenings, Thomas Olive, William Biddle, Elias Farr, Mahlon Stacy, Francis Davenport, Andrew Robeson, William Royden, John Heading, William Cooper, and John Wills, whose powers and duties, as set forth in the constitution, were the "management of all affairs relating to the landed interests of the Proprietors, the purchasing of land from the natives, the ordering of surveys, the granting of warrants and the inspection of the rights of the several claimants." Meetings were held on "the first and twentieth day of Mareh, by the ninth hour in the morning." Subsequently, the membership of the Council was reduced to nine—of whom five were chosen from Burlington and four from old Gloucester.

is further advised that they also owned fifteen thousand acres, on the north and south sides of Great Egg Harbor River, which land Dr. Coxe had purchased of Thomas Budd, and "said to be the best land in the province."

There seems to have been some delay in Basse's reports to his superiors in London, but that he was not idle or thoughtless of his own comfort is evidenced by the royalty which he inserted in each deed—"two fat capons or hens, delivered at Coxe Hall, Cape May, December 24th, yearly." Doubtless the date of delivery was in anticipation of Christmas revels, which in those times extended through several days of feasting and carousal. The cause of temperance had no advocates, while the evils of intemperance were manifest in every grade of society.

It was no scandal to the church if the rector could drink his wardens and parishioners blind, nor anything to his discredit if he played a good rubber of whist or was an expert with the foils. Commenting on these things, the late Judge John Clement, of Haddonfield, said in 1879: "Well it is that such scenes of wassail and debauchery have passed into oblivion." It was not until January 16, 1919, however, that they were outlawed by the eighteenth amendment.

As the title to almost every acre of land in Cape May County goes back to the West Jersey Society and Jeremiah Basse, and as every title is subject to the tenure of "two fat capons or hens," to be paid once a year in perpetuity, it is plain that should the heirs and assigns of the West Jersey Society make demand for accumulated royalties there would not be found in all of Cape May and Atlantic counties a sufficient number of chickens to satisfy the demand!

Dr. Coxe, non-resident Governor of West Jersey from 1687 to 1692 and grantor of the West New Jersey Society, died in 1730, in his ninetieth year. He was the most eminent physician of his day, a prolific writer on chemistry and medicine, and physician to Charles II and Queen Anne. He was a staunch Church of England man and interested himself in attempting the establishment of that church in West Jersey. Although he received his titles from the English Proprietors, he also made a second purchase from the Indians in 1688. The remaining portions of his vast estate passed by will to his son, Daniel Coxe, who arrived in Burlington in 1702, and was appointed commander of the forces in West Jersey by Governor Cornbury. He was thereafter known as Colonel. After a short stay here, he returned to England, and in 1705 was recommended by Lord Cornbury for a seat in the Governor's Council of New Jersey. Notwithstanding the hostility of the Quakers, he was appointed by Queen Anne in 1706, and soon afterwards sailed for America, when Lord Cornbury appointed him one of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court.

The next year (1707) notwithstanding his hostility to Quakers in general, Colonel Coxe made an exception in favor of Sarah Eckley, the presumably pretty daughter of John Eckley, a Quaker of Philadelphia, with whom he eloped, being married to her by Lord Cornbury's chaplain, who most opportunely happened to be on hand, "between two and three o'clock in the morning, on the Jersey side, under a tree by fire light,"—somewhere within the present bounds of Camden. The gallant colonel is described as a "fine flaunting gentleman." A letter of Margaret Preston, of Philadelphia, written in 1707, thus refers to the elopement of her friend:

The news of Sarah Eckley's marriage is both sorrowful and surprising, with one Colonel Coxe, a fine flaunting gentleman, said to be worth a great deal of money—a great inducement, it is said, on her side. His sister Trent was supposed to have pro-



AETNA FURNACE, TUCKAHOE RIVER

moted the match. Her other friends were ignorant of the match. It took place in the absence of her Uncle and Aunt Hill, between two or three in the morning, on the Jersey side, under a tree by fire light. They have since proselyted her and decked her in finery.

Colonel Coxe was again named as one of the Council in 1708 by Governor Lovelace, but was removed by Governor Hunter in 1713. The next year he was elected by the Swedish vote and again in 1716 as a member of the Assembly from Gloucester County, although Sheriff Harrison, of Gloucester County, was accused of sharp practice to secure his defeat, by removing the polls several miles from the usual place.

Being subsequently retired from official life, Colonel Coxe directed his attention to literature, and published, in 1722, a description of "Carolina," which was republished in 1727 and 1741. He was appointed Grand Master of the Masons in 1730, being the first in America to be thus honored.

A grandson of Colonel Coxe, and the fifth of that name, was prominent in West Jersey at the beginning of the Revolution. He was a zealous Tory, and even the burning of his handsome residence, at Trenton, by the British, during their pursuit of Washington, in December, 1776, did not impair his attachment to the royal cause. for in 1777 he went to New York, where he served until the close of the war as chairman of an association of refugees. Christopher Sower, a publisher of the Revolutionary period, maliciously says he "was appointed to the chair to deprive him of the opportunity of speaking, as he had the gift of saying little with many words." In June, 1779, he wrote to Joseph Galloway, the great Pennsylvania loyalist, then in London, saying:

The current depreciation of their money, at Philadelphia, is fifteen for one; and though there are clubs and private associations endeavoring to support its credit, nothing will do, nor can anything, in my opinion, now save 'em on this point but a foreign loan, and which, though they affect otherwise, I think they cannot negotiate anywhere in Europe, unless all the moneyed nations are turned fools; and if they cannot command a loan, and are prevented from all remittances and trade southward, they must sink, never again, I hope, to rise. * * * In short, they never were so wretched and near destruction as at this moment, and unless some unforeseen event takes place in their favor soon, I firmly expect the next summer must end their independence and greatness. For God's sake, then encourage every degree of spirit and exertion all you can, and quickly; a good push and they go to the wall infallibly.

This letter, written by a Jerseyman, a Tory descendant of old Burlington took no account of the victories at Trenton, Monmouth, and Red Bank. Said Lord George Germain, in the British Parliament, some years afterwards: "That unhappy affair at Trenton! all our hopes were blasted by that unhappy affair at Trenton."

Daniel Coxe, fifth, above mentioned, married, in 1771, the daughter of Dr. John Redman, collateral descendant of Elizabeth Haddon Estaugh, founder of Haddonfield. Dr. Redman was a surgeon in the American army during the Revolution. Mr. Coxe settled in England after the close of the Revolution, whither he was followed by his wife and children. He died there previous to 1828, for in that year the wife brought suit in New Jersey for her dower rights in his confiscated property and received a judgment therefor. She died in Brighton, England, in 1843.

CHAPTER VIII.

PROVINCIAL LINES AND CONFISCATIONS.

As stated in a preceding chapter, bribery, corruption, confiscation, and other evils, were rife in New Jersey in Colonial days. A flagrant instance of bribery—one that cost the people of New Jersey a territory of vast po-

tential value—concerns the determination of the line between New York and New Jersey. The record of this "land grab" has been given piecemeal by various historians, but in no work on New Jersey is there a specific account of an award that robbed New Jersey of a triangular tract, comprising more than two hundred thousand acres. It was a violation of the Berkeley-Carteret charter rights more indefensible than the confiscation of Staten Island in 1664. That affair pertains solely to East Jersey and is therefore not pertinent to this history, but the loss of a vast territory beyond the present northern boundary of the State affected West Jersey pecuniarily, as will be presently shown.

The boundary line between East and West Jersey, now of no political significance, is of particular interest as a matter of history. The line between New York and New Jersey was fixed by the original grant of the Duke of York to Berkeley and Carteret on June 23-24, 1664. It included "that tract of land adjacent to New England, lying westward of Long Island and Manhattan Island, and bounded on the west by Delaware bay or river southward to the main ocean as far as Cape May and northward as far as the northernmost branch of the said river Delaware, which is 41 degrees and 40 minutes of latitude, and crosses over thence in a straight line to Hudson's river in 41 degrees of latitude."

This conveyance clearly places Staten Island within the bounds of New Jersey. It also extends the northwestern corner far beyond the present extreme northern point of New Jersey, opposite Port Jervis. There is no northern branch of the Delaware whose mouth is in latitude 41 degrees, 40 minutes (excepting a small stream on the Pennsylvania side), but there is a stream of considerable importance, now known as Mongaup River, which intersects latitude 41 degrees, 40 minutes, at a point about five miles northwest of Monticello, New York.

The description in the Duke of York's conveyance is somewhat vague; hence we turn to the conveyance of Berkeley's undivided moiety to Fenwick, in trust for Byllynge, and Fenwick's later conveyance of a one-tenth part to Eldridge and Warner; also the latter's conveyance to Penn, Lawry, and Lucas, "the better to enable them, in connection with Byllynge, for whom they had meantime become trustees, to make a partition of the province with Carteret." In these conveyances, after expressly declaring that the province extended northward as far as the northernmost branch of the Delaware, "which is in latitude 41 degrees and 40 minutes," they determined that the line of partition should be a straight line drawn from the most northerly point or boundary on the Delaware to the most southerly point on the east side of Little Egg Harbor Inlet.

The confirmation of the Duke of York, on August 6, 1680, to Berkeley, and his further confirmation on March 14, 1682, to the twenty-four East Jersey Proprietors, recognizes the northern boundary as above described. Latitude 41 degrees and 40 minutes intersects a branch of the Delaware about thirty miles northwest of Port Jervis; consequently New Jersey's northern extremity should be at that point.

The assigns of Berkeley and Carteret were respectively entitled to a moiety of the province, and being unacquainted with its geography they imagined that the line given in the quintripartite deed signed by Carteret, Byllynge, Penn, Lawry, and Lucas, in 1676, would effect their equitable intentions. This idea of equality of partition seems to have prevailed until about the year 1687, when it was questioned by Dr. Daniel Cōxe, who had

come into possession of Byllynge's holdings, following the death of the latter that year.¹

Coxe's suspicion doubtless originated from an inspection of the agreement, made in 1686, between Robert Barclay and others for East Jersey, and Byllynge and others for West Jersey. This agreement provided for the running of a line that would give an "equal division of the province." Pursuant to this agreement, the Proprietors of both provinces entered into bonds to stand by the award of John Reed and William Emley, who in turn engaged George Keith, surveyor-general of East Jersey, to make the survey. Keith actually ran his line as far as the south branch of the Raritan, when protest was made by the West Jersey Proprietors, who claimed that it was too far west. The survey was then discontinued.

During the succeeding thirty years there was considerable uneasiness among the inhabitants on account of fruitless efforts to run partition lines satisfactory to all parties. As a solution to the difficulty the Legislature passed an act in 1719, recognizing the lines given in the quintripartite deed. They also prescribed that a "straight and direct line from the most northerly point in New Jersey, on the northernmost branch of the river Delaware to the most southerly point of a beach on Egg Harbor shall be the division line." Clearly, by "Egg Harbor" is meant Little Egg Harbor, and not Great Egg Harbor, as represented on a map in the first volume of Lee's "New Jersey as a Colony and State." This act further stipulated that "whichever board of Proprietors hath appropriated lands of the other shall have an equivalent of lands in satisfaction," to the end that the "then settlers shall be quieted."

Pursuant to this act and another to establish the boundary line between New York and New Jersey, Governor Hunter commissioned John Johnstone and William Willcocks, of East Jersey, Joseph Kirkbride and John Reading, of West Jersey, and James Alexander, surveyor-general of both divisions, in conjunction with commissioners from New York, to determine which stream is the most northerly branch of the Delaware, and also the place on such branch that lies in latitude 41 degrees and 40 minutes.

The five representatives of New Jersey, in connection with three from New York, after designating the "Fishkill branch" and fixing the point of latitude at certain lowlands in the Indian town of Cosheghton, on the east side of the river, executed an indenture tripartite (New York, East Jersey and West Jersey) certifying as above, after which the West Jersey commissioners retired, protesting that their business was completed. By this action they indicated their determination not to abide by any decision that would alter the original eastern boundary of West Jersey.

Subsequently, a number of ineffectual efforts were made to ascertain the line thus determined, and finally, in 1743, John Lawrence was employed

¹ The word "quintripartite," with reference to the indenture, is used advisedly. Since the time of Smith's history of New Jersey, (1765) and indeed at a still earlier period, the word has been spelled "quintipartite"—without an "r" in the second syllable. It is so spelled in a transcript of the original in the New Jersey Archives, also in Leaming and Spier's "Grants and Concessions," Tanner's "Provinces of New Jersey" and various histories of New Jersey—Gordon's, Mulford's and Lee's. Such spelling is clearly erroneous and is probably the result of a mistake in transcribing. The matter being brought to the attention of the "Century Dictionary," the editor wrote: "Quintripartite (not the erroneous 'quintipartite') might have been invented to suggest a five-person tripartite division; that is, *quinque* (five) and *tripartite*, but the shortened form has no warrant for existence." The editor suggests "quinquetripartite" as the correct word. To the average person that is a "tongue-twister," and the shortened form (without an "r" in the second syllable) having "no warrant for existence," the author of this work on South Jersey has used the more euphonious word of "quintripartite," believing, also, that the London barrister who drew the indenture for Carteret, Penn, Byllynge, Lawry, and Lucas, used a form from which the "r" was inadvertently omitted in transcription. In either case (quintetripartite or quintipartite) the meaning is the same—a three-sided partition of a province by five persons. Neither word, however, is found in the dictionary.

to run such a line. The East Jersey Proprietors recognized the Lawrence line between 1745 and 1765, but the West Jersey Proprietors adhered to the original line.

Meantime, the division line between New York and New Jersey remained unsettled. There were violent pretensions and demonstrations on the part of those living near the lines of the two provinces, which resulted in the interposition of the respective Legislatures and the passage of acts by the two bodies, in 1764, referring the subject to the King. Accordingly, George III appointed seven commissioners, who, at a meeting in New York, on July 18, 1769, determined that the boundary should be a straight and direct line, not from the station point in latitude 41 degrees and 40 minutes, as set forth in the original conveyance from the Duke of York to Berkeley and Carteret and as fixed by the commission of 1719, but from the mouth of the Machhackamack at its junction with the Delaware, in latitude 41 degrees, 21 minutes and 37 seconds, and from that point to latitude 41 degrees on the Hudson.

It has been said (Gordon, p. 75) that by this change New Jersey lost approximately 210,000 acres, all of which was annexed unjustly to New York. The unfairness of this award can be explained only on the ground of corrupt influence. The commissioners were all crown officers and by their award took from the Proprietors of New Jersey large tracts of land and gave them to New York, to be granted by the latter at its pleasure. If the truth were known, undoubtedly some of those confiscated lands eventually reached the commissioners or those disposed to pay generously for ill-gotten gains.

Color is given to this statement by subsequent action on the part of the West Jersey Proprietors in October, 1782. They vainly petitioned the Legislature, then assembled, for a "recompense in value of lands from the general stock of the eastern Proprietors," for which purpose they understood and believed and "it is generally known that certain lands called Ramapoch, belonging to the general stock of the eastern Proprietors and specially excepted in all their warrants, were particularly allotted as an equivalent for the station point being fixed farther eastward than was formerly expected."

In other words, the station point being shifted eastward and necessarily southward of the original point on the most northerly branch of the Delaware, and the eastern Proprietors acquiescing, it is presumptive evidence that their injured feelings, occasioned by the loss of so much land, were salved by a generous gift of stock, known on the books of the East Jersey Proprietors as Ramapoch Stock,—signifying certain possessions pertaining to the region through which runs the river now known as Ramapo, with all its valuable water powers.

The confiscated territory is triangular, having one angle at Port Jervis, another at a point slightly northwest of Monticello, New York, and another near Tappan on the Hudson, within which are populous communities, including Suffern, Tuxedo, and Warwick. This tract has been computed as containing over two hundred thousand acres, all of which would now belong to New Jersey, but for the award of a commission whose personal interests were paramount to the welfare of the people of New Jersey.

CHAPTER IX.

SLAVERY AND SERVITUDE IN NEW JERSEY.

Slavery existed in America long before 1619, when the Dutch traders brought their cargo of human freight to Jamestown. The Aztecs of Mexico enslaved not only their enemies taken in battle, but those of their own nation

who were convicted of theft and other crimes. "By a stern law," says Prescott, "every tax defaulter was liable to be taken and sold as a slave."

Although the younger Las Casas, whose father accompanied Columbus on his first voyage, succeeded in substituting the negro for the Indian, he did not prevent Indian slavery, especially on the mainland, where, for many years, natives, taken as prisoners of war, were held as slaves by the English. European adventurers, also, landing on the coast, enticed Indians aboard ship and sailed away to the settlements, where they were sold into slavery.

In a report made to the States-General of Holland, in 1616, three years before the Jamestown incident, Captain Hendrickson speaks of having discovered and explored "certain lands, a bay and three rivers" (the Delaware, Schuylkill, and Maurice rivers) in the "Onrest," at which time he bought three of the native inhabitants from the Mingoos and Mohawks, who held them in slavery, and for whom he gave in exchange kettles, beads, and merchandise.

In 1640 it was enacted in Massachusetts that there "shall never be any bond slavery" in that province, unless it be the lawful captives taken in "just wars," or such as shall willingly sell themselves.

In New Jersey the Indian never actually sold himself into slavery, nor was there any war of extermination, as in Massachusetts. Nevertheless, a few Indians and half-breeds—off-spring of Indian mothers—were enslaved. Proof of Indian slavery is found in a habeas corpus proceeding in 1797, when Chief Justice Kinsey (grandson of one of the Quaker commissioners sent out in 1677), delivered an opinion in which he said: "The Indians have been so long recognized as slaves in our law that it would be as great a violation of rights to establish a contrary doctrine at the present day as it would be in the case of the African, and as useless to investigate the manner in which they originally lost their freedom."

In 1668 it was enacted that "if any man shall wilfully or forcibly steal away any mankind, he shall be put to death." This may have had reference to a disposition on the part of some of the settlers to press the Indians into slavery. In justice to the founders, it must be said that there was from the beginning a desire to deal fairly and humanely with the natives. Indeed, not to Penn, but to the founders of New Jersey must be credited the honor of treating with the Indians for their lands on the basis of *quid pro quo*—even though the Indian regarded gewgaws and jimcracks, fishhooks and jewsharps, etc., (always with some rum), as an equivalent for his untilled land.¹

One of the earliest enactments touching slavery in New Jersey was that of 1682. It prohibited "trading" with slaves of any kind—negro, Indian or

¹ It is commonly believed that the first purchase of lands from the Indians was by William Penn. Historians and essayists have been satisfied to contrast the humanity and justice of Penn with the violence and cruelty of governors or agents in the other provinces. By inflating the deeds of one they have obscured the merits of others. The Dutch, Swedes and Finns on the Delaware, the English throughout the province, and the Dutch in North Jersey, with one exception, established a just and prudent policy toward the Indians which Penn dared not reject, but gladly followed. The one exception was a massacre of Indians in Bergen County, on the night of February 27, 1643. The Tappan Indians were peaceably disposed, and being harassed by the Mohawks, fled to Communipaw for protection. Flushed with wine and moved by greed for Indian lands, the ignorant and stupid Governor, William Keift, at his home on Manhattan, issued an order for the extirpation of the natives who had sought protection. Eighty Dutch soldiers, under command of Sergeant Rodolf, attacked the sleeping Indians, regardless of sex or age. With brutal atrocity, they massacred eighty aborigines, young and old, the command being: "Each live soldier must get one dead Indian." The bodies of the dead were thrown into trenches. The survivors, supposing they had been attacked by the Mohawks, fled to Manhattan. When the truth was revealed, neighboring Indians waged an unrelenting war from the Raritan to the Connecticut, carrying women and children into captivity and laying waste the homes and farms of settlers in Bergen and Westchester counties. Among the victims was Anne Hutchinson, then living near Hell Gate, New York. She was a religious enthusiast, the leader of an antinomian faction, who had been banished from Massachusetts in 1637.

half-breed. In this, we have further proof of Indian slavery. The number of such slaves, however, was never large.

Perth Amboy was the chief port of entry for the blacks, of whom many, freshly imported, still bore their tribal marks. A child of two or three years could be bought for money equivalent in present values to about forty to seventy-five dollars, and an adult for about two hundred to five hundred dollars. At one time many slaves were landed in New Jersey in order that they might be "run into" New York and Pennsylvania, where a tax or duty was imposed upon them. The Quakers in West Jersey, who were slave owners during the Colonial period, were among the first to raise their voices against the practice; but it was not until long after the death of John Woolman,—the author of the well-known "Journal," who wrote his "Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes," that his protest began to take root among them. Woolman, who was born near Mount Holly, described the slave system in language as strong in its logic, if not quite so vehement in strain, as the Abolitionists, two generations later. He spoke of negro criminals who had been executed in a very terrifying manner. It is not improbable that he had in mind some of the punishments which had taken place in some parts of New Jersey, and for that matter in probably every other community in which negro slavery existed.²

To Woolman, the South Jersey Quaker, more than any other man, belongs the credit of abolishing slavery; indeed, he was the pioneer American in that reform. He did not live to see emancipation begun, even in his own State or among his own people, but the leaven was at work when he died and the result was seen in New Jersey during the lifetime of his immediate friends.

In his "Journal," now an American classic—"the sweetest and purest autobiography in the language," says Canning—Woolman describes American life when the spirit of freedom was moving the hearts of men. Even beyond America, birthplace of freedom, there were murmurings that culminated in the French Revolution, whose victims included John Brissot de Warville, friend of Warner Mifflin, who in turn was Woolman's friend and disciple. Though Woolman himself knew it not, his humble words, in behalf of the oppressed blacks, were ringing in the ears of the Frenchman when he came to America. He passed some time in New Jersey after the Revolution and returning to France lost his head on the guillotine in 1793.

One cannot read "Woolman's Journal" without mental visions—picture after picture of the man of whom Ruskin once wrote: "Get the writings of John Woolman by heart." We see him lying in bed at night, at his home near Mount Holly, seeing a light in his chamber "of a clear easy brightness"—a light that was "most radiant near its center." "As I lay there," he says, "words were spoken to my inward ear; not the effect of thought, nor any conclusion in relation to the appearance, but as the language of the Holy One spoken in my mind."

² Virginia was the first State in the Union to legislate against slave trade, and Massachusetts the first to legislate in favor of it. Massachusetts threatened to secede if Congress enacted a law against it. Having grown rich in the business of capturing Africans and selling them, they suddenly became filled with virtue. No one who is familiar with the history of the American slave trade can forget that it was fostered by mercenary New Englanders who went to Africa, chained the native and brought him to this country. "In 1770," says Hon. Alton B. Parker, in "Americana (January, 1924) Virginia protested against the (further) introduction of African slaves," and to this protest the King responded, with "instructions under his own hand commanding the Governor, upon pain of the highest displeasure, to assent to no law by which the importation of slaves should be in any respect prohibited or obstructed." Yet in 1774 "a movement was started to induce Virginians to agree that they would not buy slaves which the slave traders, backed by the King of England, insisted upon bringing into Virginia." To that end, mass meetings were held in many of the counties and resolutions adopted declaring their "most earnest wish to see an entire stop forever put to such a wicked, cruel and unnatural trade."

Next morning he ate sparingly, having, always, a "dyet very abstemious." He would eat no sugar nor anything that had been produced by the labor of slaves. All luxuries and superfluities were abhorrent. As soon as his tailoring business began to be too profitable, he abandoned it as a snare. The luxury that saddened him most was the indulgence of those who lived in ease on slave-worked plantations. The wrongs of the negroes shadowed his spirit and it was on their behalf that most of his missionary journeys were undertaken, though wherever he went he was ready with a word of admonishment, even to those assembled in a certain inn to witness the "sleights of hand of an itinerant juggler."

Negroes were not the only race to whom the man's overflowing sympathies were given. Having for years felt a love in his heart toward the natives, he undertook an arduous mission of good will to the Indians, then at feud with the whites. With a few companions he crossed the Blue Ridge and coming into their country, meditated deeply until "the desire to cherish the spirit of love and peace amongst these people arose very fresh" within him.

After many hardships and adventures, his mission accomplished, he returned to his Burlington County home, where, in the company of his wife and children, he was delighted, but was careful lest he admit "any degree of selfishness in being glad overmuch." This voluntary life of "inward quiet, when there were great stirrings and commotions in the world," is the more admirable when we realize that he was neither robust of body nor inclined to travel. The power that moved him was thirst after "pure wisdom"—a favorite expression of his—and overflowing love of God and for his fellow-man.

In 1772, the year of Woolman's death, while journeying afoot in England, an insurrection of slaves was threatened in New Jersey. Indeed, it seems to have been prevented only by precautionary measures. As a result of this threatened uprising, there appeared in the public prints the suggestion of one who signed himself "Colonization Abolitionist," who urged the passage of a parliamentary law obliging the owners of slaves to send them all back to Africa at their own expense.

The following year the Assembly received a number of petitions, praying that further importations be prohibited and that manumissions be made easy. To that end two bills were introduced, but they were not enacted. At the same time, the "evils arising from human slavery" were set forth in petitions from the counties of Cumberland, Burlington, Monmouth, Hunterdon, Middlesex, and Essex. The Quaker counties of Gloucester and Salem were not represented in these protests, but the good work of Woolman, the Quaker, was bearing fruit in Burlington. Two years later, in 1775, the Assembly was petitioned by fifty-two inhabitants of Chesterfield, Burlington County, that an act be "passed to put free all slaves now in the colony." The Quakers may have been the instigators of this document, but many of the signers were not of that sect.

The exact number of slaves in New Jersey, previous to 1790, is a matter of conjecture. At the beginning of the Revolution the number was approximately 4,500, of whom more than one-half were in West Jersey. During the war, in 1778, Governor Livingston—gratefully remembering that a considerable number of the gallant defenders of the fort at Red Bank the year before were blacks—asked the Assembly to provide for the manumission of slaves, but the people were too much engrossed in the problem of

self-preservation to heed this altruistic proposition. Not wishing to see the matter defeated, the Assembly asked the Governor to withdraw his suggestion. He did so, reluctantly, but stated, bluntly, that he intended to "push the matter until it is effected," being convinced that "the practice is utterly inconsistent with the principles of Christianity and humanity." "To Americans," he added, "who have almost idolized liberty, it is peculiarly odious and disgraceful." In this we have further proof that the Quakers were not the only force at work for manumission. Livingston was a Presbyterian.³

With the return of peace, in 1783, the agitation was renewed, and ten years later there was organized, at Burlington, a Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, of which Joseph Bloomfield, a Presbyterian, was president. He had been an active patriot in Cumberland County, living at Sohansie, during the Revolution. Subsequently he was Chancellor and twice Governor of the State.

Mob executions of negroes at the stake in Southern States have been commonly thought to be of recent origin, but such deeds were performed even in Pennsylvania as far back as the time of Franklin, the only difference being that the law and not the mob ordered the punishment. In New Jersey, burning at the stake was frequent. The cases of several murderers and two incendiaries are of record in support of this statement. On one occasion there was much fear of a slave uprising near Somerville and a plot to massacre the whites. Thirty negroes were apprehended, one of whom was hanged, others whipped, and others had their ears cut off. At another time what is known as the "Negro Conspiracy" gave rise to general alarm and caused many executions by burning as well as by hanging in New York and New Jersey. Lynching was unknown in New Jersey in those days.⁴

An early instance of burning is that of a Monmouth County justice, who sentenced a negro named Cæsar to death. "Thy hand," so ran the decree, "shall be cut off and burned before thine eyes. Then thou shalt be hanged up by the neck until thou art dead, dead, dead; then thy body shall be cut down and burned to ashes in a fire, and so the Lord have mercy on thy soul, Cæsar."

Whipping was the penalty for ordinary offenses by slaves and, indeed, was authorized by law as late as the year 1880, or long after slavery had ceased. At that time the late Vice-President Hobart, then a member of the Senate at Trenton, had a bill passed which removed what is said to have been the last vestige of slavery on the statute books of the State—the authority of a master to whip his slave.

As already stated, the extent of slavery in New Jersey is uncertain up to 1790. Then the first census showed 11,423 slaves, and when Jefferson

³ The early slave districts can be determined by reference to newspaper advertisements and the record of wills at Trenton. Among the Dutch settlements and among the South Jersey plantations, in spite of the Quaker dominance, slave owning was more prevalent than among the Calvinists of East Jersey—this, in spite of the uncompromising attitude of John Woolman and the protests of "meetings." The desire to utilize slave labor in a region where land was fertile and easily tilled overrode all moral considerations. Nevertheless, the number of manumissions, during the lifetime of the owner and by will, were frequent.

⁴ A recent instance of lynching is that of a negro named John Evans, one of two men who shot and killed Edward F. Sherman, a citizen of Camden, living at St. Petersburg, Florida, followed by an attack upon his wife. The lynching occurred on the night of November 12, 1914, when a mob of fifteen hundred citizens of St. Petersburg took Evans from the jail and hanged him to a telegraph pole in the heart of the negro district, after which they "riddled his body with bullets." The report continues: "The lynching was done quietly and quickly. The authorities had not anticipated an attempt to take the prisoner away and when the mob surrounded the jail it met with little resistance. Evans was led through the streets about eight blocks to the negro district, a noose was fixed about his neck and the end of the rope slung over the cross-bar of the pole. Leaving his body hanging from the pole the mob dispersed. Half an hour later the town was quiet." Mr. Sherman's body was later brought north and buried in Camden. Mrs. Sherman recovered from her injuries.

became President they were still more numerous. From that period they began steadily to decline in number, chiefly by reason of an act of the Legislature in 1804, which provided for the gradual abolition of slavery. As late as the time of the first election of Lincoln, in 1860, New Jersey had eighteen slaves. The last of the old slave population passed away only a few years ago.

A survivor of the last vessel to bring a cargo of slaves to the United States was living in the pines near Egg Harbor City, Atlantic County, in 1888. He was an old sailor named Obed Hicks. He had no idea of the moral questions involved in the trade for "niggers." Although the African slave trade had been interdicted for fifty years by American law, Hicks seems to have found opportunities for serving on the slave-catching ships which took the risks of being overhauled as violators of the law. He once told how he made three voyages in a brig called the "Dart," owned by a Philadelphia firm which saw no harm in slaving, and how, as late as 1858, he joined the crew of a ship at New York which, after some curious hazards and adventures, secured a cargo of the "black birds"; how seventeen died, some of them committing suicide by "doubling their tongues back into their throats"—the whole being the smallest loss he had ever seen in a slaver—and how after dodging a revenue cutter off the coast of Florida, a landing of the negroes was made somewhere on the Georgia shore. But it seems that the projectors of the expedition lost heavily, for the Southerners would not buy the negroes because they could not get a legal title to them, and finally they had to be given to anybody who would keep them. This was three years before the opening of the Civil War, or at a time when some Southern men were disposed to revive the slave trade, which the United States and Great Britain had entered into a treaty to suppress, after our own prohibition, which went into effect in 1807, was found to be partly ineffectual.

Slave life in New Jersey, however, was not without its genial side, such as Southern writers used to describe when telling of kind-hearted masters and faithful slaves. In Somerset County, for instance, on one estate the slaves were granted their holidays and enjoyments. In the week following Christmas, they generally gave a party, to which the respectable colored people of the neighborhood were invited. The whole week was one of great festivity, and little work was expected of the blacks. Again the day of "general training" was another great holiday for these slaves. This drill of the militia was regarded as a time of great sociability. The record reads: "Family negroes all attended in a large wagon, taking with them root beer and ginger cakes to offer for sale."

Indeed, it is questionable whether the unlucky whites, held in bondage under the redemptioner system, were not to be much more pitied than the blacks. A redemptioner often performed more degrading labor than the slave, by reason of the fact that the tenure over his liberty was brief and uncertain and that therefore he was cruelly overworked. The redemption system was not different in New Jersey from what it was elsewhere. In this State, as in others, the serfs would sometimes improve their condition and occasionally become creators of an ancestral strain. Thus, today there are families in New Jersey, reputable and rich, whose ancestry goes back to the days of servitude, whose progenitors were bondservants, whose inherited seal is the L. S. on a bond of indenture, and whose only coat-of-arms is an axe and a grubbing hoe, a pick and a spade.

The English, rather than the Swedes or the Dutch, who preceded them, introduced the system of redemptive servitude in the colonies along the

Delaware. These bond servants were divided into three classes: 1. Those who were brought here to serve a period of years, usually four to seven, to pay the cost of their passage. 2. Criminals, vagabonds and other obnoxious persons transported by order of the English courts, subsequent to 1718. 3. Kidnapped persons, usually children, stolen in the streets of London and Liverpool and sold by ship captains to such planters as would pay the cost of passage. Many people of these three classes were brought to New Jersey. Between 1717 and 1775 no less than 50,000 convicts of all kinds and of both sexes, were taken from the jails of England and Ireland, and transported to the American Colonies, where they were condemned to hard labor. At one time Dr. Franklin remonstrated with the British Government against the practice, whereupon the ministers urged that it was for the protection of English society. "Then," said Franklin, "for the same reason why should we not send all our rattlesnakes to England?" The English idea of American society, in 1769, is expressed in the remark of Dr. Samuel Johnson to a friend: "Sir, they are a race of convicts and ought to be content with anything we may allow them, short of hanging."

Benjamin Franklin had many ways of "turning a penny," one of which was traffic in slaves and redemptioners, as the columns of his newspaper, the "Pennsylvania Gazette," bear witness. He would occasionally purchase the time of redemptioners and then advertise them for sale in this wise:

"A likely servant lad's time to be disposed of. He is fit for country or town business; has four years to serve and has been in the country a year and a half. Inquire of the printer."

"To be sold—a likely servant woman, having three years and a half to serve. She is a good spinner."

Advertisements similar to the above—and there were many of them—being personal accounts, were not entered in his "Work Book." In this book, however, there were numerous entries of accounts against regular customers. Thus, James Pemberton, from whom came the name of a town in Burlington County, is charged five shillings for advertising a runaway mare, and Benjamin Jackson the same amount for a runaway negro.

Scholars and collectors have been seeking Franklin's "Work Books" for more than a hundred years. Recently (January, 1924), one was discovered in an attic at Mount Holly. It is in its original cover of pasteboard and has one hundred and eighty pages, of which all but eight are filled with the accounts of Franklin & Hall. On the fly leaf, this book is described as "Work Book No. 2, Franklin & Hall, August 2, 1759." The entries are continued over a period of eight years, until 1766, when Franklin & Hall dissolved a partnership of eighteen years. No trace has been found of Work Book No. 1.⁶

Sometimes a man would come into this country free and become a servitor through misfortune. Thus we find Francis Smith, of Burlington, advertising in the "Pennsylvania Gazette," in 1739, for the recovery of a runaway servant man named John Wood, aged forty years. "He has been in this country ten or eleven years," says Smith, "and has worked in Philadelphia and New Jersey. He says he came in free, but falling into bad company was brought into trouble and so became a servant."

⁶ When the Franklin & Hall partnership ended in 1766, "Work Book No. 2" was turned over with "Work Book No. 1," to James Parker, printer, who, with Franklin had published books with a Franklin imprint. It was Parker who said in one of his letters that the value of Franklin's printshop in Philadelphia was only 313 pounds. Parker was executor of the Franklin estate and had the books in his possession when he went to live at Mount Holly. Not in New Jersey or anywhere else is there any trace of "Work Book No. 1." One of the first entries in No. 2 is the account known as No. 1597, dated August 2, 1759: "Mr. John Bordley, for a runaway mulatto negro, 5 shillings."

Among those who advertised runaways were William Reed, of Great Egg Harbor, in 1728—"Lawrence Conor, an Irishman of a homely complexion and hang-down look"; Abraham Bryan, of Burlington County, in 1739—"Edward Curry, thin visag'd, brown complexioned and has the brogue on his tongue"; William Tateham, of Gloucester County, in 1739—"John Dolin, round faced, freash colored, black curl'd hair and has the brogue on his tongue"; John Burr, of Burlington County, in 1739—"Isaac Tailor, a lusty young red fac'd, red-headed fellow, with a crooked finger on his left hand, small white specks on his upper front teeth, his right shin very sore."

The masters of vessels were not at all particular as to the character of those they brought over. In New Jersey, besides criminals, there were representatives of the various strata of society—sons of good families, street waifs, soldiers of fortune, young girls fresh from the farms, some in search of better homes and some seeking adventure or desiring to reform wayward lives.

In 1785 there was an improvement in the condition of the redemptioner in New Jersey, and in the terms of the contract. If sold or bound after seventeen years of age, he could not serve more than four years, and if under seventeen, he was free after reaching his majority. At the expiration of service, the master was obliged to supply the servant with two good suits of clothing, one good falling axe, one good hoe, and seven bushels of Indian corn. At the conclusion of their service, the redemptioners were mostly merged into the mass of white population, without any taint of servitude.

CHAPTER X.

STAGE COACHES AND STAGE BOATS.

In tracing the history of the stage coach in New Jersey we must revert to the time when the first vehicle of that type was constructed in Kocsi, Hungary, in 1440. The Hungarians called this four-wheeled vehicle a kocsi, after the town where it was built, (now Kistsie), just as the berlin and the landau took their names, two hundred years later, from the two German cities, where they originated; likewise, the sedan from the French city of that name, and the concord coach from the New Hampshire city in which the once popular type of American stage coach was first built.

The "kocsi" being of Hungarian origin, the English seem to have looked across the centuries when they introduced it into that country, for while they adopted the vehicle, they would have none of the name. They Anglicised it to "coach," and about the same time the French changed it to "coche." It will be recalled that both England and France discarded names of German origin during the World War.

The coach sent by Ladislaw III, King of Hungary, to the victorious Charles VII, of France, about fifty years before the discovery of America, was described as "a carriage the body of which trembles." History says Charles owed his victory over the English to the heroism of Joan of Arc, by whom he was crowned at Rheims and whose statue in that ancient city was disfigured by the Germans in the World War. In their work of desecration, these modern Huns did not spare the cathedral, nor any part of the city where Charles was crowned and where the first coach was seen in the country west of the Rhine.

As late as 1550 there were only three coaches in Paris, and five years later the first coach ever seen in England was made by Walter Rippon for

the Earl of Rutland. In 1564 Rippon made a coach, more showy than Rutland's, for Queen Elizabeth.¹

Stage coaches, as distinguished from the family coach, were introduced into England about 1660. It is recorded that in 1662 certain people objected to stage coaches because country gentlemen went to London "on small occasion, which otherwise they would not do but on urgent necessity." "When the women come to town," said one of the old-time cynics, "they must be in the fashion, and get fine clothes, and by this means they get such a habit of pleasure that they are uneasy ever after."

There has come down to us, also, the record of an eventful night ride by Samuel Pepys, the old-time diarist, in a stage-coach during the London plague. In going from London to Stanes, the coach driver lost his way, and after some difficulty Pepys finally reached the home of Sir George Carteret, one time Proprietor of New Jersey. Before going to bed in Carteret's new house, Pepys pulled out his flask of "strong drink," of which Carteret partook freely. Pepys' diary indicates that about the time of his midnight call at the home of Carteret he originated a term long applied to a liquid potion at bedtime, the "night cap." He confessed taking out his flask a number of times before falling asleep, and adds, "a sip now and then did me good."²

The first of the New Jersey stage lines, and the first in the country, was started in 1710. From that date until the beginning of the Civil War, their story is woven into the fabric of New Jersey history.

Under the proprietary government there was no public conveyance for the transportation of either goods or passengers. Owen Dellaman, who lived at Perth Amboy, was permitted by Governor Cornbury, in 1707, to drive a wagon on the Amboy road, but he had no regular prices or set times for his trips. As early as 1723, a stage ran twice a week between Trenton and Philadelphia, via Morrisville, Pennsylvania. Later, in 1726, a stage started from Redford's Ferry, opposite Perth Amboy, "once a week, or oftener," if business warranted, for Burlington, whence passengers and freight were taken by boat to Philadelphia. Two "stage-waggon" were placed on this route in 1733, but apparently the venture was a failure, as there is no further reference to it in the newspapers of that period.

Seven years later, in 1740, a Trenton-Amboy line appears on record,

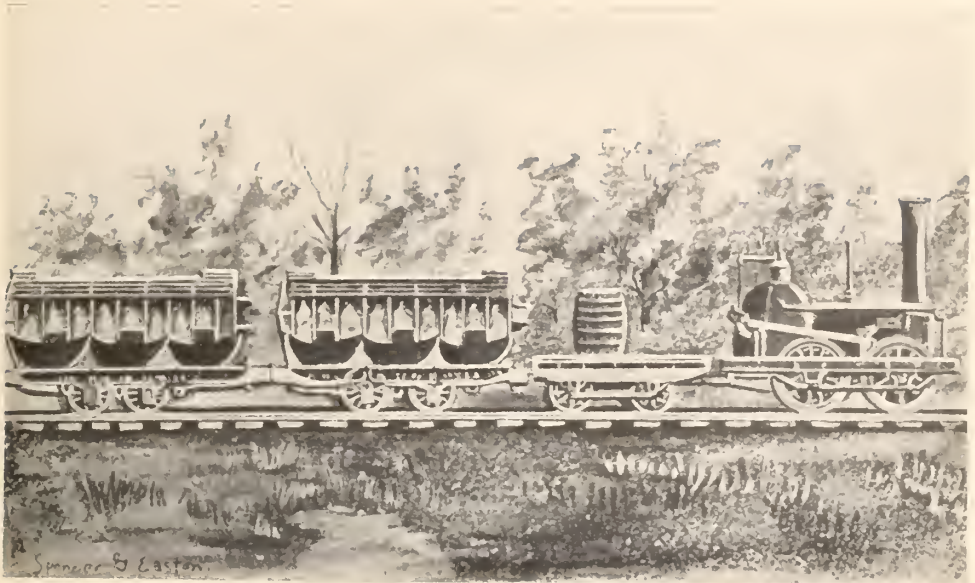
¹Rippon's second coach is supposed to have been built for Queen Mary in 1556. In 1564 he built the first "hollow-turning" coach, with pillars and arches, for Queen Elizabeth, though precisely what is meant by "hollow-turning" is difficult to conjecture.

This same Rippon, twenty-four years later, built another coach for Elizabeth, which is described as "a chariot throne with four pillars behind, to bear a crown imperial on the top, and before two lower pillars whereon stood a lion and a dragon, the supporters of the arms of England."

It could not have been very comfortable, and Elizabeth seems to have preferred another coach, brought from Holland and built by William Boonen, who was made her coachman, a position he was still occupying at the end of the century. This Boonen was a Dutchman, whose wife is said to have introduced the art of starching into England, whence followed those huge ruffs so conspicuous in all the Elizabethan portraits. Boonen's coach could be opened and closed at pleasure. On the occasion of the Queen's passing through the town of Warwick, she had "every part and side of her coach to be opened, that all of her subjects present might behold her, which most gladly they desired." This coach is described by Ralph Strauss, in his book on "Carriages and Coaches," as "on four wheels with seven spokes, which are apparently bound with thick wooden rims secured by pegs."

Another account says: "The whole composition contains many beautiful curves. The shell work creeps up to the roof, which is dome shaped. The roof is capped by five waving ostrich feathers, one at each corner, and the fifth on the center of the roof, and springing from a kind of crown." The driver's seat was apparently a kind of moveable stool. This coach was drawn by two horses. Even this coach could not have been very comfortable, and in 1598, when the French Ambassador obtained an audience, Elizabeth was complaining of "aching pains" from being knocked about in a coach driven too fast a few days before.

²"There in bed," says Pepys, "I sat down and told him all my bad news, which troubled him mightily; but we were very weary and made the best of it, and being myself weary did take leave, and I to bed and the better by having carried with me a bottle of strong water, whereof now and then a sip did me good." Pepys the night prowler! Pepys the tippler! Pepys the sipper of strong water! Pepys the night capper! Pepys feeling good and then—Pepys to bed!



FIRST RAILROAD TRAIN INTO CAMDEN



FRIENDS' MEETING HOUSE (BUILT IN 1801), CAMDEN

and this soon had a formidable rival in a line successfully maintained by Joseph Borden, founder of Bordentown, between that place and Perth Amboy. Later, Borden had another line from Redford's Ferry to Crosswicks Bridge, and thence, "if landing presents," to Burlington.

In 1750 Daniel O'Brien, who "put up" at John Thompson's, "at the Thistle and Crown, known by the name of Scotch Johnny's," gave public notice to "gentlemen and ladies" that he was conducting a stage boat, "if wind and weather permit," from New York to Amboy, thence by stage to Bordentown, where "another stage boat runs to Philadelphia."

The time between New York and Philadelphia was reduced from "thirty or forty hours" to twenty-four hours by Borden, according to his advertisement in 1753. A rival Burlington company, organized to promote "the general good of mankind and to increase and facilitate trade and commerce," advertised "stage waggons" and "stage boats" between Philadelphia and New York. They were superior to Borden's, whose "twenty-four hour trip is hyperbole," as "his stage boat is frequently three tides upon the water."

For a number of years the Burlington-Bordentown competition raged furiously. Indeed, it continued until the "land route" via Trenton was well established in popular favor, since by this line passengers were taken from Philadelphia to the Blazing Star Tavern at New Brunswick and thence by boat, reaching their destination by midnight, having left Philadelphia at sunrise.

In 1756 a stage route between Philadelphia and New York was called the "Swift and Sure Coach Line." It traveled the Old York Road in Pennsylvania, crossing the Delaware River at Lambertville, thence to Flemington, Somerville, Bound Brook, Plainfield, and through Springfield to Elizabethtown-point, where a packet sloop completed the journey.

In 1759, Daniel Cooper of Cooper's Ferry (Camden) seeking to divert travel from the other land route, started a line from Cooper's Ferry to Mount Holly, thence to Middletown and Sandy Hook, where they took boat for New York.³

In 1774 a stage coach was advertised to "set out from Powles-Hook Ferry," now Jersey City, and another at the Sign of the Indian Queen on Fourth Street, Philadelphia, every Tuesday and Friday morning at or before sunrise. The two lines met at Princeton the same night, where passengers were exchanged, and the coaches returned to their starting points. The trip was made in two days. The fare for each passenger "in the coach" was thirty shillings, and for "out passengers" twenty shillings. Each passenger was allowed fourteen pounds of baggage, and all above that at the rate of two pence per pound.

A rival line set out from the Cross Keys, at Third and Chestnut streets, Philadelphia, and met another coach at Princeton, where passengers were exchanged, as in the other case. This line was operated by Charles Bessonett and the fare was twenty shillings, with an allowance of fifteen pounds of

³ In Massachusetts, about this time (1761) there was a stage line from Charlestown to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, operated by Bartholomew Staver. It was called the "Portsmouth Flying Stage-Coach," and the proprietor made a splendid point of being always on time, regardless of the weather or conditions of the roads. He advertised that he would put on six horses, if necessary to get through on time. Indeed, so expeditious and energetic was Staver that the word "staver," meaning a hard worker, an active, energetic person, is believed to have had its origin in his method of doing things. In her story of "Old Town," the scene of which is laid in New England, Harriet Beecher Stowe says of one of her characters, Miss Asphyxia, that her reputation in the region was so well established that she was spoken of with approval as a "staver." A wheeled vehicle of any kind was something of a curiosity previous to 1761, when Philadelphia boasted of thirty-eight carriages of all kinds; in 1772 there were eighty-four, and by 1796 the number had increased more than ten-fold, or to the imposing total of eight hundred and sixty.

luggage. The proprietor claimed that his was "one of the best carriages of the kind that has ever traveled the road," while his driver was as careful "as any upon this continent of America."

Still another line at this time was that of Abraham Skillman, of the "Elizabeth-town and Newark Stage-Wagon," whose "elegant stage-wagon with good driver and horses" went from Powles-Hook to Benjamin Davis's Hotel, Second and Arch streets, Philadelphia, in a day and a half. This line made one trip a week, leaving Philadelphia on Monday and returning from Powles-Hook on Thursday.

Communication between New York and Philadelphia was carried on in this way for many years. The number of weekly trips was increased, but otherwise there was little improvement. After the Revolution, the inhabitants of New Jersey felt the impetus of peaceful pursuits, and this brought about the extension and improvement of the stage lines. Paulus Hook became a center of transportation at the New York end, and Trenton encroached more and more upon the monopoly once enjoyed by Bordentown and Burlington as lower termini.

An interesting account of stage travel in New Jersey, in the closing decade of the eighteenth century, is found in the diary of a young man named Thomas T. Wickham, who had come north on his honeymoon in 1790. This diary is now owned by the New York Historical Society. The Wickhams were accompanied by a servant named Fortune. They came from a town on the Pedee River, South Carolina, to visit the bridegroom's parents at Easthampton, Long Island. Writing of their trip from Philadelphia to New York, under date of July 13, the diarist says:

In the afternoon I went to Inkeep's Tavern, at the corner of Church and Second Streets, and engaged a passage in the mail stage to New York at \$3½ dollars apiece for myself and Sally and \$2 dollars for Fortune, with our baggage.

Under date of the 14th, he writes:

Breakfasted early and carried our baggage to Inkeep's in order to start for New York. We took our leave of Mrs. Sage and family and walked to Inkeep's and left Philadelphia about 9. We passed through Frankfort about 10, it being five miles from Philadelphia; a pleasant little town containing about fifty stores and a fine Meeting House. We arrived at Bristol about 12 o'clock, being twenty miles on our way; it is situated on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware River. We had a fine prospect of Burlington, which is situated on the Jersey side of the Delaware, almost opposite Bristol. Bristol is a pretty town containing 100 houses and one Presbyterian Meeting House and one Quaker. We changed horses here and took a relish, and set out about 1 and crossed the Delaware River a little below Trenton and arrived in Trenton a quarter after 2, it being thirty miles from Philadelphia. We dined at Trenton, changed horses and set out at 3 o'clock. We passed by Meeting House at 5 and arrived at Princeton at 6. Had a good view of the College and Meeting House and got out again about half past 6. We stopt at a tavern opposite Rocky Hill Meeting House at half after 7, changed horses and got out after fifteen minutes. Passed by Six Mile Meeting House a little before dark. We arrived later in Brunswick, it being sixty miles from Philadelphia.

The next day he wrote:

We rested very well last night and find ourselves much better this morning. We set out at 5 o'clock and arrived at Woodbridge at half after 6, it being ten miles. Breakfasted here and changed horses and set out half after 7. * * * Called at Spantown but did not make any tarry. Half after 9 got to Elizabeth Town and changed horses and refreshed ourselves with a glass of wine and set out at 10, and arrived at Newark half after 11. Crossed Newark at Second River about 12 and Hackensack River between 12 and 1. Arrived at Cold Smith's at Pauler's Hook about half after 1; dined at Cold Smith's and shipped our clothes. We took our leave of our fellow travelers, and crossed the North River to New York between 2 and 3 o'clock. Took up lodging

at Captain Hacker's, 72 Water Street. I introduced Sally to several of my old acquaintances this evening. Both of us suppered hearty and went to bed well.

One of the celebrities who traveled from New York to Philadelphia, via Perth Amboy and Bordentown, was the exiled King of Spain, Joseph Bonaparte. This old stager reached New York late in August, 1815, in the brig "Commerce," disguised as "M. Bouchard," a Frenchman. On entering the City Hotel, after leaving his private lodgings when his identity had become known, he was informed by Mr. Jennings, the proprietor, that there was no vacant room for him, although he proposed stopping there only a few days before proceeding to Philadelphia. Henry Clay, then speaker of the House, and recently returned from Europe as one of the commissioners at Ghent, insisted that the ex-King should share his apartments in the hotel, and Bonaparte consented to this arrangement.

While the number of stages and stage routes increased as the population increased and the business of the country expanded, little improvement was made, previous to 1825, in the matter of comfort for travelers in New Jersey—many of them distinguished citizens of their day and veritable old stagers, whose names are written indelibly on the pages of American history. Among these were: Daniel Webster, Josiah Quincy, Justice Story, John Quincy Adams, Edward Everett, William M. Marcy, Daniel D. Tompkins, Martin Van Buren, Silas Wright, Henry Clay, DeWitt Clinton, Richard Rush, Alexander J. Dallas, Thurlow Weed, and Tyrone Power, the English actor. The last named sailed from New York on March 21, 1841, on board the "President," which was sighted on the 24th and never heard from thereafter.⁴

The stage lines of New Jersey had reached their highest development about 1835.⁵

⁴ In his reminiscences, one of these old stagers, Josiah Quincy, once recalled an old Massachusetts law which prohibited traveling on Sunday—a law that was not repealed until 1887. Mr. Quincy told an interesting story in regard to the enforcement of this law in the town of Andover. The incident happened in 1832: "The good people of Andover," said he, "being very much disturbed by wicked violations of the law against Sunday traveling, determined to have it strictly enforced and appointed a worthy deacon to see that the officers performed their duties. He accordingly denied himself the privileges of going to church, and stationed himself with officers at a tollgate just outside the town. A gentleman traveling in a carriage was stopped and told that he could go no further. With great courtesy, he said: 'Gentlemen, I am fully aware of the provisions of the law and, of course, it is proper that you should enforce them; but you must remember that those people are excepted who are traveling from necessity or charity. Now, gentlemen, the fact is my mother is lying dead in Boston and I ask that I be permitted to pass.' After consultation, they decided that he was indeed within the exception, and they allowed him to pass. When he had reached a safe distance he stopped and called back: 'Don't forget to tell the good people of Andover that you permitted me to pass because my mother is lying dead in Boston, and you may add, also, if you please, that she has been lying dead there for some twenty years.'"

⁵ Twenty-five years later, in 1860, to go from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Great Salt Lake required nineteen days. There were forty-five stops of from four to six hours' duration. The distance was 1,126 miles and the stage averaged sixty miles a day. In 1865 the traveler from Omaha, Nebraska, to Virginia City, Nevada, if all went well, made the distance of 1,800 miles in seventeen days. The stage fare was \$600, with meals extra. Each passenger was permitted to take twenty-five pounds of baggage and the excess was charged for at the rate of \$1.50 per pound. General James Fowler Rusling, of Trenton, one of New Jersey's reminiscent stagers, who died April 1, 1918, gave a most interesting account of stage coaching in the far West before the completion of the great railroad to the Pacific Coast in 1869. The last tie on that national highway was laid at Promontory Point, near Ogden, and the last spike, made of gold, was driven with a silver sledge on May 10th, at which time 1,086 miles of track had been laid over the Union Pacific westward from Omaha, and 689 miles over the Central Pacific, eastward from Sacramento, the two lines meeting at Promontory Point. When the last stroke of the sledge was given, the telegraph wires flashed the first message across the continent, eastward to New York, and westward to San Francisco, a message of one word—"Done." In one of his books of travel, "Great West and the Pacific Coast," General Rusling narrates his experiences while traveling as a passenger on the Ben Holliday stages in 1866 and 1867. Holliday was the owner of a great chain of stages, extending from Fort Kearney, Nebraska, to Denver, thence to Salt Lake, Idaho, Columbia River and the California Coast. His routes covered 3,000 miles. He employed a general superintendent at a salary of \$10,000 a year, and division superintendents at half that amount. He owned six thousand horses and mules, and more than three hundred coaches. He carried the United States mails, for which he received over half a million dollars a year from the government. The fare from Kearney to Denver was \$150; to Salt Lake \$300; Nevada, \$450; Idaho, Montana and California, each \$500. He used the well-known Concord

Elkanah Watson, who journeyed from New York to Philadelphia in 1784, recorded his experiences in a journal. He crossed the Hudson on a cold winter's day in an open ferryboat, and the Hackensack and Passaic on the ice. The first night was spent at Newark, which he called a handsome town with spacious streets bordered with trees. The surrounding country was distinguished by its orchards and its advanced culture. The next journey was by stage-sleigh as far as Princeton, and on the third day Philadelphia was reached. Another traveler, ten years later, made some interesting notes on his journey. He recites that after spending an hour and a half on the Hudson ferry he left Paulus Hook by the coach "Industry," paying five dollars for his seat.

Near the end of the first decade in the nineteenth century, John Stevens, of Hoboken, had his steamboat and stage route between New York and Philadelphia in successful operation. The traveler could then leave Philadelphia at seven in the morning on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, and enjoy a pleasant boat ride on the "Phoenix," the steamboat that Stevens had sent around from New York the year before, in command of his son Robert L. Stevens—the first stamboat to navigate the ocean in 1809. She was built at Hoboken in 1804 and ran from Philadelphia to Bordentown for several years.

The New York passengers by this line could have their breakfast and dinner on board the boat, and were landed at Bordentown at one o'clock. From this point, they went by stage to New Brunswick, where they spent the night. At six the next morning, the steamboat "Raritan," or one of the other boats operated by this line, carried them to New York. The total time was twenty-six hours, and the fare was five dollars.

The Bordentown boats at different periods from 1810 to 1850 were the Aetna, Pennsylvania, Seahorse, Franklin, Congress, Trenton, Burlington, Rainbow, Emerald, Hornet, Markoe, Bozarris, Bolivar, Sun, Mountaineer, Balloon, John C. Stevens, Nelson, and Joseph Belknap—all splendid boats in their line. At least five of these, the Pennsylvania, Seahorse, Franklin, Rainbow, and Emerald were transferred to New York waters, and were run in connection with the stage lines terminating near New York Bay.

The combination land and water route was in opposition to the all-land route which left Philadelphia at eight o'clock every morning. These stages carried seven passengers. There were four coaches each way every day—the Expedition, which made the run in about twelve hours; the Diligence in twenty-six hours, with lodgings at Rahway; another which left Philadelphia at ten in the morning and reached Paulus Hook next day at noon; and a fourth, the mail coach, which left at one in the afternoon, traveled all night, and reached Paulus Hook at six in the morning. The fare by these several lines varied from \$4.50 to \$8.50.

About 1830 stage coaches of an improved pattern were seen on the eastern highways, but it was still the custom to begin stage journeys at three or four o'clock in the morning. Between New York and Philadelphia, where the travel was heaviest and competition greatest, nothing thereafter was spared that would contribute to the comfort of the traveler. Five lines

coaches, which were very comfortable and accommodated nine passengers inside, with as many on the outside as could be induced to get on the roof and take a chance of becoming a target for the Indians. Each coach was drawn by four to six horses of the finest type. These coaches afforded the only means of rapid transit in that day, west of the Missouri, and they were a very important factor in carrying civilization to the Rocky Mountain region. Soon after the opening of the railroad to the coast in 1869, Holliday sold all his stage coach property to Wells, Fargo & Company, whose business was thus increased to the extent of five hundred coaches and ten thousand horses. Holliday told our Jersey stager that sometimes the Indians stole as much as \$250,000 of his property in a year.

of stages ran each way daily at this time, and assurance was given that the horses were sound and the drivers sober and civil, which, said one advertisement, "is the most difficult and dangerous part of the business of running stages."

On a sunny day, on good roads, with fast horses and few passengers, stage riding in New Jersey and elsewhere might have been pleasant enough, but those conditions were rarely combined in a single journey. When, as that old stager, Thurlow Weed, relates in his reminiscences, the passengers were compelled to disembark in a sea of mud and pry the vehicle out of the ruts with fence rails, the poetry of motion ceased to exist for the most long-suffering of those old-time travelers. A traveler in February, 1831, noted that he was fourteen hours going from Philadelphia to New York, with the Great Southern Mail, "although the sleighing was good." The fare was six dollars. He adds: "We rode in an open sled or box on runners and the four passengers sat on mail bags."⁶

The winter of 1836-37 was excessively cold, and yet it was a banner year for midwinter travel. It is also memorable on account of a remarkably quick trip for the times. This trip was in connection with famous and ridiculous "Caroline" incident, when President Van Buren ordered General Scott to rush from Washington to the Niagara frontier with the utmost haste to prevent riot and bloodshed.

General Scott crossed New Jersey by the Trenton and Jersey City stage route and reached New York late in the afternoon. He directed Charles L. Beach, proprietor of the New York and Albany stage-coach line, to have a sleigh ready at eight that evening, to take him to Albany, and to combine

⁶ Before the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, the only means of bringing freight from the Mohawk Valley to the Hudson was by the lumbering market wagon. In describing a journey through this country from Schenectady to Buffalo, in 1818, John M. Duncan, an Englishman traveling in America, says:

"The stage wagon is still used in this part of the country. It has no door, but the passengers get in by the front, stepping over the seats as they go backward. The driver sits on the front seat, with a passenger on either hand.

"The heavier kinds of boxes and trunks are fastened behind, upon the frame of the carriage, but the smaller articles and the mail bag are huddled under the seats, in the inside, to the great annoyance of the passengers, who are frequently forced to sit with their knees up to their mouths, or with their feet insinuated between two trunks, where they are most lovingly compressed whenever the vehicle makes a lurch in a rut."

The boxes described by this traveler were nothing more than what are now known as express packages. No heavy freight was brought from the interior. The cost of freighting over poor roads between New York, Philadelphia, and Boston and the interior of the respective States was practically prohibitive. Freight could be floated on water routes, but it could not be profitably carted any great distance by land.

Josiah Quincy, writing in 1826 of a journey with Judge Story from Boston to Washington, said:

"The stage left Boston at 3 A. M., and at 2 A. M. a man was sent around to the houses of those who were booked for the passage. His instructions were to knock, pull the bell, and shout and disturb the neighborhood as much as possible, in order that the person who was to take the coach might be up and dressed when it reached his door. When the coach arrived, there was no light inside, and the passengers waited until daybreak before they could see who were their fellow passengers."

On this occasion, Mr. Quincy and Judge Story traveled only in the day time, and they reached New York on the fourth day in time for a late dinner. Mr. Quincy adds:

"We congratulated ourselves upon living in the days of rapid communication, and looked with commiseration upon the conditions of our fathers, who were wont to consume a whole week in traveling between cities."

Leaving New York, Judge Story and Mr. Quincy made a remarkably quick trip across New Jersey, because there was an opposition coach behind them. They left New York at 5 A. M. and reached Philadelphia between 11 and 12 that night. They were three days in traveling to Washington, so that they accomplished the whole distance from Boston to Washington in eight days.

Two days were ordinarily sufficient for the traveler to go from Boston to New York, with short stops to change horses, unless, like Mr. Quincy, they preferred to rest overnight at a tavern. After a night in New York, the traveler could board the "Seahorse" at five in the morning, cross New Jersey, and at the end of fifteen hours alight at the best tavern in Philadelphia. Here he would have another night for nature's sweet restorer, and in fifteen hours more would be in Baltimore.

Four and a quarter days were sufficient to take him from Boston to Washington, if he used the day and night stages, and during his travels he was sure to meet and converse with men who were prominent in public life.

Often the roads of New Jersey were dusty or muddy and the ruts deep. The joy of travel depended on weather conditions.

comfort with speed. Mr. Beach immediately drew up a special schedule, and sent forward a swift courier to arrange relays. Promptly at eight o'clock General Scott appeared at the hotel, where he found the sleigh waiting with four of the fleetest horses. The seats had been taken out and a bed substituted, with mattress, pillows and blankets. The horn gave a blast and the sleigh was off.

According to his own statement, General Scott was asleep before they were out of the Battery and did not waken until morning. The night was clear and cold; the roads were good; the river was frozen from Poughkeepsie northward; the relays were prompt; drivers and horses were on their mettle. At eight the next morning the door of the sleigh was opened at the hotel in Albany, and the proprietor greeted his distinguished guest with the words, "General Scott, your breakfast is served."

In addition to the main arteries of travel across New Jersey, in stage-coach days, there were connecting lines for passengers and mails to towns off the main lines of travel. There were also independent or cross-State lines. The Archives of New Jersey, in the volumes of "Newspaper Extracts," contain no less than one hundred and forty references to stage coaches in the eighteenth century. Many of these, of course, refer to the same line, but they reveal to us an interesting sidelight on the methods of transportation and travel in pre-Revolutionary days.

One of the cross-State lines, about the middle of the last century, ran from Camden to points near the seacoast, the lower terminus being Absecon, six miles from Atlantic City. This line, in 1840, left Pearson's Ferry, at the upper side of Market Street, Philadelphia, at four o'clock in the morning on three days each week—Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. Half an hour was allowed for passengers and baggage to be landed on the Camden side of the river, where, from John Knissell's Ferry, the coach left at half past four o'clock. The line passed through Haddonfield, Long-a-coming, (now Berlin), Tansboro, Blue Anchor, Winslow Glass Works, Weymouth Iron Works, May's Landing, Bargaintown, Somers Point, Smith's Landing to Absecon. Returning trips were made on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and passengers from Absecon had to be ready by four o'clock in the morning. Those at Somers Point were taken aboard the coach at half past four.

The proprietors were John C. Briggs, James Stoy, William Coffin, Jr., Samuel, Uriah and William Norcross, who also announced that they had established an accommodation line between Philadelphia and May's Landing. This line carried the mail and was operated on alternate days, leaving Philadelphia at four o'clock. The stages were "elliptic spring coaches," and travelers had as comfortable a journey as stage journeys went in those days. This line was afterwards operated by Samuel Slim.

Long-a-coming is now Berlin, and Penny-Pot was a posting house on the line between Winslow and Weymouth. It is now known as Newtonville. Bargaintown retains its old-time name, but the traveler on the steam or electric railroad is not aware of its existence, unless he leaves the train and goes afoot a mile or more west of the old Shore Road. Smith's Landing remains, but it is within the corporate limits of Pleasantville, which has come into existence since the passing of the stage coaches. Leedsville is now Linwood.

Haddonfield was a town of 143 buildings; Long-a-coming, a village of 42 buildings; Blue Anchor and Penny Pot groups of buildings near a tavern. Weymouth was a small manufacturing place with a population of about

four hundred and fifty. May's Landing, at the head of navigation on the Great Egg Harbor River, about eighteen miles from the coast, had a population of about two hundred and fifty, with a Methodist church, five stores and as many taverns, Bargaintown had about forty-five buildings and Absecon fifty-seven. Ten hours were required to make the trip from Camden to Absecon.

Another stage line from the seacoast to the Delaware, in old Gloucester County, was in charge of Christopher Rape, of May's Landing. This stage, in the fifties, left Leeds Point at four o'clock on alternate mornings and reached Camden that evening, going by way of Weekstown, Pleasant Mills and Batsto, Atsion, Long-a-coming, and Haddonfield.

CHAPTER XI.

LEADERS AND PLEADERS AND CUNNING OLD STAGERS.

Joseph Bonaparte, exiled King of Spain, was one of South Jersey's "cunning old stagers." Shortly after the Legislature passed the act enabling aliens to own real estate in New Jersey, he thanked the members individually for their kindness. Then he invited them to dine with him at his Bordentown mansion, on which occasion, in June, 1816, he presented to each of the gentlemen a set of silver knee buckles. These articles of adornment or convenience for gentlemen were worn as late as 1817, although knee-breeches were much less in vogue at the time of the Bonaparte dinner and reception than a decade or so earlier.

Hon. Nathaniel Foster, of Millville, was a member of the Legislature at the time. He was the grandfather of the wife of the late Dr. Thomas K. Reed, a well-known physician of Atlantic City. His set of knee-buckles became an heirloom in the Foster family. One of the legislators who dined with Bonaparte at that memorable dinner, afterwards acknowledged that he had never seen silver knives, forks or spoons until he saw them on Bonaparte's table.

Bonaparte was a striking example of the influence of surroundings upon individuals, and he soon adopted the ways of the community in which he had elected to live. Writing from Bordentown to his sister-in-law, the wife of the postmaster-general under the empire, he said he could not be happier than in New Jersey—if only his wife and family were with him. The inhabitants, the climate and the government were all suited to his taste for a quiet and peaceable life, far from politics and the great cities. He loved the country and the secluded existence of the country house, without noise or state. He adorned his garden kingdom with statues, and when the prim and strong-minded Frances Wright visited Point Breeze in 1819 she emphasized her disapproval of the undraped divinities, "the greater part of them, coarsely enough executed," she said, but was careful to add that Bonaparte was frank, unaffected and independent, with less roughness than the average English gentleman farmer, though not unlike him in other respects.

Fanny Wright, the name by which she was familiarly known, was a feminine stager. She was a Scotch woman and an early advocate of woman's rights, with a strong desire to see the great republic, and when she returned to England in 1820 she published her views of society and manners in America, not omitting an account of her visit to the ex-King at Point Breeze.¹

¹From England Fanny Wright went to France and spent three years with the family of Lafayette. She returned to the United States in 1824, landing at a southern port, and, according to her biographer, became aware of the fact, for the first time, that slavery existed in the republic which she had fondly believed was founded on the rights of man.

Two Jersey men of wide experience—pleaders, leaders and withal cunning old stagers—were Judge L. Q. C. Elmer, of Bridgeton, and Abraham Browning, of Camden. They left their impress upon the lives of those who lived in New Jersey during the last half of the nineteenth century. Judge Elmer was an able jurist and a charming annalist. Besides his history of Cumberland County, he left his "recollections," a valuable contribution to Jerseyana. As a member of the commission to locate the Delaware and Raritan canal, in 1823, Judge Elmer visited Bordentown, and he thus describes the manner of his reception at Point Breeze by Joseph Bonaparte:

I remarked to my associate, General Bernard, that I supposed he would take advantage of the opportunity to have an interview with the Count de Survilliers, but he said his engagements would prevent him from having that pleasure. As we came in front of the mansion, it happened that a carriage was drawn up in the park, and the Count was in the act of entering. Seeing this, General Bernard excused himself, left his horse, and I went on to town, where the other gentlemen, (George Halcomb and Peter Kean, commissioners, and the engineering corps) were awaiting me.

After a delay of an hour or more, the general joined us and brought with him an invitation for the whole corps of engineers to dine with the Count at five o'clock. About half of our party, including the General, accepted the invitation. I had been riding in the dust two or three days, without any chance of changing my dress, and although about in the same plight as the others, I declined to present myself, as did Colonel Totton. After dining my friends, Bonaparte kept them over night, they retiring to their apartments as early as nine o'clock. In the morning they were served with coffee and biscuit in their rooms.

Abraham Browning, of Camden, was a recognized leader of the New Jersey bar and a successful pleader. He was often in demand for public addresses and was the principal speaker on Jersey Day at the Centennial Exhibition, Philadelphia, August 24, 1876. In that address he compared New Jersey with a barrel full of good things and open at both ends, from which New York and Philadelphia plucked the best garden products and derived a large part of their sustenance.

Since then, New Jersey has made stupendous strides in agriculture and manufactures. This State is now an immense cornucopia, from which the world gets many of her necessities. In the struggle for preëminence in production, New Jersey has gone "over the top"—borrowing a phrase that originated during the World War, with reference to our troops in France and Belgium clammering over the tops of the trenches in their assaults upon the Germans. She is the entrepot of world-wide necessities. New Jersey leads the United States in aggregate production of dyeing and finishing textiles, refined petroleum, pottery, special hardware, iron and steel pipe, oilcloths and linoleums, sulphuric and nitric acids, iron and steel ship-building, oils and paints, rubber belting and hose, smelted and refined copper. New Jersey also leads her sister Commonwealths in per capita production of terra cotta and fire-clay products, silks, cooperage, gas and electric fixtures, chemicals, printing inks, soaps, electrical machinery, wall paper, hat and cap materials, men's furnishings, upholstery, dyestuffs and varnishes.

No account of the old stagers of New Jersey would be complete without mention of Commodore Charles Stewart, the officer to whom America owed much of her naval success in the second war with England, and to whom Joseph Bonaparte was so deeply attached that when Stewart proposed to name his Bordentown estate after Bonaparte's country seat near Paris, "Montpellier," the exiled King prevailed upon him to choose a name that was distinctly American and far more appropriate, the name that still clings to Stewart and the frigate with which he won his greatest glory, "Old Ironsides."

It was Commodore Stewart who, when Fort Sumter was fired upon in 1861, pleaded with Lincoln to be assigned to active duty, exclaiming: "I am as young as ever to fight for my country!" On account of his age, Lincoln denied the request.

The Commodore's death on November 6, 1869, was marked by a touching incident. He had suffered acutely for many weeks, and as the end drew near, was unable to give utterance to his wants. It had stormed throughout the day, but toward night the clouds were driven from the sky. The setting sun threw a flood of golden light on the house and lawn and river, and when the windows were thrown open to admit the warm, fresh air, a little bird flew in, hopped to the bedside of the dying man, and perching near his head, filled the room with its song. A moment later it disappeared through the open window.

Commodore Stewart's home was inherited by his daughter, Mrs. Delia Stewart Parnell, mother of Charles Stewart Parnell, member of the British Parliament, and advocate of home rule for Ireland. It stood on a bluff just below Bordentown, overlooking the river and hemmed in by lofty pines. Before Stewart purchased it in 1816, the place belonged to Francois Frederica, known as the "General of Surinam," who settled there about 1800. Connected with its early history is a gruesome story of how the hot-tempered general beat one of his bond-servants to death.

Mrs. Parnell was one of the most remarkable women New Jersey ever produced. But for a brutal attack made upon her in the spring of 1895, by a tramp, she probably would have remained at Bordentown and ended her days at the old homestead. She was unable to properly care for herself thereafter and decided, in the spring of 1896, to pass the remainder of her days with her son John, also a member of Parliament, and her daughter, Annie Parnell, in Ireland. In the decrepit old woman of eighty, at the time of her departure, one could not recognize the belle of two continents, and the fearless leader of the Irish home rule cause in America. Her mind, however, was clear, and she was not haunted so much as formerly with vision of poverty. The government provided her with a pension of fifty dollars a month, in consideration of the valiant services of her father, and, from properties in which she had a vested interest, she obtained an income of about \$1,200 a year.

The Stewart homestead was almost a ruin when it was purchased by the State in 1902 for \$35,000. The house was dismantled of its contents, after Mrs. Parnell's death, to raise funds with which to pay her debts. It was famous in her time for its bric-a-brac and its art collection, but in her later years Mrs. Parnell gave most of these treasures to admiring friends. After making the purchase, the State made necessary improvements to the property and it is now used as an industrial training school for colored children. South Jersey enjoys the distinction of having within her bounds one of the few such institutions in the country. It is an interesting fact, indeed, that the first suggestion for a school for industrial training, anywhere in this country or in the world, came from one of the earliest inhabitants of South Jersey. Thomas Budd was the first of South Jersey's old stagers—a man of prominence and experience, and the owner of many acres of land in the province of West Jersey, especially in Burlington and Gloucester counties. Industrial training is the ground work of practical education, and Budd projected a public school system on those lines more than two hundred and twenty-five years ago.

To meet the needs and expenses of his system of education, he sug-

gested that "one hundred acres of land be given and laid out, in a good place, to every school that would be set up, and the rent or income of it should go towards the defraying of the charge of the school; and to the end that the children of the poor people and the children of the Indians may have the like good learning with the children of the rich people, let them be maintained free of charge to their parents out of the profits of the school arising by the work of the scholars, by which the poor and the Indians, as well as the rich, will have their children taught."

Budd's scheme of education, for some reason, was not approved by the Jerseymen of his day. They suffered the poor to remain in ignorance and they crowded the Indian back into Shamong, where he became a ward of the white man. This Shamong tract was set aside by an act of the Legislature in 1758 for the exclusive use of the Indians. The act stipulated that "the lands to be purchased for the Indians, as aforesaid, shall not hereafter be subject to any tax, any law, usage or custom to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding."

In 1801 another act was passed, directing the sale of the lands, with the consent of the Indians, who had signified their desire to be removed to the reservation at Oneida, New York. This act was silent as to exemption from taxation, and in 1803, after the Indians had vacated, the local assessor, deeming the lands subject to taxation, assessed them for State and county taxes. The owners certiorated the assessment to the Supreme Court, and in September, 1804, the assessment was set aside. In December following, the Legislature repealed the act of 1758, and in 1805 the assessor again assessed the lands. The Supreme Court, in November, 1807, affirmed the validity of this assessment, holding that the exemption clause was not an irrevocable contract, but that it was merely for the benefit of the Indians during their use and occupancy of the lands. This judgment was affirmed by the Court of Errors and Appeals, but being carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, that tribunal decided, in 1812, that the act of 1804 was unconstitutional, as impairing the validity of a contract.

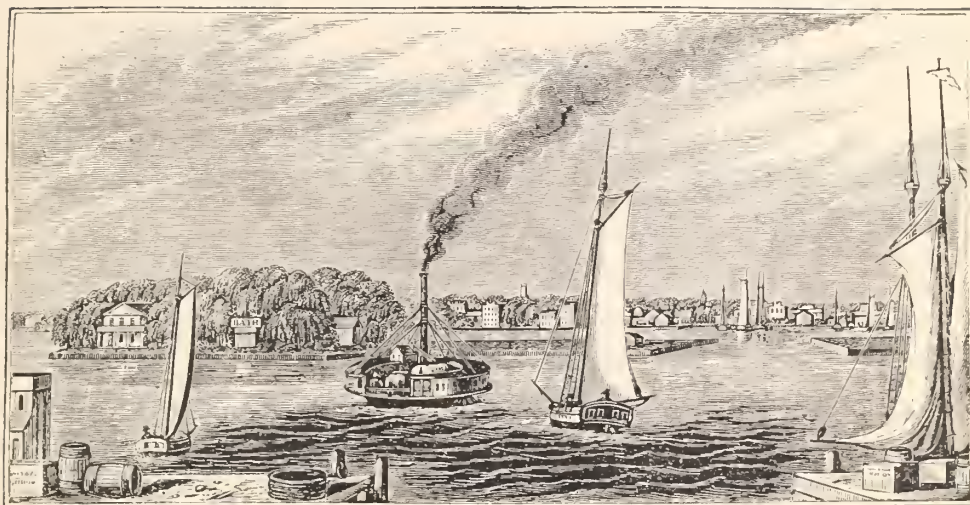
If the owners of the lands about Indian Mills had taken advantage of this decision, the lands would have been exempt from taxation for all time. Unfortunately, in 1814, the local assessor, with a cool disregard of the judgment of the highest court in the country, again assessed the lands for taxation, and thereafter, until 1877, the owners paid the taxes without protest. In that year, the assessment was again certiorated, and in November, 1879, the Supreme Court of New Jersey affirmed the validity of this assessment on the ground that the owners from 1814 to 1877, a period of sixty-three years, had paid the taxes without questioning the right to lay them, thereby raising a conclusive presumption that by some convention of the State the right to exemption had been surrendered.²

CHAPTER XII.

PRIMITIVE WHERRIES AND MODERN FERRIES.

Duncan Williamson, a Scotchman, was a pioneer settler on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware. He operated the first ferry across the Dela-

² This Indian settlement (originally called Edgepellek, afterwards Brotherton and now known as Indian Mills) is a few miles from the Atlantic County line and five or six miles from Pleasant Mills and Batsto, where they made cannons and cannon balls for Revolutionary soldiers; where, also, the Government had a storehouse or arsenal, and where Colonel Thomas Proctor, of Philadelphia, was in charge of his Pennsylvania troops, in 1778, guarding the munitions of war. The neighborhood is also the scene of a novel much read in ante-bellum days, entitled: "Kate Aylesford." The author was Charles J. Peterson, of Philadelphia. The home of the heroine is still standing and is now the residence of Mr. A. J. McKeone.



OLD VIEW OF CAMDEN, FROM PHILADELPHIA

The engraving shows the appearance of Camden, as seen from Walnut Street Ferry, Philadelphia. Windmill or Smith's Island appears in front of the city. The canal, for steam ferry boats, through the island, is seen on the right

ware, in 1667,—the primitive “wherry”—between a point near the mouth of the Neshaminy, and a landing on the Jersey side near the present site of Beverly. It was known as “Dunk’s Ferry.” Williamson died about 1700, but the ferry was continued until the time of the Revolution.

The traveler on the Delaware above Philadelphia, a generation ago, saw a quaint little ferry boat called the “Elwood Doron.” She had a diminutive cabin on either side and was built so narrow that the slender smoke-stack, composed of tubes of various sizes, had to be placed on one side to allow sufficient room for wagons. She plied between Burlington and Bristol for forty years. This Burlington ferry was established two years before the founding of Philadelphia and antedates the Royden ferry in Camden by at least eight years. The little Burlington boat was succeeded by a new screw propeller, the “William E. Doron,” in 1893. The original owner of this ferry was Samuel Clift, who, in 1680, obtained a grant of 262 acres, covering the present site of Bristol, and he immediately started a ferry, which is curiously alluded to in the Colonial records of Pennsylvania as “the ferry against Burlington.” The desire to secure communication with the “chiefest town in West Jersey,” as Gabriel Thomas described Burlington, seems to have brought about the beginning of Bristol, on the opposite side of the river.

There appears to have been a ferry from Gloucester to Philadelphia at an early date, for Thomas mentions it in his quaint little history, published in 1698. “Gloucester-Town,” he says, “is a very Fine and Pleasant place, being well stor’d with Summer Fruits, as Cherries, Mulberries and Strawberries, wither Young people come from Philadelphia in the Wherries to eat Strawberries and Cream, within sight of which City it is sweetly Situated, being but about three Miles distance from thence.”

These primitive wherries were continued until the team or horse boats were introduced. The passenger wherries resembled a modern shad or fishing skiff. The fare in summer time was half a shilling, and double that amount in winter. Two men managed the boats in summer and four in winter, when the crossing was tedious and unpleasant. Strong runners with iron tires were fastened to the sides of the boats, and when the river was frozen over, a rope was attached to the bow and the men passengers were expected to help pull the women and children across. When the ice broke they would jump into the boat, and when not thick enough to bear them, they rocked the boat, rowed or pushed it as best they could until they reached the landing. When the ice was smooth they used a sail, which afforded a quick trip, particularly enjoyable to the young people.

The boats used for carrying horses, wagons, cattle, etc., were large flat boats, requiring four oarsmen. These were not much used in winter, for often the river was frozen over, when, with sleighs, carts or sleds, the Jersey farmer conveyed to the Philadelphia market his wood, charcoal, pork, poultry and other products.

Another ferry was established by William Royden on January 1, 1688, under a license issued by the General Court then sitting at Gloucester. This license provided that the ferry was to start from a point between Newton and Cooper creeks. Royden was permitted to charge six-pence for every person he conveyed across the river and twelve pence for every man and horse. He also was a licensed tavern keeper and his public house stood near the foot of Cooper Street, Camden. In 1689 he sold his ferry to William Cooper, whose son Daniel kept it until his death. At a later date it passed into the hands of Benjamin Reeves.

The first steam ferry boat that plied between Camden and Philadelphia made her appearance in 1810. She was built by James Bispham and was called the "Camden," Captain Ziba Kellum, commander. She ran from the foot of Cooper Street to the lower side of Market Street, Philadelphia, and was such an improvement over the old horse boats that another called the "Twins" was built the following year. The owners of this second boat were James Springer and William Poole.

About 1835 there was an unexpected revolution in ferry boats on the Delaware. The Camden and Amboy Railroad Company, finding the old style boats unsuited to their business, on account of their small size, and the difficulty in crossing when the river was blocked with ice, had the once-famous "State Rights" built at Hoboken. She was a large vessel and was designed to overcome river obstacles. She arrived on December 29, 1835, and gave such satisfaction that improvements were soon begun at the other ferries. The "State Rights" remained in the service until about 1870.

The old boats were soon superseded by others of later design and greater power. Among these were the Southwick, Citizen, Kensington, Hornet, John Fitch, Cooper's Point, Kaighn's Point, Washington, New Jersey, Champion, William Penn, Farmer, Mary, Dido, Stephen Girard, Marion, Fashion, Merchant and Mariner, William Wray, (Captain Roth's favorite) Shakamaxon, the Arasapha, built in 1860, the Atlantic, built in 1865 and the Cooper's Point in 1879, the Mechanic in 1856, the Camden, the Philadelphia, the Pennsylvania, Delaware, Beverly, Wenona, General Schultze built in 1876, Agnes in 1871, the West Jersey in 1865, America in 1868, Columbia in 1877, Camden in 1866, Philadelphia in 1866, Pennsylvania in 1874, Delaware in 1876, and others. All of these steamboats were decided improvements over the team boats, the last of which disappeared about 1825.

Previous to the digging of the canal through Windmill Island, in 1840, ferry boats were compelled to go below the island, when the tide was very low, and even after the canal was opened, the Vine Street ferry boats sometimes found it necessary to go down the river and around the island, as only the Market Street and Federal Street ferry boats were privileged to use the canal.

The work of removing Windmill and Smith islands was begun in 1891, and finished on January 10, 1898, making a working period of seven years. The dirt was taken in scows to League Island, to raise the grade of that marshy tract, lately taken over by the government as a sits for a navy yard, in place of the old yard opposite Kaighn's Point. The old canal had been in use exactly forty-one years before the work of removing the islands was begun.

The stupendous work of digging the Panama Canal required only ten years, or three more than the little job of removing two small islands in the Delaware. Work on this canal was begun on May 4, 1904, and it was opened from ocean to ocean on August 15, 1914, although not officially "finished" until the following January 1st.

The greatest of all the improvements at the ferries was finished in 1901. A new ferry house and train terminal between Market and Federal streets was opened at midnight on January 22-23 of that year, when the employees left the old ferry houses, one at Federal Street and the other at Market Street, and welcomed the ferry boat "Wenonah," the first to make a line fast to the new slip. The first train to enter the terminal was the "Owl" accommodation from Burlington. The first train out was the newspaper

train to Atlantic City. The old ferries had been operated separately for more than one hundred and fifty years.

In that time many changes had been made in the size and style of the ferry boats. In the long-ago, the Philadelphia boy who lived east of Broad Street knew a great deal more about Camden and the outlying country than any of the boys now living in any part of that city. The Philadelphia boys of that period, and the children of larger growth, too, were often seen in the famous gardens, which were then the pride of Camden.

They picnicked in the deeply-shaded places on the river bank, from Cooper's Point to Kaighn's Point, where the Lombardy poplars grew; they frolicked in Zimmerman's Garden, near the site of the present Broadway station, a garden whose great attraction was the wonderful tun, said to have been modeled after the famous one at Heidelberg; they visited the garden high up on the road leading from Cooper's Ferry and enjoyed there the modest wiles and wreathed smiles of the men and women, boys and girls, riding on the circular track, thinking they were solving some question in transportation, when in reality they were working their own passage. This resort, known as Diamond Cottage, near what is now Eighth and Cooper streets, Camden, blossomed, ripened and decayed in the lifetime of those who have not yet passed their three-score and ten.

"Old Gloucester" has been the gainer by the passing of these places. The desires of the people have changed with the changing years. New forms of recreation and new ways of living have come into vogue. Besides Camden, with her shipyards, her talking machine works and her canning factories, her lumber yards and her docks, South Jersey and particularly "Old Gloucester" is favored by having within her bounds inviting places like Woodbury, Merchantville, Moorestown, Beverly, Riverton, Palmyra, Collingswood, Haddonfield, Haddon Heights, Wenonah, Glassboro, Pitman, Bridgeton, Salem, Woodstown, Clayton, and Atlantic City—the last-named an entrepot of joy for all mankind, a resort that leads the world in the production of two of the best things in the world, healthy pleasure and blissful leisure.

It is a privilege which many now enjoy—of urban life in the daytime for a night of delightful freedom in the suburbs. Here in New Jersey, within the bounds of old Burlington, Gloucester, and Salem, from the Delaware to the sea, the verdant pines and cedars rare, the waters sweet and flowers fair, are a panacea for city ills. Thrice blessed is he who, when the day's work is done, seeks his home and his family in the pleasant country of South Jersey, there to take his ease and his quiet rest; there, when the evening's joy is o'er, to lay himself down in peace to sleep!

CHAPTER XIII.

INVENTION OF THE STEAMBOAT.

The steamboat had its inception in the fertile brain of a man who lived for a time in Trenton. A turbulent wife perhaps played her part, unconsciously, in a drama that opened with the shuffling of a husband out of his Connecticut home. Irving says a sharp tongue is the only edged tool that grows keener with constant use, and it was the sharp tongue of a wife that forced a Yankee clockmaker and watchmaker to seek peace of mind in New Jersey, where his talents were sharpened on the anvil of patriotism. At Trenton he served his country by making guns for the soldiers before the

battle of Trenton, but fled from that city on the approach of the enemy. He wandered to the western country, where he suffered through capture by the Indians, but escaped to Canada, whence he returned to civilization and settled down in the quiet village of Davisville, near Bristol, Pennsylvania. Here, in the spring of 1785, his model of the first steamboat was tested on a mill-pond. The actual product of his ingenuity made its first appearance on the Delaware abreast of Cooper's Ferry in 1786. The name of the inventor was John Fitch.

Near the close of his life, he wrote in his diary: "I know of nothing so perplexing and vexatious to a man as a turbulent wife and steamboat building." Fitch had experienced too much of both. He died a suicide in a little town on the Kentucky side of the Ohio River in 1798. Without the nagging wife, he might have remained in Connecticut to continue his watch-making, and the Delaware River might not have been, as it really was, the cradle of the first steamboat.

Envy of his more fortunate neighbor suggested to Fitch the idea of steam locomotion. William Sinton's horse and carriage passed him and his friend, James Ogilbee, as they were returning from the Neshaminy Presbyterian Church, in Bucks County, on a Sunday in April, 1785. He said to his friend that although the rich might ride in state, he would invent something by which the poor might travel with greater speed and comfort. He pondered a week on the idea of a steam carriage and then gave it up as impracticable. Assured of this, he addressed himself to the problem of water locomotion by steam, and in the summer of 1785 there floated on a small pond in Joseph Longstreth's meadows, half a mile from Davisville, the first model of a steamboat. Robert Fulton was then painting miniatures at Second and Walnut streets, Philadelphia.

The Legislature of New Jersey was the first to recognize the genius of Fitch, and on March 18, 1786, less than a year after his experiment on the mill pond, that body passed an act granting to Fitch the exclusive right to navigate, for fourteen years, the waters of New Jersey by means of boats impelled by the force of steam. The same year, three months later, Fitch and his assistant, Henry Voight, placed a skiff on the Delaware, which they sought to move by steam acting on an endless chain of paddles, and were jeered as they came ashore by those who had witnessed their failure; but in the middle of the next night the idea occurred to Fitch that cranks and paddles would be the best means of propelling a vessel. He leaped from his bed and placed upon paper the first plan of the modern side-wheel steamer. At sunrise he repaired to Voight's shop and a week later, July 22, 1786, the first steam vessel was propelled upon the Delaware.

About this time Fitch endeavored to sell his boat and engine to the American Philosophical Society, but that body, influenced by Franklin, was inclined to view the invention as impracticable, and took no action in the matter. Fitch appealed to the Pennsylvania Legislature for a specific loan of \$700, but the bill failed to pass by a vote of thirty-two to twenty-eight. A few Philadelphia gentlemen had previously raised a purse of \$300 to help him in his work. In imitation of the New Jersey Legislature, the Pennsylvania body granted to Fitch the exclusive right to navigate steamboats on the waters of that State.

Another vessel, the second, was successfully tested on August 22, 1787. At that time the great convention which framed that masterpiece of statecraft, the Constitution of the United States, was in session in Philadelphia,

and many of the members witnessed the trial trip. Most of those present were highly pleased and a number of persons gave certificates of confidence in the invention.

Washington, before whom Fitch's invention was laid, was prevented from giving it countenance because, a year previous, he had signed a certificate of the successful operation of James Rumsey's mechanical boat, and a "too great delicacy of his honor," as Fitch put it, forbade his approval of the Fitch invention. Washington wrote to Rumsey, a fellow Virginian, that others would precede him if he delayed longer in bringing his plans before the public; but there was a decided difference in the working of these two boats, of which Washington seems to have been in ignorance.

At this critical time only one powerful hand was stretched out to help Fitch. It was the hand of the Spanish ambassador; but Fitch refused it, because in its palm was a stipulation that the invention, when perfected, should become the property of the Spanish crown. Five years later Fitch wrote in his diary:

The strange ideas I had at that time, of serving my country without the least suspicion that my reward would be nothing but contempt and opprobrious names, has taught me a mighty lesson in mankind.

Fitch interested Governor Patrick Henry, of Virginia, who entered into a provisional arrangement with the inventor for the right to operate steamboats on the streams of Virginia. Ex-Governor Johnson, of Kentucky, and Governor Smallwood, of Maryland, were also interested, and then Fitch returned to Philadelphia, where he received a flattering report from a committee of the Pennsylvania Legislature, but a refusal of State aid, on the grounds of a lack of funds in the treasury.

In July, 1788, a third vessel was finished and started on her first trip to Burlington. The width of the previous craft was believed to be the greatest obstacle to its progress, and it was calculated that a boat of eight feet beam and sixty feet in length might be easily propelled by the old machinery; but at the same time a very important modification was made in the position of the working oars. Hitherto they had been placed at the sides of the boat, but they were now fixed at the stern, and pushed against the water. The number of paddles was at first three, and afterwards four. Being lightened by the introduction of a pipe boiler, which dispensed with three and a half tons of brick work, the velocity was expected to be greater.

Fitch's third vessel approached Burlington in July, 1788. Everything had passed off pleasantly and seemingly to the entire satisfaction of Fitch, whose crudely constructed machinery had performed its office for several hours without interruption. He believed that he had demonstrated the success and importance of his invention and that the company would be pleased with the result of the trip. The river bank at Burlington was crowded with people, who looked at the new craft with wonder and admiration. When within twenty or thirty rods of the wharf she rounded to and even while the cheering went up she unexpectedly dropped anchor. The boiler had sprung a-leak, and the engine would not work. Some of the company went ashore and represented that they had anchored through choice, but when Fitch reached the wharf he stated the true facts. The exact day of this trial trip is not known, but it was probably July 26th or 27th. Fitch and Voight got their vessel to the wharf by the next tide. In floating back they applied for assistance to the crews of passing river boats, but were treated with insult and derision. The bursting of the boiler was a trifling accident and

it did not have a depressing effect upon Fitch. Still he was disappointed, for though he had done what had never been done before in any part of the world, the speed of the vessel was not satisfactory. This was four miles an hour, only one mile less than that of Fulton's boat nineteen years later, but Fitch looked for a speed of ten miles an hour, and he renewed his efforts with that end in view.

It was not long after the trip to Burlington when the steamboat was again seen on the river, and made several voyages without accident. On October 12, 1788, with thirty passengers on board, she made the trip to Burlington, a distance of twenty miles, in three hours and ten minutes, with a tide which set at the rate of two miles an hour.

In the spring of 1790 Fitch, writing of his fourth boat, made this triumphant entry in his diary:

On the 16th of April (1790), got out work completed, and tried out Boat again; and altho the wind blew very fresh at the north-east, we reigned Lord High Admirals of the Delaware, and no boat on the River could hold its way with us, but all fell astern, altho several sail boats, which were very light and had heavy sails that brought their gun wales down to the water, came out to try us. We also passed many boats with oars, and strong manned, and no loading, and (they) seemed to stand still when we passed them. We also run around a vessel that was beating to windward in about two miles, which had half a mile start of us, and came in without any of our works failing.

At one time, when their interest flagged, Fitch drew up an address to the public, which contained this remarkable prophecy:

But the grand and principal object must be on the Atlantic, which would soon overspread the wild forests of America with people, and make us the most opulent empire of the earth. Pardon me, generous public, for suggesting ideas that cannot be digested at this day. What opinion future ages will have on them time only can make manifest.

This address had its desired effect, and money was forthcoming which enabled him to produce another vessel.

The assaults of his enemies delayed Fitch in the perfecting of his fourth boat. A new cylinder was made at the bog iron furnace of Edward Drinker, on the Little Egg Harbor River, in South Jersey. This iron worker was the son of John Drinker, of Philadelphia, who lived to be more than one hundred years old. It is related that when Dr. Franklin was in England he was asked to what age people lived in America and Franklin's reply was: "I cannot tell till Drinker dies."

All through the season of 1790 the Delaware was plied by a vessel as staunch if not as swift as some of the craft that float on that river today. This fourth vessel, with her cylinder made of old Gloucester County bog iron, made a measured mile in front of Philadelphia in seven and a half minutes, and never fell below a speed of seven miles an hour. As a regular packet for passengers and freight she ran at least two thousand miles during the summer of 1790, and at a speed considerably faster than Fulton's boat seventeen years later. The latter would have been left fifty miles behind, if the two boats could have started from New York together on the day of the "Clermont's" famous trip to Albany in 1807.

In the "New York Magazine" for 1790, we find an interesting letter from Philadelphia, in which the writer says, referring to Fitch's boat:

It is a pleasure, while one is on board of her in a contrary wind, to observe her superiority over the river shallops, sloops, etc., which to gain anything must make a zigzag course, while this, our new vessel, proceeds in a direct line. On Sunday morning she sets off for Chester and engages to return in the evening. God willing,

I intend to be one of the passengers, if only to encourage American ingenuity and the fine arts. Fitch is certainly one of the most ingenious creatures alive, and will make his fortune. I am told he has now in contemplation a steam vessel on a larger scale, which may be capable of carrying freight and passengers to the West Indies, and even to Europe.

Dr. William Thornton, the one man in Fitch's company whose confidence was unshaken, was absent in the West Indies while Fitch was having trouble with his company. Finally, at the close of the season of 1791, his fifth vessel which he called the "Perseverance," broke loose from its fastenings and was blown on Petty's Island. The machinery was removed, but the hulk was permitted to lay there and rot in the mud of old Gloucester County.

Fitch lingered in Philadelphia until 1793, a half starved, ragged and, as some supposed, a half-crazed man, until the company decided that instead of the mechanic whom it was proposed to send to France to build steamboats, Fitch himself should go. He sailed from America in 1793, and arrived in France just at the time the Revolution was agitating the people of that country, and when all business was suspended. He could not obtain in that country the pecuniary aid which he required, and leaving his specifications and drawings in the hands of Aaron Vail, American consul at L'Orient, with whom he had previously entered into an agreement for the construction of steamboats in Europe, he crossed over into England, where he wrote and published a pamphlet entitled "An explanation for keeping a ship's traverse at sea," and dedicated it to his friend, Dr. Thornton, of Philadelphia. The next year he returned to the United States, working his passage as a common sailor, and landing at Boston.

Meantime, Robert Fulton, of Philadelphia, who was then in Paris, borrowed of Consul Vail the papers belonging to Fitch and had them in his possession several months. Robert R. Livingston, of New York, afterwards Fulton's partner, was in Paris at this time and also examined the papers of Fitch.

Mr. Vail admitted these facts to Nathaniel Cutting, who added that Fulton no doubt copied the drawings of Fitch, supposing that "no one then living would convict him of the plagiarism." James Vail, who resided with his uncle, said that the elder Vail and Livingston often conversed about Fitch and that his uncle showed the plans to Livingston. Noah Webster, the distinguished lexicographer, wrote to Rufus W. Griswold, American critic and author, in 1839, stating positively that "Mr. Vail presented to Mr. Fulton, for examination, the papers of Mr. Fitch, containing his scheme for steam navigation."

Returning to America, Livingston met Fitch in New York and the latter built a boat for Livingston, which he navigated with a screw propeller in the summer of 1796, on the "Collect," a large pond which covered the site of the once famous Tombs prison. The boiler was a twelve-gallon iron pot, with a truck plank lid, firmly fastened.

Fitch drifted back to Philadelphia and vainly tried to organize a company to establish steamboat navigation on the Western waters. Thereafter it was the constant burden of his conversation that he would descend to his grave despised and penniless, but would leave to his country a legacy that would bring wealth and honor and glory to others.

After his last disappointment in Philadelphia, Fitch went to Kentucky, but found his lands overrun with squatters, and was obliged to bring several suits to dispossess the intruders. Later on, he built another model steamboat at Bardstown, Kentucky, where he then lived. This model was about

three feet long and its machinery was constructed of brass. It had side wheels or paddles and was propelled on a small stream near the village. After another futile effort to organize a company to navigate the Ohio and Mississippi, he gave over the fight and settled down methodically, at Bardstown, to shorten his wretched life. Repeated disappointments over his land titles in Kentucky broke down his spirits and disgusted him with life.

He gave the town tavern-keeper, Alexander McConn, one hundred and fifty acres of land to board him for the remainder of his days and keep him supplied with a pint of whiskey a day. Finding that he was not going off fast enough, he stipulated that his supply of whiskey should be doubled in consideration of another one hundred and fifty acres of land.

Sometime between June 25th and July 18th, 1798, this unhappy man, weary of the world, and disappointed in all his expectations, died a suicide at Bardstown, at the age of fifty-five. He had been sick for a few days and his physician prescribed anodynes. Instead of taking them as directed, he kept the medicine until he had saved twelve opium pills. These he swallowed at once, and so, in slumber, he ended what to him had been an existence full of troubles, disappointments, and sufferings.

The original patents, drafts, specifications and models of Fitch's and Fulton's boats were exhibited before a committee appointed by the Legislature of New York in 1817, in response to the petition of Hon. Aaron Ogden, of Elizabeth, to investigate and decide as to the validity of the respective claims. The ablest legal talent of the day represented each party, and witnesses of the highest character and personal knowledge of the facts were examined. The result of this most thorough investigation is seen in the report of the committee, setting forth that the steamboat built by Fulton was, in substance, the invention patented by John Fitch in 1791, that Fitch, during the term of his patent, had the exclusive right to use the same in the United States, that the patent to Fitch had expired, that Fitch himself was then deceased, and that any citizen of the United States could make use of the discovery of John Fitch.¹

It may be asked: "Did not Fulton show originality in the construction of the Clermont?" The answer is emphatically "No." The "Clermont" had a cylinder, an air pump, and a condenser, the invention of James Watt, of England; a fly wheel, connecting rods and cranks, the invention of an Englishman named Pickard; a paddle wheel, the invention of Patrick Miller, of Scotland; and a combination of these instruments, the invention of William Symington, of Scotland.

Symington's boat was operated in Scotland in 1801, at the request of Fulton, at which time he made drawings of the machinery. This was proven by the affidavits of two men, Robert Weir and Jacob Perkins, who saw Fulton making the drawings. Fulton admitted his plagiarism in a letter to Hon. Aaron Ogden in 1814, wherein he said: "I have not attempted to patent the experiments of others, but have only used them as a means for demonstrating principles." The fact is, if the inventions of other men, separate or combined, had been removed from Fulton's "Clermont," nothing would have been left but the hull.

Fulton's "Clermont" was not the first steamboat that navigated the Hudson. A steam screw propeller, the invention of a Jerseyman, Colonel John Stevens, of Hoboken, was operated on the Hudson River from 1802

¹ It is said of Mirabeau, the French orator, that he was not especially learned, but made excellent use of the learning of others, so as to appear brilliant. With equal truth we may say of Fulton that he was not an inventor, but contrived to make good use of the inventions of Fitch and others, so as to appear ingenious.

to 1806, and though not a success, it was the first boat of that kind to navigate the waters of any country. It can be safely said that Colonel Stevens attempted to introduce steam navigation by the screw propeller, laboring at the project at least four years, and relinquishing it only one year before the successful application of the paddle wheel by Fulton.

Frederick DePeyster, of New York, in a paper read before the New York Historical Society in 1858, and published in the Society's magazine for August of that year, said: "In the month of May, 1804, accompanied by a friend, I went to walk in the Battery. As we entered the gate from Broadway we saw what in those days was considered a crowd, running toward the river. On inquiry, we were informed that 'Jack Stevens (John Cox Stevens, son of Col. John Stevens) was going over to Hoboken in a queer sort of boat.' On reaching the bulkhead by which the Battery was then bounded, we saw lying against it a vessel about the size of a Whitehall rowboat, in which was a small engine, but there was no visible means of propulsion. The vessel was speedily underway, my late much valued friend, Commodore Stevens, acting as coxwain, and I presume that the smutty-looking person who filled the duties of engineer, fireman and crew was the more practical, Robert L. Stevens."

The attention of Col. John Stevens, of Hoboken, was first attracted to steamboat navigation while driving along the Delaware River near Burlington in 1787, when he saw John Fitch's boat pass up the Delaware against the tide. His interest was so much excited that he followed the boat to the landing, where he examined the engines and the mechanism of the pushing paddles. He subsequently signed the application of Fitch to the New Jersey Legislature for the exclusive right to the streams of New Jersey.

About this time Fulton, having built the "Clermont," in co-operation with Livingston, obtained the repeal of the Fitch franchises in New York and secured for Livingston and himself a monopoly of the streams of that State.

Fulton had one great advantage over Fitch. He had a wealthy, enthusiastic and liberal patron. Chancellor Livingston was satisfied with a boat that would make five miles an hour, while Fitch's friends were dissatisfied with one that attained a speed of seven or eight miles an hour. Fulton had the very best machinery that could be made in Europe. Fitch made his own machinery out of South Jersey bog-ore iron, with the aid of common blacksmiths, and had to experiment as he progressed, to discover the relative influences of the various parts of the engine and rowing apparatus upon each other. Fulton began after other men had wasted years in experiments, and appropriated to himself the results of these earlier achievements.²

The contest between the Fitch and Fulton interests was renewed about 1819, after the death of Fulton, when two prominent New York gentlemen engaged in a bitter controversy over the merits of Fulton's pretended invention, the benefits which he derived from previous experiments, especially those of Fitch, and the actual rights of the Fulton-Livingston Company.

Hon. Cadwallader C. Colden, Mayor of New York, wrote a life of Fulton, in which he severely criticized a report made by Dr. Duer, president

² Fulton employed an imported engine. It was built in England by Bolton and Watt, on their improved principles. Fulton told Dr. Thornton that it was impossible to make a boat "go more than five miles an hour in dead water." He "offered me," said Dr. Thornton, "\$150,000 if I would make one that exceeded that speed. I agreed to his proposition at once, but he declined to write the terms. Our boat (Fitch's) went at the rate of eight miles an hour, in the presence of witnesses yet (1814) living."—U. S. Patent Office Report for 1850, Part 1, Page 370.

of Columbia College, on certain memorials and remonstrances presented to the New York Legislature, of which Duer was then a member, against the Fulton Company, who claimed a monopoly of all waters in the State of New York, by legislative grant, notwithstanding a previous grant on March 17, 1797, which grant gave to Fitch "the exclusive right and privilege of navigating all kinds of boats propelled by the force of fire or steam" on the waters of that State. Duer replied to the attack of Colden, whereupon the latter published a second criticism, more virulent than the first, and Duer, in turn, defended himself so vigorously that Colden was glad to end the war of words. Soon afterwards, the dispute was renewed in the form of a suit at law between the Fulton and Fitch interests, which suit was finally decided against the Fulton Company.

CHAPTER XIV.

NAVIGATION ON DELAWARE—STEAMBOAT ACCIDENTS.

With the monopoly of the Hudson and all the streams of New York in the possession of Livingston and Fulton, John Stevens, of Hoboken, decided to send his "Phoenix" around to Philadelphia for service on the Delaware. Though built three years before Fulton's first boat, the "Clermont," she had not run on the Hudson, but was used as a passenger boat between New Brunswick and New York. Resolved upon sending the "Phoenix" to sea, Colonel Stevens placed his son, Robert Livingston Stevens, then only twenty years old, in command, and he took her safely to Philadelphia in June, 1808.

After leaving New York Harbor the "Phoenix" was overtaken by a fierce storm. A schooner in company was driven off to sea, and was absent some days; but the "Phoenix" made a safe harbor at Barnegat, whence, when the storm abated, she proceeded safely to Philadelphia. She was the first steam vessel of any kind that ever navigated the ocean, and was commanded by a Jersey boy of twenty.

The "Phoenix" began running regularly to Bordentown and Bristol in May, 1809, under the command of Captain Davis. Her engineer was Robert L. Stevens and her speed of eight miles an hour was considered marvelous. After running a few years between Philadelphia and Trenton, her machinery gave out, and she was laid up on the Kensington flats to gradually rot away. The "Phoenix" was succeeded by the "Philadelphia," built by Colonel Stevens and his sons, John Cox and Robert L. Stevens, in 1813, and put in service between Philadelphia and Trenton in 1814, under the command of Captain Abisha Jenkins, a well-known character among the river-men of that time. She was a marvel in her day. A feature of this boat was the salute she was accustomed to fire from a small brass cannon mounted on her forward deck as she approached the wharves at Bristol and Burlington. On one of these occasions the cannon burst, killing one of the boat hands.

After a time Robert L. Stevens saw that the shape of the "Philadelphia" was far from perfection, and he accordingly went to the ship builders and asked them to sharpen her bow. He gave them a drawing, but they declined to make the change, declaring themselves unwilling to encounter the ridicule which must necessarily follow the construction of such a vessel. Repulsed but not discouraged, young Stevens built a false bow at his own expense, put it on the vessel, and in that way increased her speed from ten to thirteen and a half miles an hour.

About this time, or shortly afterwards, there were other steamboats

on the Delaware. The "Eagle" was placed on the Burlington line in 1813, making three trips a week. She was afterwards taken to Baltimore, and was blown up while running on Chesapeake Bay.

In 1817-18 two boats were built in Philadelphia by a company called the Citizen's line. One of these, the "Aetna," was commanded by Captain Kellum, and the other, the "Pennsylvania," by Captain Davison. These boats had high pressure engines, but after running two seasons to Bordentown, they were altered to low pressure. The "Franklin," built in New York in 1821, was commanded by Captain Jenkins. She also ran to Bordentown. The "Congress," commanded by Captain Degraw, about this time, had in tow a safety barge, on which an extra fare was charged, as it was considered safer to be on the barge than on the steamboat, in case of explosion. She was run in opposition to the Union line, but was hauled off after one season.

A few years after Fulton had placed the "Clermont" on the Hudson, a Cape May Jerseyman, Captain Wilmen Whilldin, was in practical command of the Delaware with his steamboats, and he soon became one of the best known river captains of his day; but before his time, there were other steamboats on the Delaware. The earliest of these—excepting, of course, the four or five boats navigated by Fitch—was the "Phoenix," already mentioned. This steamer made regular trips to Chester and to Bordentown, connecting at Bordentown with the stages for New Brunswick, whence the passengers took the steamboat for New York, the fare for the entire one-day trip being \$4.25.

In 1812, when Fulton's success was still the great talk of the day, Francis Grice and Daniel Large, of Philadelphia, took out a patent for a steamboat, and it was in this year that Large built the engine for the steamboat "New Jersey," which was placed on the line to Baltimore in 1816, under command of Captain Moses Rogers.

Captain Whilldin was almost as well known on the Delaware as was Cornelius Vanderbilt on the Hudson. Indeed, it was of Vanderbilt that Captain Whilldin bought the "Sun," and took her from the Hudson to the Delaware, where she was well known between 1840 and 1850 on the route to Cape May and also on the route to Burlington, Bristol, and Trenton. This, however, was only one of many transactions and enterprises in which the Whilldins (father and son) were concerned before steamboats on the Delaware, for regular passenger traffic, gave way to railroads.

When the Camden and Amboy Railroad was opened the "Bolivar," which had been another of Vanderbilt's steamboats at New York, was transferred to Philadelphia under the command of one of the Whilldins, and so sharp was the rivalry between railroad and steamboat that passengers were carried to Burlington at six cents each, the regular fare being fifty cents. Among the Delaware River boats which had great reputation in their day for speed were the "William Penn," the "Robert Morris," and the "Rip Van Winkle."

The first steamboat on the Philadelphia and Salem line was the "Aetna." She began running in 1816, touching at New Castle, where connection was made with a stage line to Frenchtown, whence passengers and freight were taken to Baltimore and Washington by boat. The "Aetna" made two or three trips a week. She was afterwards withdrawn and sent to New York, where she exploded in the harbor on May 2, 1824. Another boat, the "Congress," ran to Salem for a short time in 1819.

A stage line from Salem connected with a steamboat which left Pennsville in 1824. The next year the "Lafayette" made three trips a week be-

tween Philadelphia and Salem. Many citizens of Salem about this time were opposed to steamboats, and the "Salem Messenger" of March 23, 1825, said: "The farmers will take their butter, cheese and eggs away, and buy groceries, dry goods, &c., and we will have nothing to eat." Again on April 20, the same paper said: "In consequence of the great opposition and even hostility to a steamboat in Salem, the proprietors of the "Lafayette" have determined to withdraw her and run to Mount Holly."

The "Albemarle" replaced the "Lafayette," but she unfortunately took fire and was destroyed, while lying at the Arch Street wharf, Philadelphia, on April 30, 1825.

The "Penobscot" was the first of the steamboats which supplanted the sailing vessels between Philadelphia and Cape May. Many years previous to the establishment of the outside line to New York, this pioneer line had boats running to Cape May at different periods, including the "Sun," "Portsmouth," "Napoleon," and "Mountaineer." The last-named was an unusually fast boat and in speeding down the river she ran upon Brandywine shoals, where she remained and finally went to pieces. The "Sun," "Portsmouth," and "Napoleon," were constructed with upright or perpendicular walking beams, now almost obsolete.

The outside line between Philadelphia and New York was started subsequent to 1825. In the summer season these boats stopped at Cape May. The best known were the "Kennebec," "Delaware," "Boston," and "Sanford." It was known as the Sanford line. The boats were large and staunch, and were fitted for both freight and passengers, having a large number of well-appointed state rooms. This line went out of existence about 1861, probably on account of the government taking over the boats for military purposes.

Steamboat Accidents on Delaware—After the West Jersey Railroad was built, in 1863, the Cape May steamboats gradually declined in popular favor, although not a few old-fashioned sojourners preferred to make the trip by water at the beginning of each season. The "Richard Stockton" and the "John A. Warner" were among the principal boats which made Cape May their destination in the period between the establishment of the railroad and the advent of that greatest of all Delaware River steamboats, the "Republic."

In her day, the "Ohio," of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore line was looked upon as the queen of the Delaware River boats. She was sunk in a collision near Gloucester in 1850, in which year also the boiler of the "Telegraph" exploded, causing a heavy loss of life. Another boat about this time was the "America," with Captain David Martin in command. On these boats the Cape May passenger paid \$2.50 fare, or he could buy a season ticket for \$10.

All of the old-time Delaware River steamboats furnished cheap and convenient transportation, not only between Philadelphia and the towns on the Delaware, but to New York and Baltimore. They were connecting links, at points like Burlington and Bordentown, with the stages from New York and at Newcastle with stages from the south. These boats were regarded as swift, handsome and commodious. Some of them would run to Burlington regularly in less than an hour and a half, and they were sometimes referred to by writers of that time as wonders of civilization.

The "William Penn" had among her passengers some of the famous statesmen of that day, including Webster, Van Buren, Marcy, John Quincy

Adams, Josiah Quincy, Thurlow Weed, and Silas Wright, who traveled by stage from New York to Bordentown, thence by boat to Philadelphia or Baltimore. The mails were also carried by this boat, under a government contract.

On March 4, 1834, while coming up the Delaware, with upwards of one hundred and fifty men, women, and children on board, the cry of "fire" was heard on board the "William Penn," and the passengers became panic-stricken. Captain Jeffries ordered her steered so that she could be placed with her side towards the land at Greenwich Point, but some of the passengers interfered and tried to force the helmsman to head her bow foremost into the shore. The result was that she was run into the mud flats below the old Philadelphia navy yard, with her stern in deep water. Meanwhile, the fire swept fiercely over the decks. Most of the passengers escaped from the bow and waded to the land, but those in the stern were obliged to swim, or take their chances in jumping with an improvised life preserver, such as a chair, a table, a settee or some other piece of furniture.

Amidst the shrieks and confusion, the captain and his crew were enabled to restore confidence to many by pointing to them the proximity of the shore. He hoped to save all the passengers, and he probably would have done so if his orders had been executed without interference by the men who coerced the helmsman. Among the lost, according to contemporary records, was the Rev. John Mitchelmoore, although the inscription on his tombstone in the Old Pine Street Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, reads "Mutchmoore." Mr. Mitchelmoore was from Delaware and lost his life in an effort to save one of the lady passengers. This lady jumped overboard into deep water and was followed a moment later by the clergyman, but for some reason both failed to reach the shore.

Twenty-two years later, the Delaware River was the scene of a more tragic steamboat accident. In March, 1856, the river was packed with ice, and navigation was extremely difficult. On the night of March 15, the ferryboat "New Jersey," captain, William S. Corson, with some one hundred and twenty-five passengers on board, left the Philadelphia side for Camden, intending to pass through the canal between Smith's and Windmill Islands. This canal was so blocked with ice that the pilot, John Springer, found it impossible to take the boat through, and he then attempted to pass the island on the north end.

As soon as the bar was reached an alarm of fire was sounded. The boat was wedged in the ice floes, and in a few minutes a column of flame was seen to shoot along the smokestack. Then came a scene of panic. The fire spread over the woodwork of the boat in a few minutes and the passengers huddled together, some praying and others wild with fear. The order was given to head the boat directly for the Philadelphia shore. It might have been possible to have reached the wharves in time if the ice had not been in the way, but the flames swept the boat so swiftly that the crew was almost helpless, and the machinery became unmanageable.

Along the wharves the firemen and the people who looked on the burning craft were helpless to save her. It is said that at one time she floated to within one hundred feet of the wharves between Market and Arch streets; but there was no alternative for the panic-stricken passengers other than to jump overboard or perish in the flames, and in jumping they probably took the chance of being rescued from the floating cakes of ice. It was never known exactly how many were lost, despite the efforts of the brave men

on the wharves to pick them out of the stream in the darkness of night. Contemporary accounts say fifty-five were either burned or drowned.

The burning of the "New Jersey" was followed by the arrest of a number of prominent Jerseymen at a famous old Camden hostelry, owned by James Elwell, who died in 1881. For many years Mr. Elwell kept the railroad house at the foot of Bridge Avenue, known as Elwell's Hotel. The directors of the old Camden and Amboy Railroad made this house their resort, and within its walls were held meetings affecting the political complexion of the State. In those days New Jersey was known as the "State of Camden and Amboy," the railroad corporation controlling its politics by setting up one man and putting down another in most of the legislative districts. The old hotel was pulled down long before Mr. Elwell died, and its site is now covered by the iron rails of the Pennsylvania Railroad, lessee of the Camden and Amboy. That such a hotel ever existed is unknown to many people of today, and few could indicate the spot. Commodore Robert F. Stockton, Robert L. and Edwin A. Stevens, Captain John W. Mickle, General Cook, John McKnight, Robert Van Rensselaer, and other Camden and Amboy worthies figured in public affairs in those days.

It was while they were at this hotel that Robert F. Stockton and his associates were arrested, after the burning of the "New Jersey." Thomas W. Mulford, prosecutor of the pleas, was awakened in the dead of night at his house in Pennsgrove, Salem County, and taken to Camden, where he caused some bereaved person to lodge a complaint against the directors. The latter were fortuitously at Elwell's Hotel at an early hour in the morning, and were arrested for manslaughter. Some of them were greatly surprised and so shocked by the gravity of the charge that they shed tears. The result was that New Jersey got jurisdiction of the case and none of the defendants were thrown into prison.¹

Another accident on the Delaware, remembered by many persons still living, was the wrecking of the steamboat "Major Reybold" during a tornado which passed over Philadelphia and Camden on the afternoon of August 3, 1885. It crossed the Delaware from Gloucester to Greenwich Point and then re-crossed to the Jersey side. The "Reybold" of the Salem line, and the "Peerless," a ferryboat of the Gloucester line, were struck in mid-stream and all of their upperworks, pilot houses, and cabins carried away. The pilot of the "Reybold" was drowned. From the Jersey shore the tornado took a northerly course to Cooper's Point, where the Delaware was again crossed to Port Richmond, great damage accruing in Kensington and other parts of Philadelphia. Three lives were lost and thirty-eight persons injured in Philadelphia, while in Camden four lives were lost and forty-eight persons injured. It was estimated that the damage to property exceeded three-quarters of a million dollars.

¹ Eleven years before the burning of the "New Jersey," in 1845, opposition to the Camden and Amboy culminated in the election of Charles C. Stratton, of Gloucester County, the Whig nominee for Governor, over John R. Thompson, Democrat, candidate of the railroad company. Stratton was the first Governor elected after the adoption of the new Constitution in 1844. Unlike Thompson, he was a native born Jerseyman, and the opposition availed themselves of this fact to influence the native voters in his favor. It was the era of campaign poetry, and one John Leadbeater, of Camden, wrote and published a number of campaign verses, which were sung throughout South Jersey. One of these alluded to Richard F. Stockton, who was the chief promoter of the Delaware and Raritan Canal, as well as the dominating spirit of the Camden and Amboy Railroad. As a captain in the navy, he commanded a squadron on the California coast during the Mexican War, and was afterwards a Senator of the United States. This Whig song was entitled, "Jersey Blues, We Look to You," and was sung to the tune of "Lucy Neal." These and other political songs, together with a number of devotional and didactic hymns and miscellaneous rhymes, were printed for private circulation in 1850, in a curious little volume entitled "Literary Remains of John Leadbeater, Jr."

CHAPTER XV.
EARLY GOVERNMENT.

Proprietary Concessions—The form of government devised by William Penn, submitted to the other Proprietors and by them approved, was promulgated on March 3, 1676. It was called the "Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Province of West New Jersey in America." Its fundamental rights and privileges were to be continuous; they were not to be revoked or changed by the Legislature.

This instrument gave a wide range to the spirit of democracy. It left to the people the determination of all matters of a local character. The Proprietors retained no governmental authority for themselves. In the matter of home rule they anticipated, by nearly two hundred and fifty years, the so-called "home rule" act of March 27, 1917. No authority existed, they said, except such as were established by popular will; no restraints imposed, except those necessary for the maintenance of order. In some respects the boundary of government—the spirit of home rule—was seemingly so broad as to jeopardize its safety.

The resident "proprietors, freeholders and inhabitants" were directed to assemble yearly, on March 25th, and elect "of and among themselves ten honest and able men" as commissioners. The date, March 25th, was the new year, according to the prevailing custom of reckoning time by the Julian calendar, which custom continued until the adoption of the Gregorian calendar in 1752. Throughout South Jersey, to this day, it is the date of expiration for all farm leases.

Beginning with March 25, 1680, and once a year thereafter, all elections were to be "distinguished by balloting trunks, to avoid noise and confusion; not by voices, holding up of hands, or otherwise," and each of the ten proprietors was to elect a commissioner, to serve for one year, or until his successor qualified. Members of the General Assembly were to be elected in like manner, but on October 1st, instead of March 25th. The Assembly could appoint its own time of meeting and could adjourn to such time and place as it saw fit. Full liberty of speech was granted, with the right of protest to the Assembly. At all sessions of the Assembly the people were "to have liberty to come in and hear and be witnesses of the votes and inclinations" of their representatives.

Any person who gave, bestowed or promised to voters or members of the General Assembly "any meat, drink, money or money's worth for procurement of their choice and consent," was declared incapable of election as a member of that body.

As a restrictive measure, the concessions were not so far-reaching as the corrupt practice act of 1918, for which a distinguished citizen of South Jersey was sponsor—Walter E. Edge, then Governor and now United States Senator. At the time of its enactment, the Edge Act was regarded as proof against all form of corruption at the polls, but unfortunately clever politicians soon found a way to circumvent an act designed to ensure a free expression of the public will.

In executing the "concessions" the Proprietors, of course, did not relinquish any of their proprietary rights as owners of West Jersey lands. Their interests thereafter were purely monetary and their business was transacted collectively until the number of Proprietors became numerous and unwieldy.¹

Undoubtedly, there were defects in these "concessions," the most glaring being an executive of ten persons, which engendered jealousy and division. The Legislature, composed of one house, was exposed to the evil of precipitation. Yet, as a whole, the instrument revealed principles of political science unknown at that time and for many years thereafter. Political power was emphatically in the hands of the people, the right of suffrage being universal. Personal liberty was vouchsafed; the barbarism of imprisonment for debt abolished.

Under Crown Rule—The "concessions" continued in force until the surrender of West Jersey in 1702 and the organization of government pursuant to terms submitted by the Crown. "The surrender of the Jerseys is an ugly preface," said Penn, meaning, no doubt, that it portended evil for the proprietary governments. The people generally were unfavorably affected by this change. True, the projected system of government had received proprietary approval, but whether the authority of the two bodies, Council and Assembly, was such as to render them competent to dispose anew of the rights they had hitherto granted was a matter of doubt or dispute.

A new constitution was promulgated on November 16, 1702. It provided for a Council, appointed by the Crown, whose members could be suspended for just cause by the Governor, appointed by the Crown. The Governor could fill vacancies, subject to royal confirmation. The General Assembly consisted of twenty-four representatives, including two from Perth Amboy, two from Burlington, two from Salem, and two from each of the nine counties.² The "pinch" upon human rights was felt in the provision that no person could be elected a representative who did not possess a freehold estate in his own right of one thousand acres of land, situated in the division from which he was chosen, or personal estate to the value of five hundred pounds sterling; nor could any person vote at an election for representatives who was not possessed of a freehold estate in his own right of one hundred acres of land within the county wherein he cast his vote, or personal estate to the value of fifty pounds sterling. The Assembly was to meet alternately at Perth Amboy and Burlington.

South Jersey Quakers were aggrieved by a provision in favor of merchants and other traders, especially the Royal African Company of England, which provision recommended that "the province be constantly supplied with merchantable negroes at moderate rates." As a salve to the wounded feelings of the Quakers, laws were to be passed to discourage inhuman severity against Indians and negroes.

People generally gained nothing by the change; indeed, they were losers in many respects. The government was far less favorable to popular rights than heretofore. Slavery, which had existed more in form than in substance,

¹The Council of Proprietors was composed of individuals chosen from the general body of Proprietors. Accordingly, on February 14, 1687, they created a "council" consisting of eleven commissioners to be chosen annually among themselves. This Council was clothed with authority to transact all business concerning the general body. Previous to the formation of this Council, the trustees of Byllynge, under pressure of circumstances, had sold a considerable number of shares of the undivided moiety to people in various parts of England, who thereby became Proprietors in common with Penn, Lawry, Lucas, Eldridge, Warner, Byllynge and Fenwick. The first Council of Proprietors included Samuel Jennings, Thomas Olive, William Biddle, Elias Farr, Mahlon Stacy, Francis Davenport, Andrew Robeson, William Royden, John Heading, William Cooper, and John Wills. The Council of Proprietors, as a body, is still in existence, but it is shorn of power by reason of the sale of all proprietary rights. The membership was reduced to nine soon after its creation—five from Burlington County and four from Old Gloucester County. Meetings are held annually at Burlington and Gloucester, the sessions lasting long enough to call the meeting to order at noon, elect a president and secretary and then declare the meeting adjourned.

²In 1768, the membership of Assembly was increased from twenty-four to thirty. This was done by confirmation of an act giving representation to the counties of Morris, Cumberland, and Sussex. The first had been erected in 1738, the second in 1747, and the third in 1753.

was now urged upon the province by royal recommendation, and as a more decisive mark of royal oppression—"forasmuch as great inconvenience may arise by the liberty of printing"—the governor was directed to "provide by all necessary orders that no person keep any press for printing, nor that any book, pamphlet, or other matters whatsoever be printed without his especial leave and license first obtained." This edict against printing was on a par with the earlier (1671) declaration of a Virginia Governor.³

East Jersey Proprietors surrendered their governmental rights to the Crown at about the same time as West Jersey, and the two provinces thus became a royal colony. Lord Cornbury, a cousin of Queen Anne, was sent over as the first Governor of the re-united Jerseys. His first official acts were offensive and, before a month had passed, the people realized that in surrendering to the Crown they had invited new troubles. By corrupt practices the new Governor obtained an Assembly with a considerable number devoted to his measures, and to obtain a majority he connived with his Council to exclude three members of the Assembly on the pretext that they did not possess the requisite estate of one thousand acres. As the representatives appeared before him to take the prescribed oath, he refused to either swear or affirm Thomas Gardner, Thomas Lambert, and Joshua Wright, distinguished delegates from West Jersey. By this proceeding he obtained a majority of one, whereupon John Fretwell, of Burlington, was chosen speaker by the casting vote of the clerk, who, though nominated by the Governor, had been previously admitted to the Assembly. At the next session, in December, 1703, the rejected members, after eleven months' exclusion, were admitted, the Governor having been forced to recognize their qualifications.

Four years later, in 1707, when the Assembly met at Burlington, very few of the members were favorably disposed toward Cornbury. The opposition was led by Samuel Jenings, of Burlington, and Lewis Morris, of Monmouth,—the latter well known in West Jersey, particularly on account of certain public services at Cohansy, Cumberland County.

One of the charges brought against the Governor was that of obstructing the course of justice by suspending the execution of women convicted of murder. The Assembly averred: "The blood of innocents cry aloud for vengeance and a just heaven will not fail to pour it down upon our already miserable country, if the guilty are not made to suffer according to their demerits." It was also charged that in criminal cases the accused, against whom no indictment was found, were condemned to the payment of costs; that wills were probated at Burlington, to the great inconvenience of the inhabitants who dwelt in remote parts of the province; and that a patent for the exclusive carriage of goods on the road from Burlington to Perth Amboy had been granted for a term of years, contrary to the statute against monopolies.

The Governor was also accused of accepting large sums of money for the dissolution of an Assembly. Numerous other charges were brought against him and the remonstrance lost none of its force in delivery by Speaker Jenings. Frequently, he was interrupted by Cornbury with the

³ "We have forty-eight parishes," wrote that dastard, Governor William Berkeley, "and our ministers are well paid, and by my consent should be better, if they would pray oftener and preach less; but, as of all other commodities, so of this, the worst are sent us; and we have few that we can boast of since the persecution, in Cromwell's tyranny, drove divers worthy men hither. I thank God there are no free schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both."

cry of "Stop!" to which Jenings gave sarcastic heed by pausing and then repeating the charge in such manner that "additional emphasis on second reading made it more offensive than the first."

After adjournment, Cornbury said: "I am of opinion that nothing has hindered the vengeance of a just heaven from falling on this province, but the infinite mercy, goodness, long-suffering and forbearance of Almighty God, who has been abundantly provoked by the repeated sins of a perverse generation; more especially by the dangerous and abominable doctrines and the wicked lives and practices of a number of people, some of whom, under the pretended name of Christians, have dared to deny the essence and being of the Saviour of the World." The practice of extorting fees from the accused, against whom no bill was found, was defended on the ground of established custom. He also issued this unwonted attack upon the Quakers:

We find from woeful experience that there are many men who have been admitted to serve on grand and special juries who have convinced the world that they have no regard for the oaths they take, especially among a sort of people who, under the pretence of conscience, refuse to take an oath, and yet who, under the cloak of a very solemn affirmation, dare to commit the greatest enormities, especially if it is to serve a "friend," as they call him. These are the designing men and the vindictive tempers of which all the Queen's good subjects ought to beware; these are the crying sins which will undoubtedly draw down the vengeance of a just heaven upon this province and people. * * * There are several unquiet spirits who will never be quiet, under any government but their own, and not long under that; men who use the most arbitrary and illegal methods of proceeding over their fellow subjects that were ever heard of. Yet I am satisfied there are very few men in the province, except Samuel Jenings and Lewis Morris, (neither of whom have good principles or good morals) who have ventured to accuse a governor of such crimes without any proof of their accusations—but Jenings and Morris are capable of anything but good.

Evidently dreading a caustic rejoinder, Cornbury prorogued the Assembly to the following October, at which time the members availed themselves of the privilege of the "retort courteous" in an address bristling with criticism of the Governor and dignified defense of the Quakers. They said in part:

It is the General Assembly that complains and not the Quakers of West Jersey, with whose persons or meetings we have nothing to do; nor are we concerned in what your Excellency says against them. They, perhaps, will think themselves obliged to vindicate their meetings from the aspersions which your excellency so liberally bestows upon them, and evince to the world the rashness and inconsideration of your excellency's expressions, and how unbecoming it is for the governor of a province to enter the lists of controversy with a people who thought themselves entitled to his protection in the enjoyment of their religious liberties. Those of the Quakers who are members of this Assembly beg leave, in behalf of themselves and their friends, to answer the Governor in the words of Nehemiah, contained in the eighth verse of the sixth chapter: "There are no such things done as thou sayest, but thou feignest them out of thine own heart."

History has passed judgment on the merits of Cornbury and the "sins" of the West Jersey Quakers. It is well known that during the World War the German Emperor defended his inhumanities to the Belgians and French on the ground that God was fighting on the side of his people and that his armies were justified in resorting to the most extreme measures, including the slaughter of innocents, to bring his enemies into subjection, that the cause of civilization and righteousness might be served. That the Almighty was not on the side of the Huns is evidenced by events in Germany since the war ended in 1918.

Cornbury, by his own vicious life, offended the "just heaven" whose anger he had invoked against the Quakers. Not content with liberal grants by the Assembly for his private use, he embezzled large sums appropriated

for public works, and unable to subsist on his lawful emoluments, with the addition of enormous pillage, he contracted debts with tradesmen and set his creditors at defiance by means of his official station. At length the Assembly refused to vote the smallest sum for the public service until he accounted for his past disbursements and refunded the sums he had embezzled.⁴

Cornbury's dissolute habits and ignoble tastes finally disgusted those who had been his friends, and when he was seen rambling abroad in the dress of a woman, public indignation was such that Queen Anne cancelled his commission. No sooner was he deprived of the protection afforded by his official station than his creditors threw him into prison. He was kept a prisoner in the province until the death of his father, from whom he inherited a peerage, which entitled him to his liberty. He was then returned to England and died there in 1723.

Lord Lovelace, his successor, met the Assembly for the first time at Perth Amboy in the spring of 1709. His address and manner were conciliatory, and the Assembly promptly appropriated liberal sums for his personal use and for the expenses of government. They also availed themselves of the opportunity to restrict the right of suffrage.

Apparently, two of the Council from West Jersey, at the beginning of Lovelace's administration, were objectionable to William Penn, who was still the owner of proprietary interests. The members in question were Daniel Leeds⁵ and Thomas Revell, both of Burlington. Their offence was that of having suggested to Cornbury his scheme to control the Assembly by refusing to administer the oath or affirmation to Thomas Gardner, Thomas Lambert, and Joshua Wright, members from West Jersey. Penn recognized the ability of Leeds, but questioned some of his methods. Hence we find his writing to William Popple, secretary of the Lords of Trade at London, in 1708:

I am of opinion that leaving Thomas Revell and Daniel Leeds out of the Council will tend more to the public quiet and the satisfaction of ye people of those parts, which I take to be of moment at this time on divers accounts. One Keeble, that is to be with ye Lords, knows them both. Pray ask him.

Unfortunately for New Jersey, Lovelace's administration was of short duration. He died suddenly a few days after the passage of the legislation regulating membership of the Assembly.

Robert Hunter administered the government for nearly ten years, or until 1719, and was a worthy successor of the amiable Lovelace. Nevertheless, the Assembly was impelled to remonstrate against certain men whose influence was inimicable to good order in the province. They named two men of note in West Jersey, Jeremiah Basse and Daniel Coxe, the latter a son of the former Governor, Dr. Daniel Coxe, who had been the owner of all lands within the bounds of the present Cape May County, a considerable tract in old Egg Harbor, now Atlantic County, besides valuable lands above the Falls of the Delaware. Basse had been the representative of Dr. Coxe, living first at Salem and afterwards occupying Coxe Hall on the bay side of Cape May. At the time of his condemnation by the Assembly he was living in Burlington.

⁴Beside these and other acts of pillage by men in public life in Colonial days, the alleged "grafts" of legislators of the present day sink into insignificance. At the close of the session of 1921 the charge was made that members had looted the treasury of nearly \$25,000 in the form of perquisites. The printed report said: "Incidental expenses reached the total of \$22,000, or about \$7,000 more than was originally figured the 'loot' would cost. Hand-bags, brief cases, safety-razors, fountain pens, nickel-plated pencils, combs, brushes, matches, soap, diaries, engraved stationery and stamps were distributed generously."

He was accused of making away with the original copies of laws passed by the Assembly, he being at that time Secretary of State, Clerk of the Council and Prothonotary of the Supreme Court. They said of him:

Basse offers to purge himself by his oath that he has them not, nor knows anything of them. It may be so, for aught we know; but in this province, where he is known, it is also known that few men ever believed his common conversation and several juries have refused to credit his oaths. It is certain that the secretary's office is the place where these laws should have been. * * * We have so much reason to expose a number of persons combined to do New Jersey all the harm that lies in their power that justice cannot be done to the people while William Pinhorne, Roger Mompesson, Daniel Coxe, Richard Townley, Peter Sonmans, Hugh Huddy, William Hall, or Jeremiah Basse continue in places of trust; nor can we think our persons or properties safe. If they are continued we must, with our families, desert this province and seek some safer place of abode.

William Burnet, who succeeded Hunter, was the son of the celebrated Bishop Burnet, whose zeal for the Protestant succession made him a conspicuous figure in English history. The son was a man of intellectuality of whom Smith, the historian, said: "He wrote a book to unfold some parts of the apocalypse." His coming to New Jersey had been preceded by doubts as to his orthodoxy; hence, one of the first bills proposed at the session of 1721 was: "An act against denying the Divinity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the doctrines of the blessed Trinity, the truth of the Holy Scriptures and the spreading of Atheistical books." This bill was rejected on second reading.

It was said of Governor Burnet that his administration was "as little esteemed as the meanest of his predecessors." Nevertheless, he was lauded by many, particularly in New York, for his prohibition of trade between the Indians and the French in Canada. In the furtherance of his plans, he built a fort, at his own expense, to protect the trade of the colonists. The home government, however, refused to endorse his course in these matters. Consequently, he was pleased when notified of his transfer to Massachusetts in 1728. It was not until after his death that the full measure of credit was given him on account of efforts to circumvent trade with the French. In later years, when their ambitious designs, with respect to America, awakened British attention, there was a change in the public feeling toward Burnet. Mulford says of him, captiously: "He upheld the royal authority as well as his own, and resisted every attempt toward an extension of popular privileges."

Hunterdon County had been erected out of Burlington during the administration of his predecessor, Robert Hunter, in 1714. The privilege of electing members of Assembly from the new county was suspended, however, until the pleasure of the Crown could be ascertained. No decision was made by Queen Anne, at the time, but the matter was determined by her successor, George I, during the Burnet administration. The King referred the matter to his legal adviser, Attorney-General Raymond, who advised that "as the right of sending representatives to the Assembly and the qualifications of the electors and elected depended on his Majesty's instructions, he might make any alterations that were required, and therefore might empower the new county of Hunterdon to send two representatives and restrain the town of Salem from sending any."

This meant that the right of representation depended wholly upon the King's instructions. It was a subversion of English liberty and in violation of the proprietary concessions, the decision coming not in response to a petition by the colonists, but upon the assumption that the right of representation depended upon the will of the King. It has been said that the real

purpose of withholding representation from Hunterdon was to retain the equality of membership between East and West Jersey in the Assembly.

Burnet's successor, John Montgomerie, a Scotchman, is described as a "soldier of fortune, with many amiable qualities," but his administration was brief—1728 to 1731. He died in office and was succeeded by William Cosby, who arrived in 1732. Cosby was a charlatan and the last of the dual governors, as the separation from New York took place after his death in 1736. About all he did was to draw his salary, quarrel with the Assembly, the Court, and all others in positions of authority. He aired his self-conceit and gabbled about "prerogatives" until he became the most hated man in the province.

Two years after Cosby's death, Lewis Morris became the first of the governors of New Jersey, appointed by the Crown, after the separation from New York. He had been one of the leaders in the movement for separation and was undoubtedly the foremost lawyer of his time. He had been Chief Justice of the province and at all times was a fearless public-spirited citizen. The late Judge Clement, of Haddonfield, says of him:

Lewis Morris was agent and attorney for the West New Jersey Society, of London, for more than thirty years, beginning in 1703. He was a notable character in the colony. His official conduct did not receive the censure that fell to others. As agent of the land company, he was blameless. In 1735, being then in London, he addressed a letter to his son, Lewis Morris, Jr., in New Jersey, asking him to forward certain papers of the society. The direction showed him to be a systematic and careful business man. In 1720, under his direction, the island in the Delaware, opposite Burlington, was located to the West New Jersey Society. It contains 360 acres. He sold but little of the Society's land in the lower counties, but gave his attention to re-surveying lands already taken up, thus avoiding many disputes with prior purchasers and settlers. The lands re-surveyed were mostly in Cumberland and Cape May counties.

Another side of Morris is revealed in his attitude with respect to a threatened war with Spain in 1737. England resented injuries to the log-wood cutters at Campeachy, and salt gatherers at Tortugas. The Spaniards not only denied the English the privileges they claimed under their concession, but used them with insolence and cruelty. Open war was threatened, but delayed for a time. Agreements between the two countries being violated in 1738, letters of marque and reprisal were issued by Great Britain, and there was a general preparation for war. Indeed, war was actually declared in the latter part of 1739, at which time Admiral Edward Vernon was dispatched to the Spanish islands. Parliament also made requisition upon the colonies for troops.

New Jersey was prompt to respond—at least the people showed a spirit of patriotism that has characterized them from the earliest days. The Assembly promptly passed a bill for raising, transporting and victualing her quota of troops, but some of the details were unsatisfactory to Governor Morris and he delayed signing the bill. Having concluded the business of the session, the Assembly begged the Governor to inform them when he would permit them to return to their homes. To this reasonable request, he replied, sullenly: "When I see fit," and he kept the representatives of the people hanging upon his will from day to day, from July 25th to the 31st, before condescending to sign the bill. Gordon says of him:

Although he proposed no tyrannical or unlawful measures, he defeated, by his opinionated obstinacy, several beneficial bills. He harrassed the Legislature by repeated adjournments, prorogations and dissolutions and became, with the exception of Cornbury, the most obnoxious governor who had held a commission under the Crown. Passionately fond of argumentation, his addresses to the House were, at times, political

lectures, delivered with all the air of superiority which he supposed his station and intellect warranted.

He died in 1746, at his home, Kingsbury, near Trenton.

Morris' successor, Jonathan Belcher, had been Governor of Massachusetts, but was removed on account of one incident in a series of disputes between the legislative and executive branches of government in that province. As the executive of New Jersey, he is recorded as a "fairly successful governor," maintaining his authority peacefully and with much personal popularity until his death at Elizabethtown in 1757. Governor Belcher was active in the propagation of Masonry in New Jersey. The name is perpetuated in Belcher Lodge of Masons in Atlantic City.⁶

His successor, appointed June 13, 1758, was Francis Bernard, who held office only two years, or until 1760, when he was transferred to the province from whence came his predecessor in New Jersey. As Governor of Massachusetts, by his offensive acts, he did more to force the Revolution than any other man. His most important service in New Jersey was the pacification of the Indians.

This pacification was brought about by a treaty, begun at Crosswicks, Burlington County, in 1756, and concluded at Easton in 1758. The French and Indian War had unbridled the evil passions of the Western Indians, and the effect of this was felt in New Jersey. The first indication of Indian hostility was seen in the summer of that year, whereupon the Legislature appointed commissioners to examine into the treatment of all Indians living within the bounds of New Jersey. Accordingly, a conference was held at Crosswicks the following winter, at which time the Indians were asked to unfold their grievances. They complained of impositions in grants of lands to individuals; of impositions in private traffic between the whites and Indians, particularly when the latter were intoxicated; destruction of the deer by iron traps, and finally of the occupation of certain lands to which they still held title.

The following year (1757) acting on the report of the commissioners, the Assembly imposed a penalty upon persons selling strong drink to the Indians, "so as to intoxicate them," prohibiting the setting of traps weighing more than three pounds, voiding all sales and leases of land made in contravention of the laws, and appropriating sixteen hundred pounds for the purchase of a general release of all Indian claims in New Jersey. One-half of this was to be expended for a settlement for Indians residing south of the Raritan, where they might dwell, and the remainder for the purchase of latent claims of non-resident Indians. At a second conference, held at Crosswicks, in February, 1758, the Indians produced specifications of their claims, appointed attorneys to represent them in future negotiations and executed a formal release of all lands in New Jersey.

They also released such lands as might have been before conveyed, excepting, however, the claims of the Minisinks and Pomptons, in the northern part of the province. They also reserved the right to hunt and fish on unsettled lands. Of the six commissioners who treated with the Indians at

⁶Two new counties were erected during Belcher's administration—Cumberland in 1747 and Sussex in 1753. The first was taken from the lower townships of Salem and was called Cumberland by Governor Belcher in honor of the Duke of Cumberland. The choice of members of the Assembly from the new county was suspended, until the pleasure of the King could be learned, the freeholders continuing to vote with Salem. The other county was taken from Morris and was called Sussex. As in the case of Morris and Cumberland, the right to elect members of the Assembly was withheld until 1768, when the membership of the Assembly was increased from twenty-four to thirty by apportioning two members to each of the counties of Morris, Cumberland, and Sussex.

this conference two were from South Jersey—Charles Read, of Burlington County, and Jacob Spicer, of Cape May County.

Toward the close of the summer of 1758, Governor Bernard asked the Minisink and Pompton Indians, who had joined the enemy, to meet him at Burlington. Accordingly, representatives of those tribes met the Governor on August 7th, when it was agreed that there should be a great council at Easton, the object being a general pacification of the Indians. At that council, held on the 18th of October, 1758, Governor Bernard held a special conference with the Minisinks, Wapings, and other tribes, and obtained, in consideration of one thousand pounds, a release of the title of all Indian lands in New Jersey. The subsequent purchase of lands in Burlington County, as a permanent Indian settlement, is considered in the opening chapter of this volume.⁷

Thomas Boone, Bernard's successor in New Jersey, held office only one year, when he was transferred to South Carolina, and was succeeded by Josiah Hardy, whose service was also brief. Upon Hardy's dismissal and appointment to the consulate at Cadiz, Spain, his place was taken by William Franklin, appointed in 1763. He was the last of the royal governors. Thus, in five years, New Jersey had been governed by five men appointed by the Crown—Belcher, Bernard, Boone, Hardy, and Franklin—besides two governors *pro tem.*—Thomas Pownall and John Reading.⁸

⁷ Between May, 1757, and June, 1758, twenty-seven murders were committed by Indians on the West Jersey side of the Delaware by the Minisink and neighboring tribes. A constant armed guard was kept to protect the inhabitants, but even with this precaution predatory excursions could not be checked. Governor Bernard consulted Governor Denny, of Pennsylvania, and General Forbes as to measures best calculated to put an end to the murders. King Teedyescung, of the Delawares, enabled Bernard to obtain a conference with the Minisinks and Pomptons, whereby protection was assured. At this conference arrangements were made for a later conference at Burlington. This conference opened with an address by Governor Bernard. Holding four strings of wampum, he said: "Brethren, as you are come from a long journey, through a wood full of briars, with this string I anoint your feet, and take away their soreness; with this string I wipe the sweat from your bodies, with this string, I cleanse your eyes, ears and mouth, that you may see, hear and speak clearly; and I particularly anoint your throat, that every word you say may have a free passage from your heart. With this string, also, I bid you hearty welcome." The four strings were then delivered to the Indians. The result was that they mutually agreed to hold another conference, the Indians choosing Easton, as it was the "place of the old council fire." The Indians living south of the Karitan preferred receiving their share of the sixteen hundred pounds appropriated, not in cash, but in land allotted for their occupancy. Accordingly, 3,044 acres in the township of Evesham, Burlington County, were purchased. A house of worship and a number of dwelling houses were subsequently erected, and as the selling or leasing of any portion of the land was prohibited, there was perfect harmony between the whites and the Indians. The conference at Easton was attended by the lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania, six of his council, and six of the lower house; also by Governor Bernard, five Indian commissioners, a number of magistrates and freeholders of the two provinces, and five hundred and seven Indians, comprising delegates from fourteen different tribes in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. It is recorded that "Governor Bernard, in the management of the conference, evinced no small degree of tact and talent." The amicable relations thus begun remained undisturbed for many years. In 1769 Governor Franklin attended a conference with the Six Nations, and on his return informed the Assembly that the Indians had publicly acknowledged repeated instances of the justice of the New Jersey authorities in bringing the murderers of Indians to condign punishment. They also declared that they had no claim or demand whatsoever against the province and in the most solemn manner conferred on its government the distinguished title of Sagorighiyogstha (great arbiter or doer of justice), which name, Governor Franklin said, reflected high honor on the province of New Jersey.

⁸ Not until the closing years of the next century—a period of one hundred and thirty-three years—was the governorship of the State entrusted to five citizens in so brief a period. In the latter instance, the period was reduced to three years. Thus, George T. Werts retired from office in January, 1896, and was succeeded the same day by John W. Griggs, who resigned on February 1, 1898, preparatory to accepting membership in President McKinley's cabinet. Griggs was succeeded by Foster M. Voorhees, president of the Senate, who, as the Republican candidate at the ensuing election and in contemplation of his election as governor, resigned on October 18, 1898, and was succeeded by David O. Watkins, of Woodbury, speaker of the House. Watkins served until January 16, 1899, when Voorhees became Governor by virtue of his election in November.

After Senator Voorhees, as president of the Senate, had succeeded Griggs, a contention arose whether he could continue as a Senator and also serve as acting Governor. He chose to resign as Senator, whereupon his place as presiding officer of the Senate was taken by William H. Skirm, of Mercer. This action, however, did not make Skirm acting Governor. The constitution does not provide for the president *pro tem.* of the Senate acting as Governor. The Attorney-General decided that the prerogative of Governor fell to the speaker, in the absence of a regular president of the Senate. Accordingly, Speaker Watkins was recognized as acting Governor for three months, or from October 18, 1898 to January 16, 1899.

The administration of William Franklin was fruitful of events that determined the destiny of the colonies. He was not a man of genius, great force of character, profound learning or creative power, like his father, Benjamin Franklin. Indeed, Governor Franklin owed his start in life to the influence of his distinguished father, and presumably was appointed Governor as a means of retaining the sympathy and support of Dr. Franklin, who had boldly expressed his opposition to the measures of Great Britain with respect to the colonists. In their scheme of pacification, however, the British authorities deceived themselves. Dr. Franklin never wavered from his appointed line of patriotism and duty. The son became an arrant Tory; the father remained a pronounced Whig. The conduct of the son estranged the father and that estrangement continued unsoftened until after the Revolution, the son being then an exile in England.

The Stamp Act—At the beginning of Franklin's turbulent administration the stamp act engaged public attention. Previous to its enactment, Dr. Franklin, then in England, endeavored to avert the measure, which he knew was fraught with great danger to the empire. Apparently, at that time he did not entertain the idea of forceful resistance. He wrote to Charles Thompson, of Philadelphia, saying: "The sun of liberty is set; you must light up the candles of industry and economy." To Jared Ingersol he said: "Go home and tell the people to get children as fast as they can"—intimating that the period of successful resistance had not yet arrived, but that the colonies would need men in the near future,—strong men, brave men, true men.⁹

The Assembly of Virginia was the first to give a public declaration on the subject. Soon afterwards, and before the action of Virginia was known in Massachusetts, the Legislature of that colony passed a resolution advising a meeting of commissioners from all of the colonies to be held in New York on the first Tuesday in October, 1765. The circular from Massachusetts was laid before the New Jersey Assembly on June 20th, but Governor Franklin who, as his father afterwards said, was "a thorough government man," favored the schemes of the ministry by exerting his influence against the Massachusetts proposal. It must also be acknowledged that the measure did not receive proper consideration in the House. There was an ambiguous

An amusing situation was evolved out of this arrangement at the opening of the legislative session in 1899. According to custom, Speaker Watkins appointed a committee to notify the Governor that the Assembly had organized. Then he resigned the gavel and hastened from the chamber to receive as Governor the committee he had just appointed. A week later, on January 18, Voorhees became the constitutional Governor, so that New Jersey had four Governors from the preceding January 16, 1898—a period of one year. Notwithstanding these experiences, the Senate refused to agree to the proposed constitutional amendment, providing for a lieutenant-governor, who, by virtue of his office, would become the State executive, in the event of a vacancy.

A situation even more unusual arose some years later. Between October 28, 1913, and January 20, 1920—six years and three months—New Jersey had no less than seven executives. Thus, on March 3, 1913, James P. Fielder became acting Governor on the resignation of Woodrow Wilson, who was inaugurated president of the United States the next day. When Fielder resigned on the following October 28th, he was succeeded by Speaker Leon R. Taylor, who, in turn, gave way to Fielder in January, 1914, at the time of his inauguration. The latter served the full three years and was succeeded by Walter E. Edge, of Atlantic City, who resigned on May 16, 1919, to conduct his canvass for United States Senator, being succeeded by William N. Runyon, president of the Senate, who served as acting Governor until the end of his senatorial term, January 13, 1920, when Clarence E. Case, the newly elected president of the Senate, became acting Governor for one week, or until the inauguration of Edward I. Edwards, on January 20, 1920.

⁹In 1764 Lord Grenville, Prime Minister, communicated to the several Colonial agents his purpose to draw revenue from the Colonies and that he would, at the ensuing session of Parliament, propose a stamp duty on paper and parchments. He added, however, that in the meantime he would consider suggestions for a substitute measure that would be equally productive to the home government. In February, 1765, a number of the Colonial agents in England waited on Grenville to remonstrate against the stamp bill, and to propose that if any tax be laid upon America, the Colonies should be permitted to lay it themselves. In spite of this opposition, the act passed both houses of Parliament on March 22, 1765, by a vote of 250 to 50 in the Commons, with little or no opposition in the House of Lords. The ministry publicly declared that the passage of this bill was intended to establish the power of Great Britain to tax the Colonies.

expression of opinion just before adjournment of that body and the answer to Massachusetts implied that New Jersey declined concurrence in the contemplated movement. Subsequently, on intercourse with their constituents, the members changed their minds and attempted to correct the earlier proceedings. A circular was therefore addressed to the members by the Speaker, and a convention was held at Amboy. This convention resolved to send delegates to the Congress in New York. Accordingly, Joseph Ogden, the speaker, Hendrick Fisher, and Joseph Borden, the last-named a leading citizen of Burlington County, were appointed.

These proceedings were denounced by Governor Franklin as irregular and unconstitutional. All of the colonies, with the exception of New Hampshire, Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia, were represented at the convention in New York, at which time there was a full and free declaration. There was, however, a difference of opinion as to how the petitions agreed upon should be transmitted to Parliament. Ruggles, of Massachusetts, and Ogden, of New Jersey, insisted that they should be forwarded as an expression of the several colonies, while others thought they should be transmitted as coming from the convention. As the latter plan was adopted, Ruggles and Ogden refused to sign. The action of Ogden was so widely disapproved throughout New Jersey that he resigned his seat in the Assembly the following November.

The stamp act was to go into effect on November 1, 1765, but the opposition became so general and decided throughout the colonies that before the time for its operation arrived neither stamps or stamp officers could be found.

A stamp tax in New Jersey was clearly a violation of the concessions of Berkeley and Carteret and also of their successors, the West Jersey Proprietors. In these concessions it was provided "that the governor and council are not to impose or suffer to be imposed any tax, custom or subsidy, tollage, assessments or any other duty whatsoever, upon any colour or pretense, how specious soever, upon the said province and inhabitants thereof, without their own consent first had, or other than what shall be imposed by the authority and consent of the General Assembly."

True, the right of Parliament to legislate for the colonies had not been questioned since 1692, when Massachusetts and New York denied that right by acts of their respective legislatures. These laws were annulled by Parliament in 1698, when it was enacted that "all laws, by-laws, usages and customs which shall be in practice in any of the plantations repugnant to any law made, or to be made, in this kingdom, relative to said plantations, shall be void and of none effect."¹⁰

In the hope of pacifying the people, the ministry resolved to appoint discreet and reputable inhabitants of the provinces to serve as stamp tax agents. William Coxe was appointed for New Jersey, but he voluntarily resigned in September, 1765. The following November the inhabitants of Salem County, learning that one John Hatton was desirous of being employed in the distribution of the stamps, compelled him to make a declaration similar to that of Coxe.

Meantime, on September 9, 1765, the ship "Faithful Steward," came ashore on Absecon Beach, abreast of the present Atlantic City. Aboard

¹⁰ In the grant to Penn the right of Parliament to lay duties on imports and exports and to impose taxes or customs on the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, their lands, goods and chattels were clearly reserved, but in New Jersey the stamp act was held to be in violation of the proprietary concessions and therefore invalid, in spite of any act of Parliament.

this ship was a large quantity of the stamp act paper, and being eager to get it ashore, the commander overloaded a small boat. The high seas overturned the craft and most of those on board were lost. A considerable quantity of the paper was washed ashore and picked up by Zephaniah Steelman, of Leeds Point, who had gone to the beach to look after his cattle. This paper remained in Steelman's family for many years. The sturdy patriots of old Egg Harbor would not use it, even though it came to them free of cost. They stowed it away in their garrets, where it became food for the mice and scribbling paper for the children.¹¹

A month after the wreck of the "Faithful Steward," the ship "Royal Charlotte," bearing stamped papers for New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, and conveyed by a sloop of war, arrived in Philadelphia. As these vessels rounded Gloucester Point, on October 5, 1765, the people ashore at that place hoisted their colors at half mast and tolled the bells in their church towers.

In some of the provinces the action of the people in opposing the tax was so popular as to occasion the suspension of legal proceedings against them. Members of the New Jersey bar met at New Brunswick, about the middle of February, 1766, to discuss the propriety of continuing suits against offenders. They were waited upon by a committee of the Sons of Liberty, who expressed such bitter opposition to the law that the lawyers determined to acquiesce in the common opposition to the tax after the ensuing April 1st. Before that time, however, the odious law was repealed by Parliament.

At a meeting of the Assembly two months later (June, 1766) Governor Franklin congratulated the Assembly on the repeal of the law. At the same time he lauded "the tenderness, the lenity, the condescension, the wisdom, the justice and the equity which his Majesty and the Parliament had manifested on this signal occasion," but said nothing of his own course in upholding proceedings against those who resisted the law. Franklin's felicitations served only to irritate and disgust the people.

The attitude of the people toward their Governor was one of contempt, rather than hatred. If occasionally he caught a breath of popular favor, it was feeble and fleeting. If he had a spark of patriotism and love of country in his heart, it was crushed by the glamour of the reflected royalty with which he tried to surround himself. He came to New Jersey a man and developed into a puppet.

CHAPTER XVI.

INTRODUCTION OF FIAT MONEY.

The Burnet administration witnessed the beginning of fiat money in New Jersey.¹ The Assembly authorized an issue of £40,000 in bills of credit, to increase the circulation medium, setting forth in the preamble that the province had been drained of metallic medium of exchange and was without any means of replenishment. New York and Pennsylvania, to which Jersey produce was exported, had only paper currency at that time, but it

¹¹ A specimen sheet was deposited in the historical department of the Atlantic City Library a few years ago.

¹ Judge L. Q. C. Elmer, in his "History of Cumberland County," says: "Paper money was first issued in New Jersey in 1709. That which circulated in East Jersey had the New York value, and in the western part of the State it was the same as in Pennsylvania. In the former, the guinea was valued at one pound and fifteen shillings; in the latter, one pound and fourteen shillings. This paper money circulated in New York and Pennsylvania, therefore, debts could be paid with it in either province.

was not a legal tender in New Jersey; consequently, there was much vexation and embarrassment in trade. Taxes were often paid in broken plate, earrings and other jewels. Indeed, at that time, the General Assembly designated wheat as a legal tender for taxes.²

Long before this innovation, the expedient of paper currency had been introduced in Massachusetts, New York, and South Carolina. On account of over-issues and the absence of suitable provision for redemption, the benefits to trade were not as salutary in those provinces as in Pennsylvania, where the measure was introduced in 1723. New Jersey wisely adopted the Pennsylvania plan, and thereby preserved her currency from depreciation, but on account of her limited trade it was less convertible into gold and silver coin than that of the adjacent colonies, and was therefore often at a discount in New York and Philadelphia.

The first issue of forty thousand pounds, in denominations of one shilling to three pounds was secured by real estate and plate. Loans on plate were made for one year, at five per cent. and for twelve years on lands, houses or other valuable improvements, in sums of not less than twelve pounds and ten shillings nor more than one hundred pounds; unless, at the expiration of six months there were still bills of credit on hand, in which case two hundred pounds might be loaned, to be repaid in twelve annual installments, or the whole at any time, at the pleasure of the borrower. All bills redeemed at maturity of the loan were destroyed, but if redeemed before maturity, they might be loaned to others. The forty thousand pounds were apportioned to the ten counties,³ in each of which a loan office was established, in charge of a commissioner. These bills constituted the legal currency of the province for twelve years and could be used in the payment of debts or contracts. The debt was extinguished, if the creditors refused payment in sums between thirty shillings and fifty pounds. Counterfeiting was punishable with death.

The issue of 1723 was augmented in 1730 by another issue of twenty thousand pounds, current for sixteen years, and three years later in 1733, the issue of 1723 was renewed, provision being made for re-issue in such sums as were necessary to supply the place of torn bills. Pursuant to this last enactment, we find Benjamin Franklin giving public notice, in his "Pennsylvania Gazette" of July 22, 1736:

The printer hopes the irregular publication of this paper will be excused a few times by his town readers, on consideration of his being at Burlington with the press, laboring for the public good, to make money more plentiful.

²Mark Newbie was the first banker in New Jersey. He introduced St. Patrick's pence in place of wampum and other tokens. These copper coins (penny and half-penny), were occasionally discovered by farmers plowing in the fields of old Gloucester until about the time of the Civil War. They were the first coins used in New Jersey, of which specimens are found now only in the collections of numismatists. Mark Newbie was a tallow chandler in London, and early in life joined the Society of Friends. He suffered persecution from the intollerant English Church people and in 1680 went to Ireland, where he exchanged his worldly goods for such coins as were available. Most of them were the St. Patrick's pence, which had been outlawed by Parliament. In the following year Newbie and a few others came to this country, and after spending the winter at Salem, took up a twentieth share of land. Soon after he settled in old Gloucester he went into the banking business, and inasmuch as he possessed the only coin money in New Jersey, he at once became a man of public interest. He applied to the Assembly for permission to issue his coins, and on May 18, 1682, that body passed an act providing that "Mark Newbie's half pence, called Patrick's half pence, shall, from and after the said eighteenth instant, pass for half pence current pay of this Province, provided he, the said Mark, give sufficient security to the Speaker of this House for the use of the General Assembly from time to time being, that he the said Mark, his executors and administrators, shall and will change the said half pence for pay equivalent upon demand; and provided also that no person or persons be hereby obliged to take more than five shillings in one payment." Newbie deeded three hundred acres of land near Newton Creek as security. His bank was near the present line of the Reading Railroad, outside the corporate limits of Camden.

³Hunterdon had been admitted in 1713-14.

Franklin's manner of making money more plentiful was by re-issuing the forty thousand paper bills of credit of 1723, for the printing of which he had received the contract at one hundred sixty pounds, although William Bradford, of the "New York Gazette," had offered to do the work for one hundred pounds. In this we see evidence that in the award of public work at that time, quite as much as in these later days, political influence, commonly called "pull," combined with personal interest, was more effective than a sincere desire to safeguard the public purse.

At one time the bills of New Jersey were at a discount of sixteen per cent. in exchange for those of New York. Consequently, all contracts in East Jersey were based on New York currency and those in West Jersey on that of Pennsylvania. Disregarding the rights of creditors, the Assembly enacted that all contracts should be discharged by payment in Jersey bills.

About a year before the first gun at Lexington, the General Assembly authorized an issue of one hundred thousand pounds, and during the war there were two other issues, in 1780 and 1781. All of these bills were printed on course paper, with common type and with various devices to prevent counterfeiting, yet all in vain, as the extreme penalty was more than once meted out to offenders.

Men in high places, however,—those who issued spurious bills of credit—managed to escape the halter of the law. Tories like Daniel Coxe, grandson of an early governor of that name, hoped that the depreciated paper money of the colonies would accomplish what British arms had failed to put into effect. In their desperate schemes to injure the colonists and bring discredit upon the Revolution, the Tories resorted to counterfeiting. Counterfeit notes were advertised in the Tory newspaper in New York as "so neatly and exactly executed that there is no risk in getting them off." The spurious plates were made in New York, but those of the genuine bills were the product of Paul Revere, whose famous ride is a household story.⁴

As a consequence of spurious issues in New York in 1778, and of large issues of genuine Continental currency, prices rose and trade was almost destroyed. Early in 1780, forty paper dollars were worth only one in specie.

Desperate as this may seem, it is insignificant in comparison with the situation in Germany today, as a result of the World War and the stupen-

⁴One effect of counterfeiting and the fate of a counterfeiter is curiously related in Dodsley's Annual Register (London, 1760) in a letter from Philadelphia under date of September 4th: "On Wednesday, August 27th, Mr. Robert Seull, of this place, with some company, was playing at billiards, when one Mr. Bruluman, lately an officer in the Royal American Regiment, was present, who, without the least provocation, leveled a loaded gun he had with him and shot Mr. Seull through the body, as he was going to strike his ball. He was by trade a silversmith, which business he left and went into the army, where he was an officer in the Royal American Regiment, but was discharged on being detected in counterfeiting. He then returned to Philadelphia and growing insupportable to himself and yet being unwilling to put an end to his own life, he determined upon the commission of some crime, for which he might get hanged by the law. Having formed the design, he loaded his gun with a brace of balls and asked the landlord to go a shooting with him, intending to murder him before his return, but the landlord not choosing to go, escaped the danger. He then went out alone and on the way met a man whom he was about to kill, but recollecting that there was no witness to prove him guilty, he let the man pass. He then went to a public house, where he drank some liquor and hearing people at play at billiards in a room above stairs, he went and sat down with them and was talkative, facetious and seemingly good-humour'd. After some time he called the landlord and desired him to hang up the gun. Mr. Seull, who was at play, having struck his antagonist's ball into one of the pockets, Bruluman said to him: 'Sir, you are a good marksman and now I'll show you a fine stroke.' He immediately levelled his piece and took aim at Mr. Seull (who imagined him in jest) and shot the balls through his body. He then went up to Mr. Seull (who did not expire or lose his senses till a considerable time after) and said to him: 'Sir, I had no malice nor ill will against you, for I never saw you before, but I was determined to kill somebody, that I might be hanged, and you happen to be the man, and as you are a very likely young man, I am very sorry for your misfortune.' Mr. Seull had time to send for his friends and to make his will. He forgave his murderer and (if it could be done), desired he might be pardoned. The trial and execution of the murderer followed in quick succession, for we read in the "Pennsylvania Gazette" of October 9, 1760: "Yesterday John Bruluman, a counterfeiter, was executed here for the murder of Mr. Robert Seull, formerly mentioned in this paper, as taking place at the Centre House, in this city."

dous issues of fiat money in that country. The Christmas or Santa Claus season has appealed to the German heart for many generations, since in that country the patron saint was first introduced to the children. Consequently, the Christmas tree has been seen in every German home from time immemorial. So worthless was the German mark at the Christmas season of 1923 that one tree cost three hundred billion marks. In normal times, before the war, a mark was equivalent to twenty-four cents, but since the war it has depreciated to such an extent that American bankers said it was "infinitesimal." Thus, in 1923, on account of inflated currency, a Christmas tree cost the inconceivable sum of \$72,000,000,000 in German marks.

In the hope of counteracting depreciation in Revolutionary days, Congress passed laws recommending the several States to make paper money a legal tender at its face value. Dishonest debtors took advantage of such laws and one of that class incurred the displeasure of Washington at Morristown. A man of supposed respectability, living in the neighborhood, had been very assiduous in his attentions to the general, and for a while Washington reciprocated; but in some way he learned that the man had paid honest debts with depreciated currency. Consequently, the next time the dishonest debtor called at headquarters Washington treated him with marked coolness. Lafayette afterwards remarked: "General, that man seems much devoted to you, but you scarcely noticed him today." Washington replied, smilingly: "I tried to be civil and attempted to speak to him two or three times, but each time the Continental money stopped my mouth."

Tories like Daniel Coxe, whose treasonable letter is embodied in a preceding chapter, paid the prescribed penalty. His estates were confiscated and he ended his days in England. Another of those who fled the country was Stephen Tucker, son of Reuben Tucker, and only brother of Ebenezer Tucker, founder of Tuckerton, afterwards a judge of the court and member of Congress. His five sisters were active patriots throughout the war. The youngest, Nancy, married five times and survived her last husband. It is said of Stephen Tucker that he died an "ignominious death" in Nova Scotia. So far as known, he had no tangible property in Tuckerton; consequently, he did not suffer in estate—only in proscription.

Many eminent citizens were suspected of Toryism. Indeed, they did not conceal their dissent from the active measures of the patriots. They were known to sympathize with the enemy, but not giving active aid and comfort, not taking refuge within the enemy's lines and not bearing arms against the State, they were unmolested.

Altogether, the treatment of Tories in New Jersey—justified by the law of nations and the law of self-protection—was mild, in comparison with their treatment in other States. Those who remained quiescent at home were not prosecuted, but as most of these, like Stephen Tucker, were known to be in sympathy with the enemy, their neighbors made it so unpleasant that for their own peace of mind they fled the country or migrated to Nova Scotia at the close of the war.

The prescribed offences were "taking up arms against New Jersey," "entering and remaining within the lines of the enemy," and "giving active aid and comfort to the enemy." For any one of these offences Tories were liable to be indicted, after six months' public notice, in any county where they resided or had real or personal property. Thus, a man owning property in Monmouth, Burlington, Gloucester, Cumberland, Salem, and Cape May counties could be indicted and tried in each of those six counties, and upon

conviction his property was declared forfeited. In each county there were three commissioners of forfeited estates. They advertised the property in a newspaper circulating in the county in which the property was found. After due advertisement the property was sold at public sale, deeds given the purchasers and the proceeds of sale turned into the State Treasury.

The State, however, realized only small amounts from such sales. Sympathetic Jerseymen balked at the idea of depriving families of their estates, especially those with dependent women and children. Besides, there was always a question as to just what kind of a title went with the sale. However, a considerable number of estates passed into the hands of buyers. One of these was the estate afterwards known as Stevens Point, Hoboken. It was the home of William Bayard, who took refuge within the lines of the enemy. His property was sold to the Stevens family about 1782.

In many cases the law for forfeiture of estates was evaded by transfer to friendly hands before the decree of forfeiture became effectual. In such cases the property was reconveyed to the family after the Revolution. There is extant a copy of a "Case in Chancery," relating to a tract of land in Gloucester County, in which it appears that an attempt was made to get beyond the forfeiture acts by a method dissimilar to the usual course at that time. In all probability, suits could have been brought within the prescribed period of twenty-one years, by the wife of a Tory, as in the case of Daniel Coxe, in which case judgment would have been entered for dower rights. There is no record of such a suit, other than that of Mrs. Coxe.

CHAPTER XVII.

ELECTIONS AND THE FRANCHISE.

Elections were held in all of the counties of New Jersey, as prescribed by the Provincial Constitution of 1702, until the adoption of the State Constitution in 1776. Opposition to the Mother Country culminated in 1775. At the beginning of hostilities the rallying cry of the rebels was "no taxation without representation."¹

Enemies of the people—Loyalists opposed to the revolution—took advantage of the situation, with respect to suffrage in New Jersey, to ridicule the rebels and expose the sophistry of taxation without representation, by quoting from the laws regulating elections in New Jersey. One of these Loyalists, a citizen of Morris County, contributed to the "New York Journal" of September 28, 1775, a letter addressed to his "dear countrymen," in which he said:

In a day of public calamity, arising from oppression, every benevolent mind ought to be engaged in defence of the rights of mankind, and in particular should endeavor to remove all cause of oppression, complaint and disunion. * * * The Provincial Congress has adopted the old mode of electing representatives who have power to tax those from whence they are chosen. Many true friends of their country, who are obliged to pay taxes, are excluded from the privilege of voting in the choice of those by whom

¹ A cynical writer has defined the difference between a patriot and a rebel as one of success. "A patriot," said he, "is a rebel whose cause is won." This is not always true. Joseph Bonaparte, one-time King and exiled resident of New Jersey, was a rebel whose cause was not won, yet he was a patriotic Frenchman. He rebelled against his brother Napoleon, and against him only because he was averse to wearing a crown. The cause of Joseph, which was really that of Napoleon, was not won, but his patriotism cannot be questioned. Nathaniel Bacon, the patriotic Virginian, who headed a rebellion against the tyrannical Berkeley, saved his head only by dying of a fever shortly before his abettors suffered martyrdom on the scaffold. In his arraignment of Berkeley, shortly before his death in 1676, Bacon said: "If virtue be a sin, if piety be guilt, if all the principles of morality and justice be perverted, we must confess that those who are called rebels are in danger of imputations and bulls which affright innocence and stigmatize as treason an honorable inquiry into our sad and heavy oppressions."

they are taxed,—or even called out to sacrifice their lives. This is a real grievance, yet one that may be easily redressed, for many of the members of the present Provincial Congress begin to give a serious attention to the complaints of the people on this account. Congress knows that one part of his Majesty's subjects have no right to tax another part without their consent, given by themselves or their representatives. Nothing therefore is necessary in order to obtain redress but a number of petitions from several towns and counties in each province for that purpose. They will undoubtedly resolve that no one shall be taxed who is excluded from a vote in their elections, and will also resolve who shall for the future be esteemed proper electors. By such a resolve our enemies will be cut off from one of their most plausible arguments against us.

The veiled sarcasm of this Jerseyman, who signed himself "Essex," was of no avail. Pride of family and estate continued to dominate State politics. The Constitution of 1776, adopted as a makeshift when war measures were uppermost in the public mind, provided that all the important State officials should be elected by the Legislature, which in turn was chosen by voters possessing property qualifications. This instrument was adopted at a provincial convention held in Burlington in June, 1776, by a vote of fifty-four to three, the negative votes being cast by members from the counties of Bergen, Monmouth, and Hunterdon. The delegates from South Jersey favored a restricted franchise.

The framing of this constitution was entrusted to a committee of ten, of whom four were from the lower counties, namely: John Cooper., of Gloucester, Jonathan Elner, of Cumberland, Elijah Hughes, of Cape May, and Samuel Dick, of Salem. The chairman was Jacob Green, of Morris, who besides being pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Hanover, had so many other interests that a letter was once directed to him with this inscription on the back of the written page—envelopes being then unknown:

To the Rev. Jacob Green, Preacher,
And Rev. Jacob Green, Teacher;
To the Rev. Jacob Green, Doctor,
And the Rev. Jacob Green, Proctor;
To the Rev. Jacob Green, Miller,
And Rev. Jacob Green, Distiller.

The arrival of General Howe at Sandy Hook may have accounted for the hasty preparation—certainly its precipitate adoption—of the Constitution. On account of military exigency it was agreed, on June 29th, that twenty members should constitute a quorum, "except such business as may respect the formation of the constitution." The same day the committee of the whole designated July 2d as the day on which the convention would receive the committee's report, at which time every member was "enjoined to be punctual in his attendance."

A vote taken on that day showed a strong sentiment in favor of delay. The question was whether the constitution be at once adopted or deferred for further consideration. Twenty-six members voted for immediate confirmation and nine against, the latter including two from Cape May, two from Salem, and one from Burlington. The next day, July 3d, another vote was taken as to whether the draft should be immediately printed or deferred for a few days to consider a proviso for a reconciliation with England. The vote on this proposition was seventeen for immediate publication and eight for delay, the latter including Joseph Ellis, of Gloucester, Samuel Dick, of Salem, William Paterson, of Somerset, Frederick Frelinghuysen, of Somerset, Josiah Holmes, of Monmouth, Jonathan D. Sergeant, of Middlesex, John Cleves Symmes, of Sussex, and John Mehelm, of Hunterdon.²

The new constitution (virtually a declaration of independence) was adopted two days in advance of the accepted date of national independence. The latter declaration was proclaimed throughout New Jersey in connection with its precursor, the Burlington declaration. At Trenton, on July 8th, the Provincial Congress, State Militia, and "a large concourse of inhabitants," according to the "Pennsylvania Packet," of the 15th, attended on a "great and solemn occasion," when the "declaration and other proceedings were received with loud acclamations."

On August 7th, at Bridgeton, there was a public gathering at the court house, when, following a spirited address by Dr. Ebenezer Elmer (brother of Dr. Jonathan Elmer), the "peace officers' staves, on which were depicted the King's coat-of-arms, with other ensigns of royalty, were burnt in the streets." Warning the people against the dangers of falling into the power of a Julius Cæsar or an Oliver Cromwell, Dr. Elmer urged that only true and tried friends of liberty be voted for at the succeeding election.

With striking irony, the government of the new State of New Jersey, disregarding the declaration that "all men are created free and equal," continued to restrict the franchise to "all inhabitants of full age, who are worth £50 proclamation money," and who had resided for one year in the county in which they claimed to vote. Members of the Council were required to be worth £1,000 and Assemblymen £500 proclamation money, in real or personal estate.

Thereafter, for a period of thirty years—1776 to 1807—women, negroes, and aliens were privileged to vote—provided they possessed the requisite property qualifications. The constitution of 1776 was thus interpreted, though apparently contrary to the full intention of its framers. Not a word was said concerning sex, race, or citizenship, and if there was any doubt as to its meaning in respect to women, that doubt was removed by two legislative acts, one passed in 1790 and the other in 1797, both of which, however, were repealed in 1807. This repealing act restricted the franchise to free white males, above the age of twenty-one years, and a preamble declared that this limitation was made because women, negroes, and aliens had previously been allowed to vote in New Jersey; but even this supposed constitutional right did not carry with it the right to hold office or to own real estate.³

Thousands of men who, on election day, went to the polls to vote were by law debarred from holding any office of profit or trust. No atheists, no free thinkers, no Jews, no Roman Catholics, in short, no man who was not a believer in some form of the Protestant faith, could hold any office in New Jersey. Not until 1844 were these restrictions removed and the election franchise limited to whites.⁴

² John Cleves Symmes was appointed an associate justice of the Supreme Court in 1777. Eleven years later, in 1788, he moved to the Ohio territory and founded Cincinnati, which he at first proposed to call Symmes City. He had married a daughter of Governor William Livingston and their daughter afterwards became the wife of President William Henry Harrison. Symmes purchased two million acres of land, including the present site of Cincinnati. His nephew, of the same name, is known as the author of the theory that the earth is hollow, habitable within, and open at the poles for the admission of light. He petitioned Congress to fit out an expedition to test his theory. His theory was first promulgated in 1818. Over his grave at Hamilton, Ohio, is a short column, surmounted by a globe, showing open poles. It is well to note, in this connection, that now (1924) a huge dirigible balloon, made at Lakehurst, New Jersey, is preparing for a "dash" to the North Pole in June. If successful, South Jersey will be entitled to a measure of credit, since the "Shenandoah," the name of the huge airship, is the product of a government plant in Ocean County.

³ The Legislature passed an act on January 22, 1817, which enabled aliens to become freeholders in New Jersey. This act was passed for the special benefit of Joseph Bonaparte, ex-King of Spain, and under its provisions he became the owner of a beautiful mansion and an extensive estate at Bordentown. It was this circumstance that earned for New Jersey the derisive nickname of "New Spain," and Jerseymen for many years afterwards were called Spaniards. Other States subsequently gave the same right to aliens.

The constitution of 1844, emphasizing the act of 1807, limited the right of suffrage to white males above the age of twenty-one, and this limitation continued until 1920. The matter of restricted women suffrage, however, coming before the Supreme Court in 1912, that tribunal, disregarding the action in Middlesex County in 1793 and the repealer of 1807, held that the constitution of 1776 did not confer on women a right to vote. Previous to this decision, in 1887, an act of the Legislature had given women the right to vote at school meetings, but this was declared unconstitutional in 1894 as to voting for trustees and officers, but the court declared they could vote on other school matters.⁶

A proposed amendment to the constitution, in 1887, giving women the right to vote for school officers, was defeated by a vote of 75,170 to 65,021. In 1915 another proposed amendment, conferring full suffrage on women was defeated by a vote of 184,390 to 133,282. New Jersey was one of the thirty-six States that ratified the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, granting suffrage to women, Wisconsin being the first (June 10, 1919), New Jersey the thirty-sixth (February 16, 1920), and Tennessee the last, on August 18, 1920. At the time of the ratification, New Jersey had a Democratic Governor and a Republican Legislature. The amendment was rejected by the legislatures of nine of the ten southern States, Delaware to Louisiana, all of which had Democratic governors and legislatures, excepting Delaware, whose executive and legislative departments were Republican. Three States, Vermont, Connecticut, and Florida, did not act on the amendment.

Excepting in commission governed cities, elections are now held in all municipalities throughout the State only once a year, in November. Of the forty-three municipalities governed by commissions of three to five members, seventeen are in South Jersey, as follows: Atlantic City, Audubon, Avalon, Beachwood, Bordentown, Camden, Cape May City, Cape May Point, Collingswood, Haddonfield, Longport, Margate, Millville, Ocean City, Sea Isle City, Vineland, and Wildwood. Beverly adopted commission government, but on November 2, 1920, voted to return to councilmanic rule. The change went into effect in May, 1921.

Previous to 1888, Atlantic City officials were elected in November, at the time of the general election. Beginning with March, 1888, they were elected on the second Tuesday in March, as provided by an act of the Legislature passed in 1887, and this continued in force until 1901, when the Legis-

⁴ In 1793, as proof of the illegality of an election for determining a site for the Middlesex County Jail and Court House, it was stated that "a negro man was admitted to vote, who had no legal residence, and his declaration that he had been manumitted in another State was received as sufficient proof of his being entitled to vote."

⁵ A curious complication arose in Atlantic City, in 1897, in an application of the act of 1887 to the matter of election expenses in that city. In passing upon the bills of election officers, Alfred M. Heston, then City Comptroller, decided that the act of 1887 imposed upon the county one-half of the cost of election expenses in Atlantic City. He therefore made a demand upon Allen B. Endicott, who was both county collector and city solicitor, for \$700, being one-half of the city's election expenses that year. As county collector, Mr. Endicott refused to comply with the comptroller's demand. The comptroller thereupon requested Mr. Endicott, as city solicitor, to apply for a mandamus from the Supreme Court to compel the county collector to pay over the \$700. As city solicitor, Mr. Endicott said he would be glad to do so, but as county collector he would be obliged to go before the Supreme Court in person or through his attorney and oppose the application of the city solicitor. Mr. Heston admitted that his action necessitated Mr. Endicott going before the Court and asking for a mandamus against himself, but as guardian of the city's "strong box," it was his duty to insist on the payment of the \$700. To this, Mr. Endicott replied that as county collector, and guardian of the county's "strong box," he felt obliged to oppose the motion, on the ground that the city was not entitled to the money. In other words, as county collector, he was bound to take the ground that he was right in refusing the demand of the comptroller, but as city solicitor he was certain that he was wrong as county collector in refusing the demand. It was a complicated situation, which was finally adjusted by the Board of Freeholders agreeing that the contention of the comptroller was right and authorizing the county collector to pay over the money to the city.

lature passed what is known as the anti-spring election law, which abolished spring elections in all cities. Beginning with November, 1901, therefore, city officials were again elected in November. Under this act and an amendment thereto, passed in 1903, all expenses of election held in November, are paid by the county. In previous years the election officers received compensation in varying amounts, from both city and county.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PATRIOTS AND TORIES—EVIL DOINGS BY HESSIANS.

Four months after the fiasco on the Delaware, perpetuated in rhyme by Francis Hopkinson, under the title of "Battle of the Kegs," a British force was sent up the Delaware from Philadelphia to Bordentown to capture a number of vessels moored in Crosswicks Creek. When the British boats arrived—three armed vessels and twenty-six smaller craft—with six or eight hundred troops, in May, 1778, it was found that most of the shipping had been burned by the Americans. An attack was therefore made on Bordentown, and deeming resistance unwise, the villagers fled. Colonel Borden's property is said to have been pointed out by Polly Riche, a beautiful girl whose Tory proclivities had estranged her from the patriots. Not only Colonel Borden's residence and store, but all the other buildings on his place, including stables and carriage houses, were burned to the ground.

Four men, Joseph Gregory, Edward Irdell, Joseph Sutton, and a man from Burlington whose name is unknown, surrendered to the British near what is now the foot of Walnut Street, and were murdered in cold blood. An old lady named Irdell was shot while standing in her doorway, and a British spy, who had accompanied the troops, was mortally wounded by mistake while quietly reposing on the river bank. His protection paper was found in his pocket.

The British officers, on this occasion, paid Francis Hopkinson the compliment of dining at his home but that patriotic citizen, with other notorious Whigs, had fled at the enemy's approach, and did not return until the danger was past.

At the time of this assault, Hopkinson was living permanently at Bordentown, having given up his Philadelphia home in 1774. Previously, he had passed his winters in Philadelphia and his summers in Bordentown. When the British troops landed, one of their first moves was to take possession of the Hopkinson home. Captain James Ewald, a Hessian, was busy looking over the books in Hopkinson's library while his men were engaged in extinguishing the fire brands thoughtlessly applied to the roof of the building. The Hessian officer wrote on the fly leaf of one of the books: "This man is one of the greatest rebels; nevertheless, if we dare to conclude from the library, and his mechanical and mathematical instruments, he must be a very learned man."

Six months before this affair at Bordentown, a frequent guest at the Hopkinson home was the Rev. Jacob Duche and wife, of Philadelphia. He was rector of St. Peter's Church, and his wife was a sister to Mrs. Hopkinson, both being daughters of Joseph Borden, leading citizen of the town. Duche had been conspicuous among the agitators against the excesses of the British Government and had counselled resistance to the stamp act. His published sermons and letters had been widely read, both in this country and in England.

No episode in Philadelphia leading up to the Revolution was more notable than one in which Duche figured when Peyton Randolph and Charles Thomson organized the first Continental Congress at Carpenter's Hall, in the autumn of 1774. The Assembly had been alarmed by a rumor that an English fleet had bombarded Boston.

The temper of the delegates was grave and stern. The clergyman read several of the prayers of his church. Then he turned to the thirty-fifth Psalm in the Psalter of the day, wherein he recited that magnificent passage, ringing with the exalted spirit that right is always right: "Plead thou my cause, O Lord, with them that strive with me; and fight thou against them that fight against me."

John Adams afterward declared that it seemed as if Heaven had ordered that Psalm to be read. The effect was electrical; but Duche did not stop there. He proceeded to make his own extempore appeal. As it has come down to us, it is an illustration of his eloquence and fervent patriotism. He prayed:

O Lord, our heavenly Father, high and mighty King of Kings and Lord of Lords! who dost from Thy throne behold all the dwellers on earth, and reignest with power supreme and uncontrolled over the nations, empires and governments, look down in mercy, we beseech Thee, on these American States, who have fled to Thee from the rod of the oppressor, and have thrown themselves on Thy gracious protection, desiring to be henceforth dependent only on Thee. To Thee they have appealed for the righteousness of their cause; to Thee do they now look for that countenance and support which Thou alone canst give. Take them, therefore, Heavenly Father, under Thy nurturing care; give them wisdom in council and valor in the field; defeat the malicious designs of our adversaries; convince them of the unrighteousness of their cause; and if they still persist in their sanguinary purposes, oh let the voice of Thine own unerring justice, sounding in their hearts, constrain them to drop the weapons of war from their unnerved hands in the day of battle! Be Thou present, O God of wisdom! and direct the councils of this honorable assembly; enable them to settle things on the best and surest foundation, that the scene of blood may be speedily closed, that order, harmony and peace may be effectually restored, and truth and justice, religion and piety, prevail and flourish amongst thy people. Preserve the health of their bodies and the vigor of their minds; shower down on them and the millions they here represent, such temporal blessings as Thou seest expedient for them in this world, and crown them with everlasting glory in the world to come. All this we ask in the name and through the merits of Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Saviour, Amen.

Duche, nearly up to the time that Howe entered Philadelphia, was on the side of the Continental Congress. He had so won the esteem of that body that he had been made its chaplain. He seems to have read prayers in the State House after the Declaration of Independence. At Christ Church, on one occasion, he dropped King George from the service, and prayed for the American States, but in the summer of 1777 he reached the conclusion that he had been too precipitate in his approval of independence.

When Howe's army took possession of Philadelphia, Duche concluded that the occupation of the city was the beginning of the end; that resistance by the ragged and demoralized Continentals only meant a hopeless effusion of blood, and that the church should issue its mandate for peace. He addressed to Washington a letter at his camp on the Schuylkill, calling on him to give up the cause and make the best terms that might now be open to his country. This letter is said to have been delivered to Washington by the witty Mrs. Elizabeth Ferguson, whose sympathies were with the British.

Historians, for some inexplicable reason, have disposed of the Duche letter with a few words or lines. Indeed, in only one book, Thompson West-

cott's "History of Philadelphia," is there any disclosure of the text of a letter written at the most critical period of the Revolution; a time when to many the cause of independence seemed hopeless; a time when the "rebels" of South Jersey must have been timorous and anxious as to their own fate, should the occupation of Philadelphia terminate in the surrender or capture of Washington. The Duche letter is remarkable for the flood of light it throws on the temptations which tested the patriotism of the commander-in-chief—perplexities sufficient to overwhelm any ordinary man. It is such a lucid statement of a condition of the public mind that the author deems it a privilege to include it in this chapter on events preceding and following the manoeuvres of Washington in advance of an assault upon the enemy's fleet abreast of Gloucester—a manoeuvre that culminated in the battle of Red Bank. Two weeks before that battle, Washington received the Duche letter. He was then at White Marsh, a few miles north of Philadelphia, with headquarters at Peter Wintz's. The full text was as follows:

Philadelphia, Oct. 8th, 1777.

Sir,

If this Letter should find you in council or in the field, before you read another Sentence, I beg you to take the first opportunity of retiring—and weighing its important Contents. You are perfectly acquainted with the part I formerly took in the present unhappy Contest.—I was, indeed, among the first to bear my public Testimony against having any reverse to threats, or indulging a thought of an armed Opposition. The Current however was too strong for my feeble efforts to resist. I wished to follow my Countrymen as far only as virtue and the Righteousness of their Cause would permit me. I was however prevailed upon, among the rest of my Clerical Brethren in this City, to gratify the pressing desires of my fellow-citizens—by preaching a Sermon to the 2d City Battalion. I was pressed to publish this Sermon and reluctantly consented. From a personal Attachment of near 20 years standing, and a high respect for your Character in private as well as public life, I took the liberty of dedicating this Sermon to you.—I had your affectionate thanks for my performance in a Letter—(where) in was expressed, in the most delicate & obliging terms—your regard for me and your wishes for a Continuance of my friendship and approbation of your Conduct.

Farther than this I intended not to proceed. My Sermon speaks for itself and wholly disclaims the Idea of Independency. My Sentiments were well known to my friends:—I communicated them without reserve to many respectable Members of Congress who expressed their warm approbation of them. I persisted to the very last moment to use the prayers for my Sovereign—tho' threatened with insult from the violence of a party. Upon the declaration of Independency I called my Vestry—and solemnly put the Question to them "Whether they thought it best for the peace and welfare of the Congregation to shut up the Churches—or to continue the Service without using the prayers for the Royal Family? This was the sad alternative. I concluded to abide by their decision as I could not have time to consult my spiritual Superiors in England.—They determined it most expedient—under such critical circumstances—to keep open the Churches, that the Congregation might not be dispersed—which we had great reason to apprehend. A very few days after the fatal declaration of Independency I received a Letter from Mr. Hancock sent by Express to Germantown—where my family (were) for the Summer season—acquainting me I was appointed Chaplain to the Congress, and desired my Attendance next Morning at 9 o'Clock. Surprised and distressed as I was by an event I was not prepared to expect—Obliged to give an immediate Attendance, without the opportunity of consulting my Friends, I easily accepted the Appointment. I could have but one Motive for taking this Step. I thought the Churches in danger, and hoped by this means to have been instrumental in preventing those ills I had so much reason to apprehend. I can, however, with truth declare, that I then looked upon Independency rather as an Expedient and hazardous, or indeed, thrown out—in Terrorem—in order to procure some favorable terms—than a Measure that was seriously persisted in at all Events. My sudden change of Conduct will clearly evince this to have been my Idea of the matter. Upon the Return of the Committee of Congress appointed to confer with Lord Howe, I soon discerned their whole Intentions. The different accounts which each member gave of this Conference—the time they took to make up the matter for public view, and the amazing Disagreement be-

tween the News-Paper accounts and the Relation I myself had from the Mouth of one of the Committee—convinced me—that there must have been some unfair and ungenerous Procedure. This determination to treat on no other Strain than that of Independency (which put it out of his L'dships power) to mention any Terms at all was a sufficient Proof to me, that Independency was the Idol they had long wish'd to set up, and that rather than sacrifice this, they would deluge their Country with Blood.

From this moment I determined upon my resignation, and in the beginning of October 1776 sent it in form to Mr. Hancock, after having officiated only two months and three weeks; and from that time, as far as my safety would permit, I have been opposed to all their Measures—This circumstantial Account of my Conduct I think due to the Friendship you were so obliging as to express for me, and, I hope, will be sufficient to justify my seeming inconsistencies in the part I have acted. And now, Dear Sir, Suffer me, in the language of Truth and real affection, to address myself to you! All the world must be convinced you are engaged in the Service of your Country—from Motives perfectly disinterested. You risked every thing that was dear to you—abandoned the Sweets of domestic life which your affluent fortune can give the uninterrupted enjoyment of.—But had you, could you have had the least Idea of matters being carried to such a dangerous extremity—Your most intimate Friends shuddered at the thought of a separation from the Mother Country, and I took it for granted that your Sentiments coincided with theirs; what then can be the consequence of this rash and violent measure, the degeneracy of representation? Confusion and Councils—blunders without number! The most respectable characters have withdrawn themselves and are succeeded by a great Majority of illiberal and violent men. Take an impartial view of the present Congress—and what can you expect from them? Your feelings must be greatly hurt by the representation of your natural Province. You have no longer a Randolph, a Bland, or a Braxton—Men whose names will ever be revered—whose demands never ran above the first ground on which they set out, and whose truly glorious and virtuous sentiments I have frequently heard with rapture from their own lips! O, my dear Sir! What a sad Contrast of Characters now present! Others whose friends can ne'er mingle with your own. Your Harrison alone remains, and he disgusted with the unworthy Associates. As to those of my own Province—some of them are so obscure that their very names were never in my ears before, and others have only been distinguished for the weakness of their Understandings, and the violence of their tempers. One alone I except from the general charge,—a man of virtue drawn reluctantly, and restrained, by some false ideas of honor, from retreating, after having gone too far. You cannot be at loss to discover whose name answers to this Character.

From the N. England provinces can you find one, that as a Gentleman you could wish to associate with, unless the soft and mild Address of Mr. Hancock can atone for his want of every other qualification necessary for the seat which he fills. Bankrupts, Attorneys and Men of desperate fortunes, are his Colleagues. Maryland no longer sends a Tilghman and a protestant Carrol. Carolina has lost its Lynch, and the elder Middleton has retired. Are the dregs of Congress then still to influence a mind like yours? These are not the men you engaged to serve; these are not the Men America has chosen to represent her. Most of them were chosen by a little low faction, and the few Gentlemen that are among them now—are well known to lie on the balance, and looking up to your hand alone to turn the beam: 'Tis you, Sir, and you only, that support the present Congress;—of this you must be fully sensible. Long before they left Philadelphia, their dignity and Consequence was gone;—what must it be now since their precipitate retreat? I write with freedom, but without invective.—I know these things to be true, and I write to one whose own Observations must have convinced him it is so. After this view of the Congress, turn to the Army; the whole world knows that its only existence depends upon you; that your death or Captivity disperses it in a moment; and that there is not a Man on that side the Question in America capable of succeeding you. As to the Army itself, what have you to expect from them? Have they not frequently abandoned you yourself in the hour of extremity? Can you, have you the least Confidence in a set of undisciplined men and officers, many of them have been taken from the lowest of the people, without principle, without Courage;—take away them who surround your person, how very few are there you can ask to sit at your Table?

As to your little navy, of that little, what is left? Of the Delaware fleet part are taken, the rest must soon surrender; of those in the other provinces, some are taken, one or two at sea, and others lying unmanned and unrigged in your harbours; and now where are your Resources? Oh! my dear Sir, how sadly have you been abused by a faction void of truth, and void of tenderness to you and your Country? They have

amused you with hopes of a declaration of war on the part of France: Believe me, from the best Authority, it was a fiction from the first. Early in the year 1776 a French Gentleman was introduced to me, with whom I became intimately acquainted. His business to all appearance—was to speculate in the mercantile way; but I believe it will be found, that in his Country he moved in a higher sphere. He saw your Cause; he became acquainted with all your military preparations; he was introduced to Congress, and engaged with them in a commercial Contract. In the course of our intimacy—he has frequently told me—that he hoped the Americans would never think of Independency; he gave me his reasons: "Independency can never be supported unless France should declare War against England. I well know the state of her Finances—years to come will not put them in a Situation to enter upon a breach with England. At this moment there are two parties in the Court of Versailles; one enlisted under the Duke of Choiseul, the other under Count Maurepas. Choiseul has no chance of succeeding, tho' he is violent for war; Maurepas must get the better,—he is for economy and peace." This was his information, which I mentioned to several Members of Congress; they treated it as a Fable—depending entirely upon Dr. Franklin's intelligence. The truth of the matter is this, Doctor Franklin built upon the success of Choiseul; upon his Arrival in France, he found him out of place, his Councils reprobated, and his party dwindled into an insignificant faction: This you may depend upon to be the true state of Affairs in France or the Court of Doctor Franklin.

In America your harbours are blocked up, your cities fall one after another; fortress after fortress, battle after battle is lost. A British Army after having passed unmolested thro' a vast Extent of Country, have possessed themselves of the Capital of America. How unequal the Contest? How fruitless the expence of blood? Under so many discouraging Circumstances—can virtue, can honour, can the love of your Country—prompt you to proceed? Humanity itself, and surely humanity is no stranger to your breast, calls upon you to desist. Your army must perish for want of common necessaries, or thousands of innocent Families must perish to support them: Wherever they encamp, the country must be impoverished; wherever they march, the troops of Britain will pursue and must compleat the destruction which America herself has begun. Perhaps it may be said—it is better to die than to be made Slaves: This indeed is a splendid Maxim in Theory, and perhaps in some instances may be found experimentally true; but when there is the least probability of an accommodation, surely wisdom and humanity call for some sacrifices to be made, to prevent inevitable destruction. You well know there is but one invincible bar to such Accommodations, could this be removed, other obstacles might readily be removed.

It is to you and you alone your bleeding Country looks and calls aloud for this sacrifice; your Arm alone has strength sufficient to remove this bar;—May heaven inspire you with this glorious resolution of exerting your strength at this Crisis, and immortalizing yourself as friend and guardian to your Country; your penetrating eye needs not more explicit language to discern my meaning; with that prudence and delicacy therefor, of which I know you possess'd to represent to Congress, the indispensable necessity of rescinding the hasty and ill-advised declaration of Independency. Recommend, you have an undoubted right to recommend, an immediate cessation of hostilities. Let the Controversy be taken up where that declaration left it, and where Lord Howe certainly expected to find it left. Let men of clear and impartial Characters, in or out of Congress, liberal in their sentiments heretofore, independent in their fortunes (and some such may be found in America) be appointed to confer with his Majesty's Commissioners. Let them, if they please, prepare some well-digested constitutional plan, to lay before them at the commencement of the Negotiation; when they have gone thus far, I am confident the usual happy consequences will ensue; unanimity will soon take place thro' the different provinces; thousands who are now ardently wishing and praying for such a measure, will step forth and declare themselves the Zealous Advocates for Constitutional Liberty, and Millions will bless the hero that left the field of War, to decide this most important Contest with the weapons of wisdom and humanity.

Oh! Sir, let no false idea of worldly honor deter you from engaging in so glorious a task; whatever censures may be thrown out by mean illiberal minds, your character will rise in the estimation of the virtuous and noble; it will appear with lustre in the Annals of history, and form a glorious contrast to that of those—who have fought to obtain conquest, and gratify their own ambition by the destruction of their species and the ruin of their country. Be assured, Sir, that I have not written this under the eye of any British Officer, or any person connected with the British Army or Ministry. The sentiments I express are the real sentiments of my own heart, such as I have long held, and which I should have made known to you by Letter before, had (I) not fully ex-

pected an opportunity of a personal conference with you. When you passed thro' Philadelphia on your way to Wilmington, I was confined by a severe fit of the Gravel, to my chamber; I have since continued so much indisposed, & times have been so distressed, that I had neither spirit to write a letter, nor an opportunity to convey it when written, nor do I yet know by what means I shall get these sheets to your hands. I would fain hope I have said nothing by which your delicacy can be in the least hurt; if I have, I assure you, it has been without the least intention, and therefore your Candor will lead you to forgive me. I have spoken freely of Congress and the Army, but what I have said is partly from my own knowledge, and partly from the information of some respectable members of the former, and some of the best Officers in the latter; I would not offend the meanest person upon earth; what I say to you, I say in confidence to answer what I cannot but deem a most valuable purpose. I love my Country, I love you; but to the love of truth—the love of peace and the love of God, I hope I should be enabled, if called upon to the trial, to sacrifice every other inferior love. If the arguments made use of in this Letter should have so much influence, as to engage you in the glorious work which I have warmly recommended, I shall ever deem my success the highest temporal favor that Providence could grant me. Your interposition and advice, I am confident, would meet with a favorable reception from the authority under which you act; if it should not, you have an infallible recourse still left—negotiate for your Country at the head of your Army. After all it may appear presumption as an individual to address himself to you on a subject of such magnitude, or to say what measures would best secure the interest & welfare of a whole Continent. The friendly and favorable opinion you have always expressed for me emboldens me to undertake it; and which has greatly added to the weight of this motive. I have been strongly impressed with a sense of duty upon the Occasion, which left my conscience uneasy and my heart afflicted—till I fully discharge it. I am no Enthusiast—the cause is new and singular to me, but I could not enjoy one moment's peace till this Letter was written. With the most ardent prayers for your spiritual, as well as temporal welfare, I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient and
humble Friend and Servant

JACOB DUCHE.

His Excellency General Washington.

Writing to Congress, under date of October 16, 1777, Washington said:

I yesterday, through the hands of Mrs. * * * received a letter of a very curious and extraordinary nature from Mr. D. * * *, which I have thought proper to transmit to Congress. To this ridiculous, illiberal performance, I made a short reply by desiring the bearer of it, if she should hereafter by any accident meet with Mr. D. * * *, to tell him I should have returned it unopened, if I had had any idea of the contents; observing, at the same time, that I highly disapproved the intercourse she seemed to have been carrying on, and expected it would be discontinued. Notwithstanding the author's assertion, I cannot but suspect that the measure did not originate with him, and that he was induced to it by the hope of establishing his interest and peace more effectually with the enemy.

When the enemy evacuated Philadelphia, in June, 1778, there was a cry for vengeance on the Tories. Only by the strenuous efforts of moderate men was a reign of terror prevented. The courts were busy condemning Quakers and Episcopalians to death. Houses were burned or pillaged, properties were confiscated and families driven into exile, as the only escape from the hangman. So fierce was the thirst for blood that even after most of the jury and hundreds of Whigs pleaded for the lives of two Quakers, Carlisle and Roberts, who had been convicted of a petty and comparatively harmless form of treason, they were dragged through the streets of Philadelphia to the scaffold with ropes around their necks and their coffins in front of them.

There is little doubt that this would have been the fate of Duché if he had stayed. He had been proclaimed a traitor; he fled from the fine Elizabethan house in which he lived, at the northwest corner of Third and Pine streets, and sought refuge in England. The mansion was immediately confiscated by the State, and there, Thomas McKean took up his abode in the

dawn of that career which was to make him a Governor and Chief Justice of the Commonwealth. McKean's wife before her marriage was Maria Borden, a sister of Nancy Borden, of Bordentown, who had married Francis Hopkinson.

At the close of the Revolution Duche returned to Philadelphia, but he found turned from him the faces of the men who had once hung upon his eloquence. When he finally died, he was referred to as the "perfidious Duche."

At the time of the Bordentown assault, while dinner was being prepared at the Hopkinson home by Miss Mary Comly, aged eighteen, she learned that the soldiers were robbing the dwelling of her mother and grandmother on the opposite side of the street. She quietly entered that home, while the men were there, and privately cut a piece from the skirt of one of the soldiers coats. When the troops were formed, previous to departure, through the kindness of the officers, Miss Comly identified the thief by the hole in his regimentals. By this means not only the property of her relatives was released, but also other trinkets belonging to Hopkinson and others.

Meanwhile, the patriots of the outlying country, roused by the fire on the bluff, had begun to assemble and the arrival of Colonel George Baylor, with his light-horse troop—the same Baylor who was afterward in command at Tappan, when one hundred and four cavalymen were massacred by the British—was a signal for a hasty departure of the foe. They proceeded up the river as far as Biles Island. Next day, they met with unexpected opposition by the militia and artillery sent down from Trenton by General Dickinson. They retreated down the river, pursued by the militia, who made a prize of six men and a sloop which the enemy had loaded with plunder.

The depredations at Bordentown were followed next month by the British evacuating Philadelphia. They marched across New Jersey in the direction of Bordentown, to meet defeat on the field of Monmouth ten days later. The troops in Philadelphia at the time of the evacuation in June, according to an official return in the British Record Office, numbered 13,078 British, 5,202 Hessians, and 1,250 Provincials. Nearly 5,000 of these went to New York by sea, leaving 15,000 to cross South Jersey.

When Sir Henry Clinton crossed the Delaware at what is now Camden, he at once divided his army into two wings—the right, under Lord Cornwallis, to march via Columbus, (then known as Black Horse) to Bordentown, Crosswicks, and Allentown, and the left, under General Knyphausen, via Haddonfield, Mount Holly, and Imlaystown. Both divisions were to keep within easy supporting distance, and their objective point was to be New Brunswick or some point on the Raritan, where they hoped to find their fleet, and be transported thence to New York. Their supply train, with a motely crowd of refugees, camp followers, ex-slaves, women and "other useless stuff," as one old writer phrases it, moved with Knyphausen and was guarded by him, while Sir Henry himself rode with Cornwallis and directed both wings. The entire column extended over twelve miles and must have been a sight to the Jersey farmers.

The march began with every prospect of secrecy and success. The army numbered, as stated, about fifteen thousand; Bancroft says seventeen thousand, and Hildreth places them as low as twelve thousand. They were the flower of the British army in America; most of them well-seasoned veterans, and all thoroughly drilled and disciplined, armed and equipped. It is true about one-third were Hessians, but the British hirelings were good soldiers, ably officered.

They moved with alacrity and spirit, but found the roads heavy and obstructed by fallen trees, the bridges poor, or broken down by South Jersey farmers and militia, the weather hot and sweltering. Cornwallis led the advance and reached Mount Holly on Saturday, June 20th. He remained there until Monday, taking a Sunday rest. On Sunday he was joined by Knyphausen, who had marched via Moorestown, having been left behind at Haddonfield with the trains on the previous Friday.¹ On Monday both wings moved to Black Horse, now Columbus, and on Tuesday General Leslie was sent with a brigade to Bordentown, to see what the Americans were doing in that intensely Whig neighborhood. The main body, however, moved on to Crosswicks and here Leslie joined them that evening, the 23d. Next morning both columns crossed the creek, Cornwallis by the bridge at Crosswicks village and Knyphausen by the ford at Waln's Mills, two or three miles to the east. One division then moved on to Allentown and the other to Imlaystown. The disaster at Monmouth, five days later, is one of the memorable events of the Revolution.

About eighteen months before these stirring events and just before the battle of Trenton, Colonel Donop had his headquarters at Bordentown. Four days before that battle he made an entry in his diary and wrote an official report at Bordentown to the British major-general at New Brunswick, in which he said:

The Colonel Reed who lately received a protection is said to have gone up to General Mifflin and declared to him that he was not disposed to serve any longer, upon which Mifflin met him very harshly, and even called him a damned rascal.

For one hundred years this record was believed to refer to Colonel Joseph Reed, Washington's adjutant-general, and Bancroft, the historian, used it as the basis of his charge that Reed wavered in his support of Washington.

The late Adjutant-General William S. Stryker proved that Washington's adjutant-general had been unjustly accused and that the charge of having received protection from the enemy was an undeserved stigma upon Reed's name.

General Stryker showed by official records, discovered in his office at

¹ During their brief stay at Mount Holly, Cornwallis and the Hessian commander, Knyphausen, occupied rooms at a tavern on the main highway, afterwards known as Mill Street. Some account of this tavern is given in a news dispatch under date of December 29, 1923: Prosecutor Kelsey said of one of the oldest houses in Mount Holly that it is "the most notorious bootlegging joint in Burlington County." He referred to the Mill Street Hotel, now a landmark in Mount Holly. It has been a tavern since 1731. When Judge Wells recently ordered the place closed for a period of ten months he apparently put an end to a resort that has been identified with the history of Mount Holly for nearly two hundred years. He sentenced the owner, Mrs. Clara Parker, to two months in the county jail on the charge of possessing liquor. The revenue officers had called at her place four or five times, and each time had found liquor on the premises. Mrs. Parker's arraignment yesterday taxed Judge Wells' patience and he sent her to jail. Thursday she pleaded non vult contendere to an indictment of conducting a disorderly house and then he issued the ten months' closing order.

At various times during nearly two hundred years the Mill Street Hotel has borne a reputation that has been unsavory. John Woolman, Mount Holly's greatest citizen, decried the disorder and "evil actions," he was obliged to witness in passing the place during the seventeen hundreds. It is said that he attempted to break up the debauchery, but whatever success he had was only temporary, for the years since then have brought their full share of excitement and unenviable reputation.

This was the first hotel in Mount Holly. It stands in a part of the town around which all activities were centered. According to the records, Samuel Briant was the first owner, remaining until 1737, when the property was sold to Josiah White, prominent citizen and minister of the Society of Friends. That White ran the hotel is doubtful, but it is believed that he operated a store in one section of it and leased the hotel part to other persons. The hotel remained in the White family for sixty years. Since then it has come down through the ownership of Butler Atkinson, Charles Sailor, John Luper, Thomas Pearce, Elisha Barcklow, Isaac Alloway, Abraham Kelly, Isaac J. Morris, William Hodgson, Ewan English, William H. Kinley, John F. Smith, James W. O'Brien, John Vansiver, Grant Davis, Fred Parker, and finally Parker's widow. During the British occupation of Mount Holly this hotel was one of the headquarters of the Hessians, at which time, so the record says, there were many "riotous occasions." During 1780-81 sessions of the Court of Admiralty were held there three times a year.

Trenton, that the man referred to by Donop, both in his diary and in his report, was Colonel Charles Read, of the Burlington militia, and the American officer who "called him a damned rascal" was Colonel Samuel Griffin, a name sounding to Donop's ears not unlike Mifflin, who was at that time doing all in his power to harrass the British troops.

Governor Livingston, in a special message to the Legislature on March 15, 1777, said: "Colonel Charles Read, of one of the Burlington battalions, is in such a situation with respect to his having submitted to the enemy, that it is not probable he will act any longer in that office." General Stryker said in his pamphlet on the "Reed Controversy" published in 1885:

While Donop's diary is in German, his report to his British commanding officer is in French, and French of a very indifferent quality. However, the meaning is clear, that General Mifflin (referring to Colonel Griffin) had advanced his rebel troops to the bridge on the Moorestown road, three miles from Mount Holly; that Colonel Reed (Read) had met him near this bridge and had carried on the conversation referred to, and that Mifflin (Griffin) had taken him off as a prisoner.

Other proofs that it was Colonel Charles Read, and not Colonel Joseph Reed, to whom Donop referred as having received protection from the British, are found in the published diary of Christopher Marshall, of Philadelphia, who said under date of January 21, 1777:

It is said that several hundred soldiers arrived in town from the lower parts of this province and Maryland, and that several more Tories are brought in this day from the Jerseys, among whom is Colonel Charles Read.

Further proof in this line is found in the report of Colonel Richard Hampton to Thomas Wharton, at Philadelphia, dated at Crosswicks, January 19, 1777, in which he says:

This day I sent off the following prisoners under the direction of Adjutant Lucas, of my regiment: Colonel Charles Reed, Lieutenant John Throcmorton, of Colonel Morris' regiment of Monmouth Volunteers for the service of George 3d, King of Great Britain, and Captain William Hartshorn. They are all great enemies to the United States, and proper evidence will be brought against them.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE "JERSEY PLAN" REJECTED.

The close of the Revolution found the people of New Jersey disinclined to relinquish their sovereignty. During the war the pressure of common danger enforced a concurrence of action, but with the war over, jealousies arose among the States. Indeed there was a general desire to restrict the power of the Federal government and these sentiments found such wide expression that Washington was constrained to write: "We have opposed the British in vain and have arrived at the present state of peace and independency to very little purpose, if we cannot conquer our prejudices." At another time he said: "We cannot exist long as a nation without lodging somewhere a power that will pervade the whole nation."

Three months before the meeting of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia on May 2, 1787, Governor Livingston said: "I am more distressed by the posture of our public affairs than I was by the most gloomy appearances during the war. Without the utmost exertions of our patriotic communities and the blessing of God upon their exertions, I fear we shall not be able to support the independence which has cost us so much blood and treasure."¹

As the time for the meeting of the convention approached, public sentiment moderated. The people of New Jersey seemed more disposed toward "such provisions as shall appear necessary to render the constitution of the Federal government adequate to the exigencies of the union." The western section was represented by William Brearley and William C. Houston. Their associates from the eastern division were William Paterson, William Livingston, Abraham Clark, and Jonathan Dayton.

South Jersey is so closely identified with Philadelphia that a Federal convention held in that city, following the Revolution, was sure to engage the attention of those living in the lower counties. The proceedings of that convention were meagrely published in Franklin's "Pennsylvania Gazette" and Isaac Collins' "New Jersey Gazette." Excepting the "Pennsylvania Packet" and the "Pennsylvania Journal," they were the only papers circulated in South Jersey at that time. Indeed, the "New Jersey Gazette," begun in the latter part of 1777, was the only paper printed in New Jersey until the "New Jersey Journal" made its appearance in North Jersey. This paper was printed at Chatham, Morris County, where Shepard Kollock's press, protected from the raids of enemy troops, did effective service for the cause of liberty from 1779 to 1783, at which time publication was suspended. About that time Kollock started another paper, the "Advertiser," at Elizabeth, the name of which was afterwards changed to the "Journal." At a much earlier period, however (December, 1775), an association was formed in Bridgeton, with Dr. Jonathan Elmer as president, and his brother, Dr. Ebenezer Elmer, as secretary, for the "dissemination of patriotic news." This was done by means of a written sheet, known as the "Plain Dealer," of which eight copies are now extant. To encourage free expression of political opinion, citizens of Bridgeton and vicinity were informed that "pieces handed in will be corrected and transcribed for the public view, that they may be read every Thursday morning by as many as will take the trouble to call at Matthew Potter's bar." The "Plain Dealer" was short lived. Consequently, for news of the great convention in Philadelphia, the inhabitants of Cumberland and other counties in South Jersey were dependent upon the "New Jersey Gazette" or one of the three Philadelphia newspapers.

In the framing of that masterpiece of statecraft, five of the representatives from New Jersey were active and useful participants. Their efforts were directed mainly toward preserving for the smaller States a proper

¹ At the beginning of hostilities the Quakers of New Jersey and Pennsylvania held a meeting in Philadelphia, following which there appeared in the public prints a "testimony," signed by James Pemberton, clerk of the meeting. He was the owner of large tracts of land in Burlington County and for him the town of Pemberton was named. In his testimony, after expressing sorrow over the "unhappy contest between the Legislature of Great Britain and the people of the colonies," he added: "We are led by a sense of duty to declare our entire disapprobation of political writings and addresses, their spirit and temper being not only contrary to the precepts of the gospel, but destructive of the peace and harmony of civil society. From our past experience of the clemency of the King and his royal ancestors we have grounds to hope and believe that decent and respectful addresses from those who are vested with legal authority, representing the prevailing dissatisfactions and the cause thereof, would avail towards obtaining relief, ascertaining and establishing the just rights of the people and restoring public tranquility. We deplore contrary nodes which threaten the subversion of constitutional government and of that liberty of conscience for the enjoyment of which our ancestors were induced to encounter the manifold dangers and difficulties of crossing the seas and of settling in the wilderness. Therefore, incited by a sincere concern for the peace and welfare of our country, we declare against every usurpation of power and authority in opposition to the laws and government, and against all combinations, insurrections, conspiracies and illegal assemblies, from which we are constrained by a conscientious discharge of our duty to Almighty God, by whom kings reign and princes decree justice."

This public utterance at a time when the people generally were protesting against the usurpations of Parliament and the indignities of an intollerant King are in strange contrast with the action of a grandson of the man who thus declared against the "subversion of constitutional government." General John C. Pemberton, grandson of James Pemberton, was in command at Vicksburg in 1863, (endeavoring to subvert the constitutional government of the United States) and finding himself unable to resist the assaults of Grant, he asked for terms of capitulation, to which Grant replied, laconically: "Unconditional surrender."

degree of power and weight in the union. What was known as the "Jersey Plan," though not adopted in its entirety, was effectual in securing equal representation of the States in the Upper House of Congress. Owing to illness, Abraham Clark did not participate in the proceedings.

In determining the basis of representation in Congress, New Jersey joined with Connecticut, Maryland, and Delaware in demanding equality of the States. Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia favored representation based on population or wealth. New York was divided, while New Hampshire and Rhode Island were unrepresented. The matter was settled by a compromise—equal representation in the Senate, according to the demand of New Jersey, and membership of the House based on population. Following this, came the matter of determining population. New England and Pennsylvania were "free soil," while New Jersey, as well as New York and the South, recognized slavery. It was finally agreed that three-fifths of the slaves should be counted in apportioning representation.

Mr. Brearley, in the course of the discussions, presented a novel plan to obviate inequalities in representation. He proposed that "a map of the United States be spread out, that all existing boundaries be erased and that the whole be partitioned into thirteen equal parts." There were, he said, three large States and ten small ones and all the "little States will be obliged to throw themselves into the scale of some large one to have any weight at all. The evils of such a system, he said, had been seen in New Jersey, that "where large and small counties were united into a district for electing representatives, the larger districts always carried their point." Mr. Paterson, from the eastern division of New Jersey, agreed with the distinguished representative from the western division.

During the debate, when the "Virginia Plan" seemed likely to be chosen, Mr. Paterson and Mr. Brearley concurred in these sentiments: "Let them unite, if they please, but let them remember that they have no authority to compel others to unite. New Jersey will never confederate on the plan now before the committee." Nevertheless, we find these two distinguished Jersey-men eventually subjecting their own wills to that of the majority. They signed the constitution, after its adoption on September 17, 1787, and encouraged its adoption by New Jersey. Evidently, the advice of Washington to conquer prejudice found a place in their minds and in the minds of the people, for we find New Jersey third in the order of adoption, being preceded only by Pennsylvania and Delaware.

In presenting his "Jersey Plan," Mr. Paterson said the convention had no right to destroy State sovereignty. He asked: "Is the welfare of New Jersey, with five votes, to be submitted in a council to Virginia's sixteen votes?" Neither New Jersey nor himself, he added, would submit to despotism or tyranny.

The most striking feature of the "Jersey Plan" was a Federal executive, to consist of a number of persons, instead of a president and vice-president. The distinction between this plan and that of Virginia was pithily stated by James Wilson, a delegate from Pennsylvania: "Virginia proposes two branches of the national Legislature; New Jersey one. Virginia would have a single executive; New Jersey many."²

²The prominence of Mr. Wilson in public affairs at this time is a striking example of the "ups and downs" of men who cling to a conviction, regardless of its effect upon the public mind and possible injury to themselves. He was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Three years later, in 1779, Wilson was obliged to barricade himself in his Philadelphia home against an infuriated mob of supposed patriotic citizens. Ten years later, in 1789, he was appointed a

Alexander Hamilton described the "Jersey Plan" as the old articles of confederation with new patches. "It is still pork," said he, "but with a change of sauce." James Madison, of Virginia, also assailed the "Jersey Plan." Replying to Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Paterson said: "The articles of confederation should be sustained by every State. New Jersey and the smaller States will not be safe in the hands of those with larger representation."

When the vote was taken, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia voted against the "Jersey Plan." New York, New Jersey and Delaware voted for it. New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Maryland did not vote.

Hopkinson and His Hail Columbia—In the spring of 1798, when the United States was in danger of being drawn into a war with France, the envoys, sent to Paris by President Adams to restore friendly relations between the two countries, were thought to have been grossly insulted by France. Immediately there was talk of war. General Washington accepted the command of the American army and the infant navy was placed in readiness. Alexander Hamilton was selected as Washington's lieutenant, and public discussions were centered upon the impending war.

A vocalist named Gilbert Fox was to give a benefit in one of the Philadelphia theatres, and on account of the excited state of the public mind, the prospect of a good attendance was not encouraging. His benefit was announced for a Monday evening, and on the previous Saturday he went to his old friend and schoolmate, Joseph Hopkinson, of Bordentown and Philadelphia, then prominent in literary and scientific circles, and somewhat noted for his poetic effusions, and told him that he had little chance of a paying audience, unless he could announce something new and striking in the way of a patriotic song—a piece that could be sung by the whole company to an easy or familiar tune. He asked Hopkinson to write him something that could be sung the following Monday evening.

On Sunday afternoon Fox called upon Hopkinson and the words were

justice of the Supreme Court by Washington. He is mentioned briefly by historians as a "patriot and jurist"; yet he died poor and neglected in the little town of Edenton, on Albemarle Sound, North Carolina, in 1798. During the Revolution he was allied with the forestallers, whose occupation was similar to that of the profiteers during the World War. The forestallers profited in the debased Continental money, a prolific source of trickery and dishonesty in the shifting of values and the opportunity it offered for imposing upon the credulous. It furnished, moreover, a special temptation to Americans to sell to the British, who paid in gold, and all the acts of prohibition against such traffic were repeatedly evaded. In order to deliver their goods into the hands of the British in New York and New Jersey and to circumvent inspection, the Philadelphia monopolists put them in false barrels and in wagons with false bottoms. There was no more popular cry than that which was raised against the men known as monopolizers, forestallers and engrossers. These sometimes included citizens of the highest reputation as patriots. It was a common accusation that they imported goods and held them back for the express purpose of speculating in the distress of the people forcing up the prices. Out of this grew the "Fort Wilson" riot, mentioned by Dr. S. Weir Mitchell in his story of "Hugh Wynne." At the southwest corner of Third and Walnut streets, Philadelphia, stood a commodious brick dwelling house of three stories, with an extension on either street and a shaded garden. It was there, in the course of the year following the retirement of the British from Philadelphia that James Wilson made his home, and it was there, on October 4, 1779, that a Philadelphia mob marked him and his friends as objects of its wrath. Judge Wilson was charged with having assured the monopolists of the legality of their transactions, in consequence of which his name was conspicuous among those held up to public scorn as forestallers and friends of traitors. One day about two hundred members of the militia, headed by several local agitators, started on a search for the obnoxious persons. Wilson's friends included not only Robert Morris, but George Clymer, who, like Wilson and Morris, had signed the Declaration of Independence; also General Thomas Mifflin. They, with a number of other well-known citizens, had taken refuge in Wilson's house. When General Mifflin put his head out of a window to calm the mob, one of the men in the street raised his musket and fired. The mob then attempted to force an entrance into the house, and several men succeeded in passing the threshold, one of whom ran a bayonet into Colonel Stephen Campbell, of Lancaster. Wilson's friends, twenty-six in number, finally forced the invaders out of the house, and all the available furniture was at once used as a barricade. The mob prepared to resume the attack, but before they could do so, the Wilson party was gladdened by the shouts of the City Troop rushing to the rescue. Six men were killed—one of the Wilson party and five of the assailants.

ready. He took them at once to the musician of the theatre, who adapted them to an old and easy air, "President's March," composed by a German music teacher named Roth, and the following morning (April 23, 1798) the new song entitled "Hail Columbia," was announced in the papers and rehearsed upon the stage.

A crowded house rewarded the efforts of the actor and the poet, and the song was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The words and music were at once published, and the song was sung at every patriotic gathering during the period of excitement.

A peculiar circumstance contributed to the popularity of "Hail Columbia." During the revolutionary movement in France, from 1789 to the execution of Louis XVI, and Marie Antoinette in 1793, its progress was watched in America with enthusiastic approval. But the cruel and unnecessary execution of the King and Queen in the latter year checked the enthusiasm, and soon divided this country into two parties, one defending and the other condemning the conduct of the revolutionists.

About 1790, eight years previous to the writing of "Hail Columbia," the manager of a Philadelphia theatre revived Addison's famous old tragedy of "Cato." Before the play began, the curtain rose and the full company of actors sang the new national song of France, "La Marseillaise." The audience arose and joined in the chorus and the house presented a scene quite unusual in the staid city of Penn. At the end of the first act the audience called for a repetition of the inspiring song, and it was given as before, the people joining wildly in the chorus. At the end of every act "La Marseillaise" was demanded and repeated, and every night thereafter, as soon as the musicians came into the theatre, the cry arose for the inspiring song. The orchestra could not refuse, for the people would have no other music.

Generally the audience, or some part of it, would catch the spirit of the song and ring out the chorus. It grew into a custom, and for several years "La Marseillaise" was sung every night. But as the work of the guillotine in Paris progressed, the enthusiasm in America diminished, and one night in 1798, just after the arrival of unfavorable news from France, one man, on hearing a faint call for "La Marseillaise," ventured to dissent by hissing. At once the whole audience joined in one decisive and overwhelming hiss. "La Marseillaise" was not sung that night nor at any time afterwards.

CHAPTER XX.

WAR TIME CELEBRITIES.

Joseph Bonaparte and his friend, Commodore Stewart, are ineffably associated with Bordentown, but there were other men of prominence whose lives were centered about the old town, which was once the lower terminus of Camden and Amboy and at a still earlier period a starting point for stages to New York. Three of the "cunning old stagers" were conspicuous patriots in the Revolutionary days, and three others lived in the time of the Civil War.

One of the Revolutionary stagers was Colonel Josiah Kirkbride, who had previously lived at Penn's Manor on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware. When his property was burned by the British, in May, 1778, on account of his activity in the cause of freedom, he crossed into New Jersey and built a large brick house on the wooded bluffs, overlooking the Delaware and the fertile Pennsylvania farms. Years afterward it became a part of the Bordentown Female College.

Colonel Kirkbride was often visited by his patriotic friend, Thomas Paine, who so loved the town that he finally invested in a small house on the main street, where he passed much of his time previous to 1787, when he went to Europe.

While Paine was a guest at Kirkbride's home, in September, 1783, awaiting the completion of his own home, he received a letter from Washington then at Rocky Hill, near Princeton, in which the writer said:

I have learned since I have been at this place that you are at Bordentown. Whether for the sake of retirement or economy I know not. Be it either or both, or whatever it may be, if you will come to this place and partake with me, I shall be exceedingly happy to see you. Your presence may remind Congress of your past services to this country; and if it is in my power to impress them, command my best services with freedom, as they will be rendered cheerfully by one who entertains a lively sense of the importance of your works, and who, with much pleasure, subscribes himself your sincere friend.

A year later, while Paine was living at Bordentown, Washington wrote the following letter to Madison, then president of the Virginia Assembly:

James Madison,

Mount Vernon, June 12, 1784.

Dear Sir:

Can nothing be done in our assembly for poor Paine? Must the merits and services of Common Sense continue to glide down the stream of time, unrewarded by this country? His writings certainly have had a powerful effect on the public mind; ought they not, then, meet with adequate return? He is poor; he is chagrined and almost, if not altogether, in despair of relief.

New York, it is true, not the least distressed nor best able state in the union, has done something for him. This kind of provision he prefers to an allowance from Congress. He has reasons for it, which to him are conclusive, and such, I think, as would have weight with others. His views are moderate; a decent independence is, I believe, all he aims at. Should he not obtain this? If you think so I am sure you will not only move the matter, but give it your support. For me, it only remains to feel for his situation, and to assure you of the sincere esteem and regard with which I have the honor to be

Dear Sir

Your most obedient and humble servant,
George Washington.

Paine's reputation at the time this letter was written was not offensive. His "Age of Reason" had not been published and he had not alienated his friends by his attacks on Washington's administration and the Federalists generally. In 1784 he stood well in the estimation of many eminent men, and, while regarded as a shiftless or improvident writer, was looked upon as having done great service for the country.

Paine must have been the personification of ingratitude to have turned against the man who befriended him, and yet we find him writing of Washington afterwards in the most malicious manner. He spoke of the man who stands first and foremost in the nation's history as a hypocrite in public life and as treacherous in private friendship, adding:

The world will be puzzled to decide whether you are an apostate or an impostor; whether you have abandoned good principles or whether you ever had any.

Paine was very much attached to Bordentown and in after years, when away from America, his letters were full of kind remembrances. Writing from London to a lady whom he had first known as Kitty Nicholson, a Bordentown favorite, but who was then Mrs. Few, he said:

Though I am in as elegant style of acquaintance here as any American that ever came over, my heart and myself are three thousand miles apart; and I had rather see my horse Button eating the grass of Bordentown than all the pomp and show of Europe.

It is related of Paine that during his four years' residence in Bordentown, from 1783 to 1787, the barroom of the old Washington House was his favorite place of resort and here, it has been said, "only brandy and atheism passed his lips." As a matter of fact, Paine was a deist, and not an atheist.¹

The once-popular ditty, "Battle of the Kegs," written at Bordentown, was not Francis Hopkinson's first attempt at versification, nor was his pen idle in the cause of freedom, even before he inscribed his name to the Declaration of Independence. Indeed there were few more zealous patriots than this old stager of revolutionary days.²

The Battle of the Kegs is variously related. The burden of testimony, however, is to the effect that during the British occupancy of Philadelphia in 1777-78, the British vessels, which were stretched along the Delaware River front, presented a constant and irritating temptation to the American patriots. The result was a gathering of the combined intellectual forces of David Bushnell, of Saybrook, Connecticut; Joseph Belton, of Rhode Island, and Ezra Lee, of New York. These men were inventors who had achieved considerable fame by the building of torpedoes and submarine engines, but whose efforts in those directions had not been distinguished with remarkable success. Bushnell, at Yale College, invented a submarine vessel named the "Turtle," with which he unsuccessfully attempted to blow up the British frigate "Cerebus" at New London in 1778. Belton is credited with having offered an explosive machine of some sort to the Philadelphia Committee of Safety in 1775. With the intention of destroying the British shipping lying in the Delaware in front of Philadelphia, these men constructed, or engaged Burgess Allison to construct for them in Joseph Borden's cooper shop, Bordentown, a number of infernal machines, consisting of kegs charged with gunpowder and fitted with spring triggers, which were expected to cause an explosion upon contact with any hard body. The thought of their devisers was that if these explosive vessels were set afloat they would be carried by the current of the Delaware to the channel between Philadelphia and the present site of Camden, and that there Providence, or some other inscrutable agency, would direct them against the sides of the British ships. One keg, however, got adrift before the rudderless and undirected flotilla was ready, and being spied by some boys who were in a rowboat, they attempted to secure it, and laid such violent hands upon it that it exploded, killing or injuring the four occupants of the little craft. This incident put the British soldiery on their guard, and when the main body of the kegs appeared in the river a few days later, on January 5, 1778, they were so pitilessly

¹A bust of Paine, presented to the city of Philadelphia at the time of the Centennial Exhibition in 1876, was not placed in Independence Hall until September 11, 1905. It was the intention of the donors that this bust should be placed in Independence Hall at the close of the exhibition, but the prejudice against Paine was so strong at the time that the City Councils refused to accept it, and their example was followed by the various art associations and patriotic organizations to whom it was subsequently offered. The bust, which cost \$1,200, was sculptured by Samuel P. Morse, of Boston. It is of marble, mounted on a shaft of granite, with a surbase of Tennessee marble.

Had Paine never written the "Age of Reason" nor the "Rights of Man" he would have enjoyed a very different reputation, and his memory would have been lauded for the part he took in effecting American independence.

²Hopkinson wrote what he called the "Pretty Story," which was published in Philadelphia over the nom de plume of Peter Grievous in 1774. This was thirty-four years after Samuel Richardson issued his "Pamela," the first novel of any importance published in America. In his "Pretty Story" our South Jersey celebrity and Revolutionary "signer" represents England as a nobleman possessed of a valuable farm and having a number of children and grandchildren, for the government of whom he enters into various compacts. The fortunes of the American settlers are humorously depicted and the encroachments of Parliament (the nobleman's wife) are forcibly described. In 1776 Hopkinson published "The Prophecy" and in 1777 the "Political Catechism," which worked out the sequel of his novel. Copies of the "Pretty Story" are now very rare and command a good price.

bombarded from the Philadelphia shore that the head of every keg was driven in and their destructive efficiency destroyed.

Charles Stewart Parnell, grandson of Commodore Stewart, Samuel Lawrence, the portrait painter, the Gilders and T. Buchanan Read, had homes in Bordentown at a later period. The home of Read was built by an English officer, a descendant of whom visited Bordentown about the time of the Centennial Exhibition in 1876.

That well-known literary family, the Gilders, have long been associated with Bordentown. More than a century has elapsed since an ancestor of this trio of editors and writers erected, a half-mile out of Bordentown, on the Crosswicks Road, the home in which the poet-editor, Richard Watson Gilder, was born. This is the homestead which he celebrates in one of his poems.

The house is a large, old-fashioned mansion, with dormer windows in its sloping roofs and a wing projecting from one of its sides. Its rooms have wide fireplaces and are furnished with quaint and handsome heirlooms, the prized possessions of previous generations.

Mr. Gilder's education was obtained at St. Thomas' Hall, the seminary at Flushing, Long Island, which his father, Rev. William H. Gilder, a litterateur and scholar of reputation, had established.

The early "sixties" of the last century found the Gilders again at Bordentown, whence they removed to Newark toward the close of the decade. There Richard and Jeanette, and later, Joseph, plunged enthusiastically into newspaper work.

A very diverting account of the Gilders' work in Newark, about this time, or rather an extravaganza based upon it, is to be found in Miss Gilder's "Tomboy" reminiscences. Richard W. Gilder found journalism in Newark much to his liking, and worked at it day and night in a way to make his contemporaries wonder.

In addition to his newspaper duties, he managed to take time to go to New York, where he conducted a magazine, called "Hours at Home," published by Scribner, Armstrong and Company. Of course, this state of affairs could not last indefinitely, and the parting of the ways came in 1870, when Dr. J. G. Holland desired and secured his services as assistant editor of the "Scribner's Monthly," then just established. Mr. Gilder's subsequent career on Scribner's, and as editor of the "Century Magazine" cannot be more than mentioned in this chapter. He died in November, 1909. Neither he nor his sister Jeanette, who died in January, 1916, allowed recollections of the days spent in South Jersey to fade from their minds.

Among American litterateurs there is no more interesting or unique personality than that of Thomas Buchanan Read. Both as artist and poet, he had a career of varied and picturesque charm. Within the brief compass of fifty years, he traveled, painted and wrote on two continents and in many climes. Much of his work was of high artistic value and some of his poems will last as long as anything in American literature.

Read was born of highly respectable but obscure parents at Downingtown, Pennsylvania. The family name had been signed to the Declaration of Independence, but Read's father died when he was an infant, and his youth was spent in poverty and hardships. Apprenticed to a tailor, he had very limited schooling, but early developed a love for books. Disliking both his master and the trade, he threw down his scissors and ran off to Philadelphia in his fourteenth year. He walked most of the way, gaining a ride

now and then on a Conestoga wagon. As this was his first glimpse of the world, he described the trip afterward in fervent language.

In Philadelphia, Read lived the romantic life of a David Copperfield for a year, often without food and with the queerest sort of companions. He clerked for a time in a cellar grocery, and then worked six months for a cigar maker. Then he set his face westward, and tramped across Pennsylvania and the Alleghenies, sailing on a flatboat down the Ohio River to Cincinnati. The next two years were spent in Cincinnati with a sister, and in that city he gained his first rudimentary introduction to art.

For another year Read roamed through Ohio and Indiana, painting signs and occasionally portraits, and for a short time had an engagement with a theatrical troupe in Dayton. He then returned to Cincinnati and attracted the attention of Nicholas Longworth, the philanthropist, a native of Newark, whose grandson and namesake is the son-in-law of former President Roosevelt.

Mr. Longworth recognized his talents and aided him in opening a studio as a portrait painter; but success did not come rapidly, and when business was dull he wandered from town to town, eking out a livelihood by painting signs, giving public entertainments, and even returning to cigar-making, when all else failed. This vagarious life came to an end when he went to New York in 1841, and a little later to Boston, where he began his literary career by writing poems for the "Boston Courier."

In 1847 Read issued from the press in Philadelphia, where he was then living, his first volume, entitled "Lays and Poems." Though he was only twenty-four, he had seen many adventures, but now determined to end his wanderings. He married, and for some years, while engaged in periodical and book-writing, maintained a quiet, domestic retreat at Bordentown. Then the restless fever of the artist found him again, and taking his wife and children he left Bordentown and went to Florence, Italy. Most of the years between 1850 and 1860 were spent in Italy.

Despite his deficiencies of early training, Read's work as a painter found much favor abroad. Perhaps the most famous of his paintings is "Sheridan's Ride," which illustrates his most famous poem, and is one of the most striking examples of a thought depicted by the same artist in two allied forms.

Through all of Read's poetry runs an intense American vein, and this found its chief expression at the time of the Civil War. Returning to this country when the struggle broke out, he lent every energy to the advancement of the Union cause. He even served for a time on the staff of Major General Lew Wallace, but decided that he could give more effective aid as a writer. Thereafter, until the close of the war, he visited many cities, reciting his own poems before appreciative audiences and always in aid of the sanitary commission.

The Pennamite Wars and the Trenton Decree—Two of New Jersey's distinguished citizens, David Brearley and William C. Houston, members of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, were also members of a commission, appointed by the Continental Congress, whose sessions were held in Trenton five years before the memorable gathering in Philadelphia. Both of these men have a place in the history of South Jersey. Indeed, the name of one is worthily perpetuated in Bridgeton—Brearley Lodge of Masons, in that city, is the second oldest lodge in the State. The Trenton commission of 1782 determined a matter of national importance. It directly affected the boundary of one State and the limitations of three others.

The story takes us back to 1662, shortly after Charles II sanctioned the decapitation of certain regicides, all of them worthy citizens of England and one (Gregory Clement) a revered ancestor of more than a score of Atlantic City's best citizens. After that cruel deed the King who "never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one," was good enough to grant to Connecticut's colonists, or rather to confirm a previous grant by his grandfather, James I, a strip of land bounded by Narragansett Bay on the east and the "South Sea" on the west, between latitudes 41 and 42 degrees. A glance at the map will show that the forty-first meridian intersects New Jersey at the northeast corner of Bergen County and crosses the Delaware just above Water Gap.

The Connecticut grant, therefore, included islands within the confines of New Jersey. Failure of Connecticut to enforce her supposed rights may have saved to New Jersey a considerable slice of Bergen, Passaic, and Sussex counties. The shrewd Yankees were not so considerate of Pennsylvania. They demanded their own in Penn's domain and their persistency brought on the Pennamite Wars, in the settlement of which New Jersey played a most important part.

Notwithstanding his previous grant to Connecticut, Charles II, in 1681, granted to Penn certain lands having the forty-second degree as their northern boundary, thus overlapping by one degree the grant made to Connecticut nineteen years earlier. This was not done in ignorance, but in pursuance of a right then possessed by the sovereign. With the King it was the last grant that was valid, and prior grants were void; that is, the title of the King was never exhausted. This system gave the colonists endless trouble and proved the basis of one of their complaints in the Declaration of Independence.

Reference to "South Sea," in the Connecticut grant, calls for an explanation. Long before the colonizing of that State some of Champlain's explorers, after a few days' march from Quebec, reported joyfully that from the top of a high mountain they had discovered the South Sea!

The extent of our northern continent, of course, was then unknown, and the story of Champlain was commonly believed. Indeed, it is a matter of history that in 1608 a barge was fitted out in England to convey members of the Council of Virginia to the South Sea. Captain Smith and his men were ordered "not to return without a lump of gold—a certainty of the said sea." If they could not bring back the gold, they were to return with one of the lost Raleigh company.

As Connecticut claimed title to all lands between Narragansett Bay and the South Sea, between latitudes 41 and 42 degrees, her territory included a corner of New York, a slice of New Jersey, about one-half of Pennsylvania and the northeastern section of Ohio, commonly known as the Western Reserve, though presumably she bargained for the Reserve as compensation for her loss in Pennsylvania.

True, her charter excepted lands then actually "inhabited by any other Christian prince or State." All lands not thus inhabited were included in the charter. Thus, while Connecticut claimed prior title to Pennsylvania lands, the proprietors of the latter State maintained that when the Penn charter was granted, the eastern boundary of New York had been decided by the Attorney-General of England to be the western boundary of Connecticut, and that this decision restored the lands westward of that boundary to the crown.

Had the final decision at Trenton been in favor of Connecticut, the northern tier of counties in Pennsylvania would have been attached to Connecticut and eventually organized as the State of Westmoreland. Having thus established her "rights" in Pennsylvania, it is easy to surmise what would have happened to New Jersey, but for the "Trenton Decree" of November 12-December 30, 1782.

Pennsylvania would not admit the Yankee claim, and made grants of land to various people. Connecticut did likewise. This led to conflicts between the settlers, some of which ended in bloodshed and loss of life. In some cases settlements were completely destroyed. The settlers from Connecticut were called Yankees and those who claimed title under a Pennsylvania grant were called Pennamites.

Thus was derived the term "Pennamite Wars." The Indians in the Westmoreland country claimed that they had not legally transferred the lands to any one, and in 1762 declared war. They fell upon the Connecticut settlers and killed about twenty men. Those who escaped—men, women, and children—fled to the mountains, where many of them died of exposure. Others, after enduring hardships, reached the older settlements and finally returned to Connecticut.

The conflict continued for ten years, or until 1773, when Connecticut appointed commissioners to treat with Pennsylvania, but nothing was accomplished. During the next eight or ten years, or until the close of the Revolution, there was a lull in the strife. The two factions were engrossed in a common dispute with the mother country.

Meantime, it was reserved for a patriotic resident of old Gloucester County, Colonel Israel Shreve, and the Jerseymen of his command, to render a most worthy service to the inhabitants of the "Westmoreland" country—Pennsylvanians and Yankees.

At the forks of the Mullica, during the Revolution, there was stationed a certain Colonel Thomas Proctor, who marched from Philadelphia, through Haddonfield, Long-a-coming, and Sailor Boy to Pleasant Mills and Batsto where, with his artillery, he garrisoned the "Forks" and protected the inhabitants of old Egg Harbor against further depredations after the massacre of Pulaski's legion near Tuckerton in October, 1778. A year later, that same Colonel Proctor was performing a similar service for the patriots of Bradford County, Pennsylvania. In this he was assisted by Colonel Israel Shreve. The story is briefly told by an inscription on a huge boulder marking the site of Fort Sullivan, which marker was erected in 1902 by Tioga Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution.

Colonel Shreve, with his New Jersey infantry, supporting Proctor's artillery, lately returned from the Mullica fortification, garrisoned Fort Sullivan from August 11 to October 3, 1779, while the main body of Sullivan's army marched north toward Elmira and routed the British and Indians so effectively that this entire region was thereafter safe against the savages. The garrison was unmolested after the departure of Sullivan by even the sight of an Indian or Tory, but we have this interesting record of Jersey hospitality that awaited the reunited forces on September 30.

Colonel Shreve had an elegant dinner provided for the general and field officers, with which we regaled ourselves. Great joy and good humor were in evidence. Colonel Proctor's band and drums and fifes played in concert the whole time.

Colonel Shreve's infantry and Colonel Proctor's artillery made two discoveries while performing garrison duty at Fort Sullivan, one of which is



A WINTER NIGHT ON THE LAKE—BONAPARTE'S "POINT BREEZE," BORDENTOWN
The exiled king is engaged in his accustomed sport of toiling apples and oranges on
the ice to be grabbed by pursuing skaters. A bonfire is shown in the background

of especial interest to the Masons of New Jersey. They found an Indian burying ground during their camp and made extensive excavations. The rest of the story is best told in the following extract from an address at the Centennial of St. John's Lodge at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1836, by Charles W. Moore, of Boston:

In the campaign of 1779, Washington sent forces under General Sullivan, a son of New Hampshire and a worthy Mason, into what was then called the Susquehanna country to stop Indian ravages. The different detachments of those forces formed a junction at Tioga Point. While there Colonel Proctor obtained from the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania a warrant to hold in the camp a movable lodge of Masons. This lodge was opened almost every evening during the encampment. At Tioga Point, where Colonel Shreve commanded the garrison, two tents were connected for the convenience of the lodge. On clearing away the rubbish and leaves from the spot where the tents were pitched—leaves and rubbish which apparently had been gathered for centuries—there was found an old iron square, very much decayed, but still strong enough for the use of the lodge, and it was so appropriated during the remainder of the expedition.

Shortly after the surrender at Yorktown, Pennsylvania petitioned the Continental Congress to appoint commissioners of adjudication in the matter of the disputed territory. Connecticut acquiesced reluctantly. Congress accordingly appointed a distinguished citizen of Rhode Island, General Nathanael Greene, cousin of Colonel Christopher Greene, heroic commander at the battle of Red Bank; David Brearley and William C. Houston, of New Jersey; Cyrus Griffin and Joseph Jones, of Virginia; and John Rutledge, of South Carolina. Greene and Rutledge could not serve and their places were taken by Welcome Arnold, of Rhode Island, and Thomas Nelson, of Virginia. The last-named was the grandfather of a novelist of the present generation, Thomas Nelson Page.

Of the two Jerseymen, the name of Brearley, as stated, is preserved in Brearley Lodge of Masons, located at Bridgeton. He was a sturdy patriot during the Revolution and because of his outspoken opposition to British aggression was arrested for high treason. A band of sympathizers stormed the jail and liberated him. Later he was a lieutenant-colonel of militia and became Chief Justice of the State at the age of thirty-four, which position he held at the time of the Trenton Decree. He was also grand master of New Jersey Masons.

William C. Houston was also an active patriot and a member of Congress. Of him we have a delightful reminder in his grandson, of the same name, for many years a summer resident of Atlantic City where he was active in church work.

The commissioners met at Trenton in November, 1782. The first resolve was to refuse a request of the litigants that "notice be given to the settlers." Mr. Houston contended that the question of "right of soil" was not before the commission; that the only thing they were to decide was that of jurisdiction. He was a lawyer as well as a professor in Princeton College. The sessions of the commission covered forty-one consecutive days, and the report of their findings reads:

We are unanimously of the opinion that the State of Connecticut has no right to the lands in controversy. We are also of the opinion that the jurisdiction and pre-emption of lands within the boundary of Pennsylvania, and now claimed by the State of Connecticut, do of right belong to the State of Pennsylvania.

The decree was quietly accepted by Connecticut, although the inhabitants insisted that while amenable to the laws of Pennsylvania they were not to be disturbed in their holdings. Had the commission decreed that the

disputed territory belonged to Connecticut, undoubtedly the Yankees would have set up a claim to a section of New Jersey north of the forty-first meridian.

The Trenton Decree was thus an important step in nationality; the first judicial decision of a serious dispute between two sovereign States. Under this decree Pennsylvania took over the disputed territory. Eventually the Yankee settlers were allowed to remain in possession by the payment of a nominal sum, while the Pennsylvania claimants were paid full price, which was eight and one-half cents to five dollars an acre, without the right of occupancy.

The Pennsylvania settlers refused to abide by the Trenton decision and the war was reopened in 1784. Mock tribunals were set up and as many as one hundred and fifty Yankee families were turned out of their homes and reduced to destitution. They found their way to the Delaware Valley, men, women and children being urged forward by armed Pennsylvania troops.

Public opinion rebelled against this harsh treatment. Later on, some of the Connecticut fugitives returned and hostilities were reopened. The war was really not terminated until 1827, though partially settled in 1808. Eventually, many of the Connecticut settlers were secured in their titles to land east and west of Tioga Point, of which Sayre is now the centre of activity. Others remained in the Delaware Valley and their descendants are now among the most honored citizens of New Jersey.

CHAPTER XXI.

BONAPARTE THE GENTLEMAN.

High above the Delaware, on the edge of Bordentown, from 1816 to 1832 dwelt the exiled King of Spain, Joseph Bonaparte. To his estate, "Point Breeze," in December, 1817, his secretary brought a remnant of the crown jewels of Spain. They had been recovered from their hiding place in a woods near Prangins, Switzerland, and smuggled to this country. These gems, valued at two million dollars, represented about one-tenth of the loot at the time of Bonaparte's abdication in 1814.

According to the prevalent idea, the man who had worn these crown jewels was a gentleman. He was a man of good breeding, courteous, and kind; distinguished for his fine sense of humor, his strict regard for obligations and his consideration for the rights and feelings of others. Nevertheless, if we say of him that he regarded the "rights and feelings of others," we must do so with a reservation.

Bonaparte was kind hearted and good natured, as a rule, but occasionally his anger was aroused, and then it was that he showed a spark of the Napoleonic egotism. Anthony Thorn, the game-keeper at Bordentown, was once taken to task for permitting poaching on the premises, whereupon he claimed that he had warned the sportsman to stop shooting, but that the culprit had said he was one of the ex-King's own kin and had permission to shoot. "I have no kin!" exclaimed Bonaparte, angrily. "I am everybody! Hereafter let no one but Monsieur Mailliard gun on these premises." A few days afterwards Prince Murat and two or three of his friends were hunting, and game-keeper Thorn ordered them off. The prince claimed the right to shoot on his uncle's lands, but the game-keeper was firm. The prince complained to his uncle, who upheld the game-keeper, but gave the prince



Joseph Schwillens.

After a painting by J. Gaubaud

written permission to gun on the premises thereafter. Another exception was made in favor of Bonaparte's nephew, Louis Napoleon, who, during a sojourn in America, in 1837, made a brief visit to Bordentown. He and young Adolph Mailliard were keen sportsmen and followed by a well-trained dog, they tramped the woods and meadows in quest of game.¹

Following Napoleon's invasion of Spain, in 1808, the crown jewels disappeared mysteriously. Some of these gems were renowned throughout Europe for their rarity, being fashioned for Emperor Charles V, when he was not only King of Spain, but master of the world. One pearl, known as the Peregrine, according to an old-time writer, was as "large as a hen's egg." When the full story reached Napoleon, he learned that Murat (father of Prince Murat, of Bordentown) was the thief. At the time of the invasion, Murat had been sent on with the first body of French troops to occupy Madrid. He reasoned that being Napoleon's brother-in-law, he came in naturally for the vacant throne, since the emperor's brothers, excepting Lucien, who opposed Napoleon, were already crowned—Joseph in Naples, Louis in Holland, and Jerome in Westphalia. The first thing Murat did, therefore, on reaching Madrid, was to seize and sequester the crown jewels, estimated as worth twenty millions of dollars.

The emperor's orders to Murat were to act as a sort of commissary-general and furnish everything requisite for the new King he was about to appoint. Thinking himself the chosen King, Murat worked with ardor, but when the name of Joseph was announced, he took to his bed and feigned illness for a week. After Murat was made King of Naples, General Savary, acting for the emperor, made inventories of the royal belongings and could find no trace of the jewels.

Savary had no love for Murat and pushed his inquiries until he had the whole scandal uncovered. The Russian ambassador at Naples informed him that some of the jewels had been sold in that city. Proof that Murat was the thief was exactly what Napoleon wanted. Joseph, enthroned in Spain, was in dire straits and the jewels, turned into the imperial treasury, would make it easier for Napoleon to provide for the colossal enterprise he was then contemplating against Russia.

The gems were eventually turned over to Joseph, and while Napoleon profited by the distribution, a considerable portion of the loot fell to Joseph. Some of the jewels and plate Joseph afterwards exchanged with Donatien Le Ray de Chaumont for a large tract of land in the Black River section of New York, which land, comprising 127,000 acres—slightly less than the county of Camden—Chaumont had inherited from his father's estate, in settlement of a claim against the United States for moneys advanced by the elder Chaumont during the Revolution. The value of these lands was fixed at \$120,000—less than one dollar an acre.

The towns of Diana, Natural Bridge, and Philadelphia, in Western New York, were founded in Bonaparte's time, on his lands. Lake Bonaparte, on the western slope of the Adirondacks, perpetuates his name. The town of Diana was named in compliment to Bonaparte. In his favorite pastime of

¹After quitting New Jersey in 1832, and while living in Cavendish Square, London, the market gardeners and flower sellers, on their way to Covent Garden market between four and five in the morning, frequently expressed surprise at seeing a gentleman up and out at that early hour. In consequence of his abstinence from excesses, although then sixty-five years old, Bonaparte had the constitution and strength of a man of forty. He was extremely temperate and fond of early hours, generally retiring to rest at ten o'clock and rising early. In his intercourse with the people of London, he was at all times an affable and courteous gentleman. A young French patriot, writing in 1833, represents him as saying to a friend: "I am neither a king nor a prince; I am a gentleman."

hunting in the wilderness, while a resident of New Jersey, he found ample opportunity for enterprise, and fancying that Diana herself might covet this region as her home, by a happy turn of poetic fancy he conferred upon the new town the name of the goddess of huntsmen.

In classic mythology Diana was the reputed daughter of Jupiter, from whom she received a bow and arrows and a train of sixty nymphs. As a huntress she was represented as tall and nimble, with flowing robe, her feet covered with buskins and armed with bow and arrows. Sometimes she rode in a chariot drawn by two white stags, and as goddess of night, she was painted with a long starred veil, a torch in her hand and a crescent on her forehead.²

Bonaparte built a commodious house at Natural Bridge. Subsequently it was the home of the beautiful Annette Savage, whose mother, a Quakeress, had kept a glove shop in Philadelphia. Before she moved to Natural Bridge, in 1826, Annette Savage occupied two houses near Trenton—Bow Hill and Pine Grove. The site of the latter is now part of a cemetery, which may be seen from the car window as the traveler approaches Trenton from Borden-town.

Before she quit Pine Grove Annette Savage placed in a grave in the yard of St. Michael's Episcopal Church, Trenton, the body of a child. Above the grave is a well-preserved monument, surmounted by a dove, and on the front of the shaft is this inscription:

Erected
By A Bereft Mother
to the Memory
of a beloved Child
Pauline Josephann Holton
who departed this life
Dec. 6, 1825
Aged 4 years

Below this pathetic inscription is carved—

Oh! fate severe! Is then my Pauline dead!
From earth to heav'n her angel spirit's fled—
My sweet Pauline! that lovely bud
Was never to expand—
Received a mandate from above
And fled at His command.

But still more pathetic and perhaps more suggestive is the following, cut on the opposite panel of the monument, the other two being blank:

Pauline, your rest is now secure;
A loving Saviour called thee hence,
Knowing thy gentleness could ill endure
The world's un pitying malevolence.

²On one of his trips to Saratoga Springs—a trip which may have been extended to his White House in the Adirondack wilderness—Bonaparte traveled by the stage as far as Albany instead of by boat. He preferred this method of travel, as it gave him a better view of the country, and he chose what was known as the "west side" route, going by way of Hackensack, Goshen, Newburg, Kingston, and Catskill. This same route was selected the following winter (1831) by Grant Thorburn, a racy Scotchman, who described the trip as follows "It commenced raining and by the time we got to the next stage we looked like moving pillars of salt, our hats and coats being covered to the thickness of an eighth of an inch with ice transparents. At the tavern in Goshen we changed the mail, thawed our garments and ate our dinner. As we got north the sleighing got better, so we were accommodated with a covered box on runners; but alas! it was like the man's lantern—without a candle. The cover was of white wood boards placed a quarter of an inch apart, without paint, leather or canvas to protect them from the weather. We traveled all night. The rain and snow descended through the roof and our hats were frozen to our heads."

The spelling is according to the original—"Josephann"—given names of the father and mother—and "your" for "thy" in the lower inscription.

The mother of this child called herself Mrs. Horton, although it is not known that she was ever married to a man of that name. The father of the child was undoubtedly Joseph Bonaparte. Annette was introduced to Bonaparte by his secretary, who met her while making a purchase at the glove shop of the mother in Philadelphia. Bonaparte was charmed by her beauty and proposed to the mother that he take her under his protection. The girl, it is believed, was not a willing party to the alliance, but was the victim of a sordid mother's love for gold.

On one of the window panes of a bed room at Bow Hill was scratched with a diamond—presumably one of the crown jewels—in the handwriting of Annette, the words, "God is Love." The owner of this house, Barnet de Klyn, a French Huguenot, regretted having allowed the house to be stigmatized by an affair of the heart entailing scandal, and at the expiration of a year refused to renew the lease. After some persuasion, however, on account of his friendship for Bonaparte, he consented to sell him another property, nearer Trenton, afterwards known as Pine Grove. This property, too, was purchased with the proceeds of some of the crown jewels. The household included Annette's mother and three servants. Here they lived for a number of years, surrounded by every luxury that wealth could provide. The mother was known as Mrs. Savage and the daughter as Mrs. Holton. The house was demolished in 1888, when the property was taken over by the cemetery company.

Bonaparte made no pretensions to purity of life, in which respect he did not differ from other noted men of his day, who were less honest in their confessions. The aristocracy of Philadelphia professed to look upon his conduct with horror, and the beautiful Annette, living on South Ninth Street, was made to feel all the flings and stings of an outraged society. Bonaparte was given to understand that no matter how lightly such conduct might be regarded in France, it would not be tolerated in staid Philadelphia. Leading citizens, some of them not less guilty than he, though less obtrusive and less honest in their lives, hinted to him that he must either give up Annette Savage or exclude himself from Philadelphia society. He chose to do neither. After defying public sentiment for a time, he decided to lease or purchase a house convenient to his Bordentown estate. Bow Hill and Pine Grove—the first a leasehold and the second a purchase—followed that decision.

Surrounding Pine Grove were beautiful rose beds and flowers of all kinds, but their fragrance and beauty must have pierced the heart of Annette Savage, for she lost her first born, Pauline, through the fall of a flower pot, which struck the child on the head, killing her almost instantly.

Ireland's sweet singer says, in classic verse: "The heart that is soonest awake to the flowers is always the first to be touched by the thorns." In "Childe Harold" we read: "The thorns which I have reaped are of the vine I planted; they have torn me and I bleed." It is ever thus. Annette Savage felt the prick of thorns of her own planting; they pierced her heart and though the wounds healed, they left a scar that could not be removed.

Her garden, reaching down to the river, was abloom with flowers. From the first peep of the crocus in February to the last blush of the rose in October it was her favorite retreat. Together, mother and child listened to the voiceless teachers. What did they hear? A dreamer answers:

Tulip greeting the hyacinth and pansy praising her poppy; tiger lily growling at the snapdragon and columbine cooing at the carnation; mari-

gold loving her lady slipper and ragged sailor eschewing the foxglove; rose glaring defiantly at the dahlia and peony making love to the cowslip; sweet william regarding the pink as perfection and larkspur soaring high as the hollyhock; alyssum sweeter than candytuft and cockscomb redder than salvia; fuchsia bowing before lily of the valley and wallflower abashed before the phlox; morning glory waking the sunflower and four-o'clock putting baby's breath to sleep; golden glow casting her lustre on dusty miller and chrysanthemum as they wither before the October frost.

To the beauty and fragrance of her sweet peas, tube rose, and forget-me-nots, the mother was ever awake, but her heart was pierced by the thorns of an unholy and unsatisfied love, evened by a disapproving world. Perhaps she read in her volume of Byron: "I should have known what fruit would spring from such a seed."

Before the death of Pauline, another daughter was born. Excepting the devotion of Bonaparte, her only comfort was the love of this daughter, whom she named Charlotte, in compliment to Joseph's younger daughter, born in wedlock, in the hope of appeasing the anger of that estimable young lady; but in vain, for she left Bordentown and returned to her mother in France, when she found her father unwilling to give up his fair inamorata.

Shunned by society and bereft of her first born, the young mother decided that she could no longer endure life at Pine Grove and begged Bonaparte to take her and her remaining child to some remote part of the country. Accordingly, they were taken to the wilderness on the western slope of the Adirondacks. Annette Savage presided as mistress of the house at Natural Bridge until 1832, or until Bonaparte sailed for England to visit members of the imperial family then living in that country. About that time she married Joseph de la Foille, a young Frenchman of good family, living in Diana. Subsequently, she supported herself by keeping a store at Watertown, New York. Perhaps the happiest days of her life after childhood, were those which she passed in New Jersey, for she endured even greater sorrow in her later years. Fate always decrees sorrow and remorse to those who defy the laws of morality.

Bonaparte must have kept her in loving remembrance, and he probably corresponded with her during the five years he passed in England—with the permission of the allied powers. He returned to Bordentown with his secretary and nine servants in 1837 and made at least one visit to the settlements in Western New York before embarking again for England in 1839. The following year, while living in Cavendish Square, London, he had a stroke of paralysis, following which he was permitted to visit the baths at Wurtemberg. Being somewhat benefited, he asked permission to visit his family in Italy, but the request was peremptorily refused. Thus repulsed, he returned to England, but the following year (1841) was permitted to take up his residence in Genoa. A few weeks later he joined his wife and children in Florence, where he died on July 23, 1844, aged seventy-six.

Of his last illness, his nephew, Louis Napoleon, wrote: "Attended by Queen Julie, whose devotion failed not to the last and who was ever a comforting angel, he expired gently; and, as a righteous man, would have seen the approach of death without regret, if the phantom of exile had not intruded, even in his last moments, to wring his heart and poison his last farewell."

Who can tell what memories of Annette Savage flitted through his brain, as he recalled the scenes and incidents of his life in New Jersey? In his will,



BONAPARTE'S SECOND MANSION AT BORDENTOWN

dated June 14, 1841, there is this significant clause: "I charge Louis Mailliard with a special legacy of ten thousand dollars, the use of which I have indicated to him, and for the execution of which I wish that his honor may be trusted absolutely, without any question or demand ever being made upon him in this regard. The ten thousand dollars shall be reckoned to Mr. Mailliard in the year of my death. He need not make any accounting thereof."

No doubt this money was paid over to Annette Savage, whom Bonaparte loved above all other women in America. Charlotte, the fruit of this love, grew to womanhood, and Napoleon III is said to have been so much pleased with her sweetness of character, when she visited France, that he introduced her as his cousin. She afterwards returned to America and lived a life fully as romantic and sorrowful as that of her mother. "The sins of the parents are visited upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation." Charlotte Savage died neglected at Richfield Springs, New York, a generation or more ago.

Bonaparte's two sons, born out of wedlock, lived and died in New Jersey. One of these was the son of a housemaid named Rowan, employed at Point Breeze. He lived in Mercer County, well known on account of his wealth, his abilities and his peculiarities, and died unmarried only a few years ago. He had the Napoleonic face and wore a lock of hair across his forehead a la Napoleon. Much of his time was passed in travel. The other son was the child of a housemaid named Nash. He died some years ago. He, too, had the characteristics of Bonaparte and his given name was Napoleon. He, in turn, had at least one son and two granddaughters who lived for a time in Atlantic County. The son was long on one of the public payrolls, his identity unknown to his superiors. If there were other children, begotten by the King during his exile in New Jersey, they probably died in early childhood, and all knowledge of them has been lost with the lapse of years.

Point Breeze and the Coming of a King—The circumstances attending the purchase of lands in the North Woods form an interesting episode in the life of Joseph Bonaparte. Monsieur Donatien Le Ray de Chaumont was living on his estate in Touraine, France, in 1815, when he heard of King Joseph's arrival at Blois on his way to the coast. He had been Bonaparte's guest at Mortefontaine when the treaty between France and the United States was signed in 1800, and had watched his later career as a diplomat and king. When misfortune came upon the King and de Chaumont learned of his presence at Blois, he hastened thence.

"I remember that some years ago you spoke of your possessions in the United States," said Bonaparte. "I would like to exchange some of the silver in those wagons for your lands. The wagons may be pillaged at any moment, but your property they cannot take. I will give you four or five hundred thousand francs for the equivalent in land."

De Chaumont objected, saying: "It is impossible to make a bargain when only one of the party knows what he is getting."

"Oh," said the King, "I know you well and rely more on your word than my own judgment."

De Chaumont was not satisfied with this flattering assurance, but he finally agreed to accept the equivalent of 400,000 francs, and delivered to Bonaparte a letter addressed to De Chaumont's son, then in America, instructing him to convey to the King a tract of land in the northwestern part of New York, if satisfied with the purchase, after visiting the country; otherwise, the money was to be refunded.

Besides his estate in Touraine, the elder De Chaumont had owned a chateau near Paris, which was the home of Benjamin Franklin for at least nine years. This house was situated at Passy, then in the suburbs of Paris. It was here that Franklin enjoyed many years of tranquility and repose.³

Donatien Le Ray de Chaumont was an earnest sympathizer with the American cause during the Revolution and exacted no charge for Franklin's use of one-half the house at Passy, the owner occupying the other half. To the latter, on more than one occasion, Franklin expressed a bitterness of feeling toward his son, William Franklin, last of the royal governors of New Jersey, then a fugitive in New York.

When John Adams, who was disposed to be friendly to Franklin, took the ground that his colleague might be too easy-going and that the United States should pay for the accommodations, De Chaumont declined to receive any rents, past or future. "When I consecrated my house to Dr. Franklin and his associates who might live with him," he said, "I made it fully understood that I would expect no compensation, because I perceived that you had need of all your means to relieve the distress of your countrymen. I pray you, sir, to permit this arrangement to remain, which I made when the fate of your country was doubtful. When she shall enjoy her splendor, such sacrifices on my part will be superfluous or unworthy of her; but at present they may be useful and I am happy in offering them to you. There is no occasion for strangers to be informed of my proceedings in this respect. It is so much the worse for those who would not do the same if they had the opportunity, and so much the better for me to have immortalized my house by receiving into it Dr. Franklin and his associates."⁴

Dr. Franklin once described his way of living at the Chaumont chateau. "This," he said, "is a fine house, situated in a neat village, on high ground, half a mile from Paris, with a large garden to walk in. I have abundance of acquaintance and dine abroad six days in seven. Sundays I reserve to dine at home with such Americans as pass this way; and I then have my grand-

³ While the elder De Chaumont seems to have done his best to protect Franklin from being pestered by busy-bodies, his facilities were not always equal to the task. Thus Franklin, writing to one who had applied to him for a recommendation on behalf of some one else, who wanted public employment in America, declared that his friend could have no conception of how he was harassed by office seekers of various kinds. "Great officers of all ranks in all departments," he said; "ladies great and small, besides professional solicitors, worry me from morning to night. The noise of every coach that enters my court terrifies me. I am afraid to accept an invitation to dine abroad, being almost sure of meeting with some officer or officer's friend, who, as soon as I am put in good humor by a glass or two of champagne, begins his attack upon me. Luckily I do not often in my sleep dream of these vexatious situations, or I should be afraid of what are now my only hours of comfort. If, therefore, you have the least remaining kindness for me, if you would not help to drive me out of France, for God's sake, my dear friend, let this your twenty-third application be your last." The chateau at Passy is of special interest to Americans for reasons other than those noted in the text. It was here that Franklin wrote most of his matchless autobiography, and here that he placed the first lightning rod ever erected on the continent. All this being true, it seems a pity that the chance to acquire the house as a permanent headquarters for the American legation in Paris—an opportunity which presented itself about 1865, when John Bigelow was minister to France—should have been neglected. We now have left, therefore, only memories of this stately mansion at Passy, now a part of Paris, where Franklin played chess and the deeper game of diplomacy.

⁴ It was due largely to De Chaumont that Franklin was enabled to conduct his mission with credit to himself and the honor of his country; and for his services, as well as for the use of his chateau, the Frenchman not only declined to take any pay from the Americans, but offered to act and did act as supervisor, consignator, and on one or two occasions as the virtual donor of supplies from France for the Continental army. One of these was a shipment of gun-powder to his agent in this country, whom he authorized to make claim for compensation only in the event of the triumph of American independence. Among the Americans with whom he came in contact was John Paul Jones, one or more of whose Revolutionary voyages were conducted in vessels which De Chaumont had at least partially equipped. Franklin continued to live at the chateau for some time after the signing of the treaty of peace. In his intercourse with De Chaumont there was never a breach of friction. When Franklin finally left Passy, having previously arranged to sail on a Philadelphia ship from Southampton, his progress from Paris to the French coast was marked by evidences of the highest esteem. De Chaumont accompanied him a part of the distance, having previously taken pains to see that he was provided with one of the royal litters or Sedan chairs. It was carried by mules that walked steadily and easily. This fact afforded a closing instance of thoughtful regard for the dignity and comfort of the old statesman and philosopher.



BONAPARTE'S LAKE AT BORDENTOWN—ORIGINAL MANSION ON RIGHT

son Ben, with some other American children from the school. If being treated with all the politeness of France, and the apparent respect and esteem of all ranks from the highest to the lowest, can make a man happy, I ought to be so."

After his arrival in Philadelphia, in 1785, one of Franklin's first letters was addressed to De Chaumont. At that time the Frenchman was still living in affluence, but afterwards the French Revolution affected the fortune of almost every man of property in the kingdom and De Chaumont was one of the sufferers. He had sent his son, Le Ray the younger, to this country, with instructions to adjust his accounts with the government and to recover the face value of the continental money in his possession.

After the new government had been established by the Washington administration, young De Chaumont, who had been in the country nearly four years, received from Franklin a letter of introduction to the President. "Mr. Le Ray de Chaumont, who will have the honor of waiting on you with this," he said, "was the first in France who gave us credit, and before the Court showed us any countenance trusted us with two thousand barrels of gunpowder, and from time to time afterwards exerted himself to furnish us with supplies of various kinds, which, for want of due returns, they being of great amount, have finally distressed him in circumstances."

The letter went on to say that the son was soliciting a settlement of the accounts, and not an immediate payment of them from the government of the United States: that if the father could show a settlement, it could be used to quiet his creditors, and that such action would thereby free this country from the imputation of adding ingratitude to injustice. Less than six months before his death, Franklin wrote another letter to young De Chaumont, who evidently had importuned him with great urgency for assistance from certain funds in France controlled by Franklin, but upon which it was impossible for him to realize anything at that time, without suffering great loss. He advised his young friend to remain in Philadelphia and press the claim upon Congress, promising assistance, but long before the first Congress adjourned, Franklin was on his deathbed. De Chaumont failed to obtain a settlement of his accounts and he afterwards repaired to the northwestern part of New York, where he owned the great tract of land of which Joseph Bonaparte subsequently became a part owner.

As already stated, at the time of his interview with De Chaumont at Blois, Bonaparte was planning his escape to America. On learning of Napoleon's surrender to the British in 1815, he decided to make his escape at the earliest opportunity. This opportunity did not occur until July 25th. The circumstances attending his flight were narrated by Adolph Mailliard, about 1870. He was the son of Louis Mailliard, the devoted secretary and most confidential friend of the ex-King at Bordentown.

About July 11th, or two weeks before embarking on the brig which was to take him to the United States, Joseph Bonaparte sent Mailliard to his brother, the Emperor, then sick in body and mind, with a letter urging him to exchange places and make his escape from France in a vessel secretly engaged by Joseph; but Napoleon replied verbally to the messenger: "Tell my brother that I have well considered his offer, and that I cannot accept. It would seem like flying from danger; besides, I could not leave behind me so many brave officers, who have sacrificed everything for me. Tell my brother that I hope he will escape the cruisers of England and arrive safely in America."⁵

Had Napoleon heeded the suggestion of his brother Joseph, he probably would have reached New York in safety, as every precaution had been taken to avoid detection. The vessel selected by Joseph for escape to America was a brig named the "Commerce," commanded by Captain Messervey, a Swede. She sailed from Royan near Bordeaux on July 25, 1815. Four of his suite accompanied the exiled King. Although the brig was stopped three times and searched by British cruisers, the passports and papers of the passengers had been so carefully prepared under fictitious names (Bonaparte's assumed name being Bouchard) that they were not discovered.

When the brig arrived off the eastern end of Long Island, "M. Bouchard" requested that he be put ashore, but the captain politely refused, assuring monsieur that the neighborhood was desolate and inhabited only by fishermen. A few hours later the British cruisers, hanging around Sandy Hook, espied the "Commerce," and prepared to give her an overhauling. "M. Bouchard" became very much agitated and secretly expressed to the one passenger with whom he had been intimate during the passage (Elois Mailliard) that things might yet go wrong. He was sorry that the captain had not put him ashore on Long Island.

Soon the American pilot came aboard and Captain Messervey said to him: "Do you see those Englishmen trying to head us off? Crowd on all sail and beat them." The pilot obeyed orders and in a little while the "Commerce" was within sight of Forts Lafayette and Richmond, whose guns were a protection against foreign cruisers.

Captain Messervey was not yet undeceived. He did not know who his passengers were until after their arrival in New York, on August 28th, when the New York newspapers and the "American Advertiser," of Philadelphia, published accounts of Bonaparte's escape, giving the name of the vessel.

After reading the newspaper accounts of Bonaparte's arrival, the captain was incredulous and called on Elois Mailliard for an explanation. The latter assured him that the newspaper accounts were true. The captain said he had suspected that his passengers were traveling under assumed names, but supposed "Monsieur Bouchard" was in reality Lazare Carnot, at one time the "organizer of victories" for the French, afterwards Napoleon's minister of war and finally minister of the interior. The mayor of New York, under the same impression, had called upon the supposed General Carnot, at Mrs. Powell's private lodgings, on Park Place, to congratulate him upon his safe passage.

"Why did you not tell me the real names of my passengers?" said Captain Messervey to Mailliard, when convinced of the deception. "I never would have betrayed you." Mailliard explained that it was thought best to conceal from the captain the identity of his passengers, lest he should show some trepidation when his vessel was boarded by the English officers. "Perhaps you are right," said the captain; "but I would not have let them come on board, had I known that one of my passengers was a Bonaparte. Rather than do so, I would have sunk my vessel." The exiled King was much

⁶The two brothers, Joseph and Napoleon, were nearly the same age and strikingly alike in appearance. They intended embarking on two different frigates, and after several days of necessary delay, Napoleon was rowed out to the "Saale," anchored off Roehfort, on the afternoon of July 8th. He reached the ship at eight o'clock in the evening and learned that the British cruisers, stationed along the French coast, were alert and that escape by sea at that time was impossible. He passed the night on board the "Saale," and at daybreak on the 9th, landed on the Isle of Aix, off which the frigates were anchored. This was his last day on French soil. He returned to the "Saale" on July 10th. Eight days later Joseph received a letter, informing him that the emperor had surrendered to Captain Maitland, of the British navy, on July 15th, and had been placed on board the "Bellerophon." This warship weighed anchor on the night of July 25th and arrived in the harbor of Torbay, near Plymouth, about noon the next day.

pleased on hearing of this demonstration of Bonapartism, and a few days later he sent the captain a suitable token of appreciation.

Coming to America just after the overthrow of his brother, Bonaparte was naturally received with much warmth by all who sympathized with the Bonapartists, and with some caution by the government, which still had a careful consideration for the wishes of Great Britain.

On entering the City Hotel in New York, after his identity had become known and he had left his private lodgings, he was informed by Mr. Jennings the proprietor, that there was no vacant room for him, although he proposed stopping there only a few days, before going to Philadelphia. Henry Clay, then Speaker of the House, and recently returned from Europe as one of the commissioners at Ghent, insisted that the ex-King should share his apartments in the hotel, and Bonaparte consented to this arrangement.

Mr. Clay had arranged to entertain some friends at dinner that evening and to this dinner Bonaparte was also invited. A day or two later he went by boat to Amboy, and thence by stage to Bordentown. From the latter place he proceeded by boat to Philadelphia, in which city he proposed making his home for a time, and where he adopted the name of Count de Survilliers.⁶ Commodore Lewis, who had induced the fallen monarch to tarry for a few days at his home in Amboy, was his traveling companion.

The incognito adopted by Bonaparte, Count de Survilliers, had reference to the village of Survilliers on his estate at Mortefontaine. Napoleon had advised his brother to select a site for his American estate somewhere between New York and Philadelphia, so that he might be convenient to either of these cities and the more readily ascertain what was happening in America or Europe.

The leading newspaper of Philadelphia, the "United States Gazette," now known as the "North American," criticised Commodore Lewis, of New Jersey, for entertaining the "Corsican Adventurer," and a well-known Philadelphian, Hon. Alexander J. Dallas, Secretary of the Treasury, sent word to President Madison that the illustrious but unwelcome foreigner proposed visiting Washington. Madison instructed his Attorney-General, Hon. Richard Rush, to try and dissuade Bonaparte from his project.⁷

President Madison wrote to Mr. Dallas, then at Philadelphia:

I was informed through confidential channels, several days ago, that Joseph Bonaparte was about to visit me incognito, to make a personal report of himself to this government. I immediately wrote to Mr. Rush to have him diverted from his purpose on his arrival at Washington. Protection and hospitality do not depend on such a formality, and whatever sympathy may be due to fallen fortunes, there is no claim of merit in that family on the American nation, nor any reason why this government should be embarrassed in any way on their account. In fulfilling in what we owe to our own rights we shall do all that any of them ought to expect.

The President went on to say that he was the more surprised at the proposed visit, as it was intended to make him a party to concealment, which the exile was said to study as necessary to prevent a more vigilant pursuit by British cruisers.

⁶ Besides his mansion at Bordentown the ex-King had a "city" home in Philadelphia. During the first two years of his exile he occupied at different times, at least three houses in that city, one of which was on South Ninth Street. Another was the elegant mansion on the west bank of the Schuylkill, known as Lansdowne. In the winter of 1817, he leased a mansion on the southeast corner of Twelfth and Market streets, which had been built by Captain John Dunlap and which had been occupied by Adet, Genet and other members of the French Legation, in the years when Philadelphia was the national capital. In this house he lived at intervals, always driving down from Bordentown.

⁷ Richard Rush afterwards became a welcome visitor to the Bordentown mansion and fifteen years later, when Bonaparte visited Washington, his cordial reception by Jackson was in marked contrast with the frigid conduct of Madison in 1815.

On his arrival in America a deed of trust was passed to Peter S. Duponceau, of Philadelphia, confidential agent of Bonaparte, for 159,260 acres of the De Chaumont estate, excepting 32,260 acres already conveyed or contracted to actual settlers, making the actual purchase 127,000 acres. This deed was dated December 21, 1818, and was recorded with a defeasance appended. The value of the lands was fixed at \$120,000. The conveyance provided for an auction sale of lots to meet this obligation. The tract conveyed included the greater part of the present town of Diana, portions of Antwerp, the whole of Wilna and Philadelphia (New York), a section south of the Black River at the great bend, and a still larger section in Theresa.

Diamonds having fallen to one-half their former value, this fact was made a subject for complaint, and in 1820 Bonaparte agreed to accept 26,840 acres for the nominal sum of \$40,260. These lands lay in the most remote part of the original purchase, and De Chaumont in a letter dated April 9, 1821, complimented the King upon his judgment in selecting a "tract abounding with picturesque landscapes, whose remote and extensive forests would enable him to establish a great hunting ground." In the same letter De Chaumont regretted that thus far he had been "unable to find among the 26,000 acres of land a plateau of 200 acres on which to build his house," but that he would continue his search for the plateau during the coming summer.

The Legislature of New York, in imitation of that of New Jersey, passed an act on March 31, 1825, enabling Bonaparte to hold lands in that State without his promising or expecting to become a citizen. In his memorial he alluded to the liberality of the States in allowing aliens to hold lands, and added that he was not one of "those who would wish to abandon this land of hospitality, where the best rights of man prevail," but he was nevertheless bound to his "own country by ties which misfortune rendered sacred." Duponceau conveyed the lands outright to Bonaparte on July 31, 1825. Ten years later the remaining interests of Bonaparte in that region were purchased by John La Farge for \$80,000.

Bonaparte visited the Black River wilderness at least four times, and each time he passed several weeks at the "White House" or in his log cabin beside the lake. He was always accompanied by a number of chosen companions, some of whom had shared his misfortunes in Italy and Spain. On one occasion, in going from Natural Bridge to a mill in the forest, the party halted on the pine plains and enjoyed a feast which had been prepared with great care.

Liberal with his money and sociable with all who were brought into business relations with him, Bonaparte became very popular among the citizens of that country. His annual visits were awaited with interest and remembered with satisfaction.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE TELEGRAPH—"OLD IRONSIDES."

The First Telegraph—Lucius Q. C. Elmer, distinguished as a jurist, was a member of Congress from 1843 to 1845. A year or two before his death, at Bridgeton, about 1882, he narrated the story of the first telegraph message in 1838, and the subsequent application of the invention in 1844.

"It is an actual fact," said he, "that the first message by dot-and-dash signal was sent by a Jerseyman. The young man who sent that first message was Alfred Vail, son of my friend Judge Vail. Young Vail's message



RIVER GROVE—OWNED BY JOSEPH BONAPARTE
It was here that Annette Savage lived under his "protection"

was: 'A patient waiter is no loser.' It was sent from the works at Speedwell, Morris County, on January 6, 1838, and its purpose was to convince Judge Vail as to the practicability of the invention. I was not present to witness that first test, but I state the fact as I got it from the lips of Judge Vail himself.¹

"Six years later, in 1844, I was present when the first message was sent over the newly constructed line between Washington and Baltimore. This was intended to convince the doubting members of Congress that the telegraph could accomplish all that its inventors claimed. The owners of the patent were then seeking an appropriation from Congress. The committee met Mr. Morse, who was associated with Alfred Vail, in a little room at the north end of the Capitol. I have always regretted that Mr. Morse got all the credit for the invention, when in reality it was a joint production. If one of those two men could claim a greater share of credit than the other, I think the honor belonged to Vail instead of Morse. I make this statement in justice to Vail and because New Jersey is entitled to a measure of credit as the home of the inventor."

According to Judge Elmer's account, when a number of Congressmen were gathered in a little room and ready for the test, Mr. Morse, who was in charge of the test, said:

"Now, gentlemen, what shall we send over the wire? Pick out your own message and I will show you how simple it is, and how it accomplishes everything I claim."

One of the party suggested: "Mr. Brown, of Indiana is here." Mr. Morse immediately sent it over the metallic circuit, the register reproducing exactly the signals which made up the words of the message. Judge Elmer recalled that after leaving the room some of the Congressmen let it be known that they were not convinced. They could not read the indentations on the slip of paper coming from the receiver and had to take on faith what Mr. Morse told them he had sent and received. One Congressman whispered to another: "That's what I call pretty thin." Another remarked: "It won't do. That doesn't prove anything."

Toward the end of April, the wires being then erected in the direction of Baltimore, it was suggested to Mr. Morse that "now was his opportunity to take advantage of a situation that would soon arise." In a few days the Whig National Convention was to meet in Baltimore and the poles were nearly all set as far as Annapolis Junction—twenty-two miles from Washington—where all trains stopped. He was urged to push the stringing of the wire to that point, and have the nomination sent to him in Washington as soon as the train from Baltimore, bearing the news, reached that point.

The convention assembled on May 1st and the wire was duly strung. Mr. Morse's associate, Alfred Vail, was stationed at the junction, while Morse was at the Washington end of the wire. Word came from Vail that everything was ready. He would soon convince the doubters that the electric telegraph was a wonderful invention.

Late in the afternoon the instrument in Washington began to click. Mr. Morse eagerly watched the strip of paper as it came slowly from the register. Then it stopped and moved again; stopped again and moved irregularly. A moment later Mr. Morse arose from his chair and facing the other gentle-

¹In the little town of Speedwell there stood, until it was destroyed by fire, a little brick building where Vail made his first experiments, laboring night and day to perfect the American system of telegraphy. It was here that the first commercial use of the telegraph instrument was made.

men, said, proudly: "The convention has adjourned; the train for Washington from Baltimore has just left Annapolis Junction bearing that information, and my assistant has telegraphed me the ticket nominated." He hesitated, holding in his hand the mysterious message. Then he said: "The ticket is Clay and Frelinghuysen."

"My recollection of how the news was announced is not clear," said Judge Elmer. "I only recall that when it was proclaimed to the crowd outside some one said: 'You are quizzing us. It is easy enough to guess that Clay is at the head of the ticket; but Frelinghuysen—who the devil is he?' As a Jerseyman I was somewhat abashed by that query, for although a Democrat, I had a very high regard for Senator Frelinghuysen."²

Mr. Morse answered: "I don't know anything of Frelinghuysen. I only know that his name is on the Whig ticket for Vice-President. My operator at Annapolis Junction sent that news a few minutes ago. He got it from those on the train, which is now on its way to Washington."

"One of the unpleasant things that one has to record in connection with the invention of the magnetic telegraph," said Judge Elmer, "is that Mr. Morse invariably referred to his co-inventor as his 'assistant' or as his 'operator.' He seems to have had the ear of the newspaper men of that day and by ingeniously assuming the role of chief, deprived a Jerseyman of his just share of credit, if not of profit in the invention."

A search of the files of Washington and Baltimore newspapers of that date, May 1, 1844, and days following, shows no reference whatever to that first dispatch—"The ticket is Clay and Frelinghuysen." The "Daily Globe" published in the late evening, with ridiculous ingeniousness, said: "The newspapers in Baltimore with which we exchange failed to arrive here tonight, but we have been permitted to look over the "Baltimore Patriot" of this afternoon, which enables us to state all that is important—and then follows a brief announcement of the nomination of Clay and Frelinghuysen. This was on the afternoon of the very day when the first telegraphic news dispatch in the history of the world had been sent by a Jerseyman.

It was not until the line had been completed to Baltimore, on May 24th, and the formal message which opened the line, "What hath God wrought," had been sent, that the newspapers began to take any notice of an invention which was to revolutionize the business and profession of journalism.

The first use of the telegraph by a newspaper was on May 25, 1844, when the "Baltimore Patriot" printed this bit of news:

At half-past twelve o'clock, the following was sent to Washington:

"Ask a reporter to send a despatch to the "Baltimore Patriot" at two o'clock P. M."

In about a minute the answer came back:

"It will be attended to."

Two o'clock P. M.—The despatch has arrived, and is as follows:

"At one o'clock there was a motion in the House to go into the Committee of the Whole on the Oregon question. Rejected, ayes 79, noes 86. At half past one the House was engaged on bills. Now, at a quarter to two,

² A year or two before his death Judge Elmer received a pastoral call from the new minister at the First Presbyterian Church, Bridgeton, Rev. Dr. Brodhead. In the course of the conversation Judge Elmer asked Dr. Brodhead where he was born. The latter, remembering that all the Elmers in Bridgeton whom he had met, as a new-comer, were Republicans, supposed that Judge Elmer was also of that party. He therefore said, pleasantly: "I was born in Pike County, Pennsylvania, home of Democrats and copperheads"—referring to the venomous snake which once infested the mountains of Pike County. Judge Elmer replied, with a chuckle: "Well, I'm a good Democrat, but I never had any use for the Copperheads,"—referring to those of his party in the North who sympathized with the South during the Civil War.

Mr. Atherton is speaking in the Senate. Mr. S— will not be in Baltimore tonight."

"Thus we are enabled to give our readers information from Washington up to two o'clock. This is indeed the annihilation of space."

In the "Washington Globe" of May 27th is this announcement:

"By a telegraph which is in operation between this city and Baltimore we learn that the Maryland State Convention reassembled at four o'clock P. M."

Next day, May 28th, the "National Intelligencer" awakened to the possibilities of the new invention, and had a despatch headed "By the Magnetic Telegraph," with the explanation that it was "politely furnished by Professor Morse." Editorially it said—seemingly by way of return for this courtesy: "The working of this wonderful result of human ingenuity, acting upon developments in science, excited universal admiration in this city yesterday."

Commodore Stewart and "Old Ironsides"—The story of Commodore Stewart's cruise to the Madeiras in the "Constitution" or "Old Ironsides"; how he there fell in with the "Cyane" and the "Levant"; how he promptly proceeded to give battle to the two, and how, within an hour he captured both—these are facts with which Jerseymen are familiar; but there is an interesting narrative by the gallant South Jerseyman himself with which the average citizen is not familiar.

Lying in a heap of rubbish for more than fifty years, its leather back and sides covered with dust and cobwebs, the log-book of the "Constitution" was brought to light in December, 1905. Its pages are in the handwriting of Captain Stewart, and they tell the story of the old frigate from the time she set sail on December 30, 1813, until she came to anchor off Sandy Hook on May 15, 1815. How long this log-book lay in an old house in Bordentown before it became the property of J. A. Murphy, of Philadelphia, no one knows. Recording the fact that on Friday, December 31, 1813, the "Constitution" was in charge of "Charles Stewart, Esq., Commander," it describes the weather of the following day as being cloudy, with strong breezes. Later in the day it was blowing fresh gales, and as Captain Stewart naively says, "the sea was verry wet." Throughout his book, Stewart adheres to his own way of spelling. Noting on another page that on Tuesday, February 15, 1814, they took the parole of the officers and crew of the "Picton," and sent them under Midshipman Whipple to Barbados, the log says that "at ½ past seven P. M. we set fire to the 'Picton.'" Many sails were sighted in the cruise which followed this engagement, but nothing of great importance seems to have happened until the capture of the "Cyane" and "Levant" off Cape St. Vincent on the night of February 20, 1815. For this brilliant victory over a superior foe, Congress awarded the gallant captain a medal of gold, and the Pennsylvania Legislature a gold-hilted sword.³

³ Referring to this famous sea-fight, Captain Stewart says: "The action was renewed with additional vivacity on both sides and continued until 35 minutes past 6, when their fire again slackened and we discovered the headmost ship bearing up. Filled our after sails, shot ahead and gave her two broadsides into her stern. The sternmost ship was then discovered to be wearing. Wore her ship short round after her; she luffed, too, on our starboard bows and gave us her larboard broadside, luffed, too, on her larboard quarter within 50 yards, when she struck her colours, hoisted a light, fired a gun to leeward and yielded. At 50 minutes past 6 took possession of His Britannic Majesty's Ship Cyane, Capt. Falcon, mounting 34 carriage guns and two swivels, got out all the officers, put 15 marines over her prisoners and gave her in charge to Lieutenant Hoffman, with a small crew. At 3-4 past 7 filled away after her consort and discovered her with damages repaired and top gallant sails set standing towards us. At 40 minutes past 8 passed on opposite tacks within 50 yards to windward of her and exchanged our broadsides, wore under her stern and gave her a rake. She made all sail and commenced running. Set our courses spanker and flying jib in chase; at half past 9 I opened fire on her from our chace gun. At 10, finding they could not escape, they fired a gun to leeward and yielded. Took possession of his Majesty's Ship Levant, Honbl George Douglass Capt., mounting 21 carriage guns, all hands employed."

Commodore, then Captain Stewart, thus recorded a victory over superior numbers without a word of credit to himself or his crew, doubtless realizing that history would accord them all the praise that was their due. Neither the boldness of the attack nor the bewildering rapidity and daring of the old ship's manoeuvres, upon which historians have since dwelt at great length, seemed to this grim old seadog to be worthy of mention, but when a few days after the fight the two captured commanders quarreled over the line of action they had pursued, each censuring the other for the defeat, Captain Stewart blandly told them that the subject wasn't worth hard words. "There is no use," said he, "in getting warm about it. It would have been all the same, whatever you might have done. If you doubt that, I will put you all on board again and you can try it over."

Between the leaves of the log-book is a folded piece of paper, covered with mysterious calculations of prize money, showing that the gallant captain kept his eye open for personal gain, as well as the enemy's sails. The shares of some, seemingly the officers and crew, are figured out to an actual nicety.

During the Roosevelt administration, his Secretary of Navy, Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, grand-nephew of Joseph Bonaparte, proposed to use the old frigate "Constitution" as a target for the navy, on the assumption that she was too old to preserve even as a school ship at the Boston navy yards.

Thrilled with indignation and grief at this proposition, the grand-daughters of Commodore Stewart sent a telegram to Mr. Bonaparte in December, 1905, as follows:

Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, Secretary of the Navy,
Washington, D. C.

As the granddaughters of Commodore Charles Stewart, who commanded the "Constitution," we wish respectfully to enter our earnest and heartfelt protest against the proposition to use as a target that beloved relic of the War of 1812, identified with some of the most glorious achievements of the American Navy. We believe, with ex-Secretary Long, that so long as a plank remains "Old Ironsides" should be held in reverence and preserved.

Margaret P. Stewart,
Frances R. Stewart,
Elizabeth T. Stewart.

Commenting on the proposition of Secretary Bonaparte, Miss Margaret Parnell Stewart, who was born at "Ironsides," the Bordentown home of Commodore Stewart, said:

What an ignoble end it would be for "Old Ironsides" to make her the object of marksmanship in the United States Navy. And how ungrateful, how unpatriotic! Just think of a proposal to have our own navy do the very thing which its enemies, the British, tried so hard to do, and couldn't—demolish her with shot and shell! Why not let the "Constitution" stand where she is and go to pieces gloriously. Instead of making a target of the old frigate, I would rather they would take her to pieces and distribute the pieces as relics to the school children of Boston, who, I am sure, would appreciate and cherish the mementoes.

The patriotism of this daughter of New Jersey is beautified by comparison with that of a daughter of Maryland, sister-in-law of the exiled King and grandmother of the American Bonaparte to whom Miss Stewart addressed her patriotic protest.

The American wife of Jerome Bonaparte, brother of Joseph and Napoleon, was notoriously silly in her aping of the nobility after her marriage. She once wrote her father in Baltimore, replying to his criticism of her conduct in Europe, that she would not degrade herself by a connection with people in America, who became her inferior after she had married a prince.



COMMODORE CHARLES STEWART

Regarded by the family as the best likeness of the gallant Commodore

She added: "The Americans themselves had sense enough to feel that I had risen above them, and they have always treated me with the respect and deference due to a superior. My son, not having my pride, my ambition nor my abhorrence of vulgar company, has a right to pursue the course he pleases."

This letter was written from Florence seven weeks after her son had married an estimable American lady,⁴ who subsequently became the mother of two sons, the younger of whom was the late Charles Joseph Bonaparte, one-time Attorney-General and Secretary of the United States Navy.

Before marrying Miss Williams, Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte consulted his uncle, Joseph Bonaparte, who wrote from Bordentown on April 10, 1829, advising him to marry the lady of his choice, in whose companionship he might "hope for the most success and happiness." In another letter written from "Point Breeze," after the marriage in November, Joseph said to his nephew: "I shall be charmed to see you and your wife at Bordentown in the spring."⁵

Years before this, Madame Bonaparte wrote a long letter from England to her father, in which she said: "I assure you that although you have always taken me for a fool, it is not my character here. In America I was completely out of my element. Here I am completely in my sphere and in contact with modes of life for which nature intended me."

Apparently, the head of the whilom Baltimore belle—hitherto a woman of marked intellectuality—had been turned by long association with the sprigs of nobility, the counts and the no-accounts, and yet it was after this that she made her witty retort to the Honorable Mr. Dundas, an Englishman, which was repeated all over Europe.

At a dinner party given in Geneva, by one whom Madame Elizabeth Patterson-Bonaparte called a "rich idiot," the former engaged in an animated discussion with Mr. Dundas, in the course of which he suffered from her shafts of wit and sarcasm. It fell to his lot to escort Madame Bonaparte to the banqueting hall, and seated beside her at the table he watched his opportunity to expose her inferiority. Presently he asked, with a malicious smile, if she had read Captain Basil Hall's new book on America. Madame Bonaparte said she had. "Well," said Mr. Dundas, "Did you notice that Captain Hall pronounces all Americans vulgarians?" "Yes," answered Madame Bonaparte, "and I am not surprised. Were Americans the descendants of Indians and Esquimaux, I would be astonished at Captain Hall's remark; but being descended from the English, it is natural that he should call them vulgarians."

⁴ Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte was married to Susan May Williams, of Baltimore, on November 3, 1829.

⁵ The story of Jerome Bonaparte's marriage to the beautiful Elizabeth Patterson has been told many times, but the most interesting detail is the remark of one of the wedding guests that "he could put all the bride's clothes into his pocket." All accounts agree that his bride was very scantily attired, but scant raiment was the fashion for women in those days—more so than now. Jerome and Elizabeth Bonaparte, after many false starts from America, at last reached Lisbon, where Elizabeth was not permitted to land. Jerome, very much in love, was taken in charge by his brother, the emperor, who gave the young man naval commands in the Mediterranean by way of distraction. Madame Bonaparte went to England and thence returned to America. The faithless husband, after his services in the Mediterranean, was sent out as captain of the "Veteran," to harass the English in the South Atlantic. Captain Bonaparte, after some insignificant encounters, separated from the squadron and returned to France. He was promptly made admiral by the family providence, after which he was transferred to the army. Napoleon next made him king of Westphalia, which kingdom he constructed of odd pieces of Prussia, Brunswick, Hesse Cassell and Hanover. The marriage with Miss Patterson had already been ordered void by obedient French ecclesiastical powers, though the pope had refused to annul it, and Jerome was now given a royal wife—the excellent Sophia Dorothea Frederika Catherine, Princess of Wurtemberg. For six years King Jerome reigned in Westphalia, and for six years he squandered vast sums upon palaces and court functions and court favorites—especially the queen's ladies. The royal city of Cassell had a sad name during those years and the king the worst possible reputation for amours, though the queen remained devoted to him. The end came in 1813, after Moscow and Leipsic. King Jerome fled from his kingdom, but he fought bravely at Waterloo. From 1815 until the second empire he lived in exile in Austria and Italy, and died in 1860, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ANECDOTES OF A POINT BREEZE CELEBRITY.

"Great Scott" and "Don't shoot; I'll come down" are familiar sayings whose origin may be traced to a single incident in the life of a man once well known in New England as a bear hunter, later as a crack shot in the army, and finally as a hero in the North Woods of New York,—a man whose company was sought by Joseph Bonaparte on at least one occasion while on a hunting trip near Lake Bonaparte. The incident happened in 1830.

In June of that year Bonaparte, then at "Point Breeze," Bordentown, was joined by two friends from Philadelphia. They traveled by stage to New Brunswick and thence by private conveyance to Long Branch, where they passed a few days, stopping at the well-known McKnight's Hotel.¹

Leaving Long Branch, Bonaparte and his friends went by stage to a point on the Shrewsbury near the present borough of Seabright, where they took passage on a little steamer for New York. They remained in that city a few days before taking a boat up the Hudson, their destination being Diana, New York, the settlement of which was begun that year on lands belonging to the exiled King.²

Although it was late in June and the weather was warm, there was no indication of an exodus to seashore or mountain. People stayed in the city the year round, save perhaps a few weeks of whirl and excitement in an over-crowded summer hotel at Cape May or Tucker's Beach, or a fortnight at Long Branch or Saratoga, during the racing season.

Spring, summer and winter resorts like Atlantic City and Lakewood were then unknown. The summer amusements at Saratoga consisted principally of horse racing, with promenading by day and dancing in stuffy ball rooms at night. Horse racing at Long Branch began after the War of 1812, and at the time of Bonaparte's visit some of the best trotters in the country were owned by Jerseymen: notably, "Black Maria," by John C.

¹At the outbreak of the Revolution this property was confiscated by the State, on account of the Tory proclivities of the owner, Ebenezer Wardell. One account says it was the summer residence of a British officer, Colonel White, living in New York. After the war, in 1788, Elliston Perot, a well-to-do Frenchman, living in Philadelphia, persuaded the woman in charge to allow him to occupy the house with his family, during the summer, on the condition that he provide the bedding and other housekeeping accessories. This suggested to a Mr. McKnight the idea of purchasing the property and converting it into a public resort. Accordingly, at the close of the summer, he borrowed \$2,000 and made additions to the building. He opened it as a hotel or boarding house the following year and eventually cleared \$40,000 on his \$2,000 investment, in addition to his summer profits. For years it was the resort of Philadelphians who desired a change from the routine life at Cape May or Tucker's Beach, the only other coast resorts at that time. In 1820 McKnight's Hotel was purchased by William Renshaw, whose widow was in charge at the time of Bonaparte's visit in 1830. Life at the seashore, even at Long Branch, was very simple in comparison with the summer outings of today. Great dishes of boiled hard-shell crabs and lobsters were on every table; with beef, mutton and vegetables from New Jersey farms and rich cream and milk from home dairies. The real joy was in the evening, since after supper every one went to the beach and stayed there until ten or eleven o'clock—unless a couple of fiddlers enticed the young people to a dance at McKnight's or the "low down" Fish House, as Commodore Stoekton once called the other boarding place. Next to Cape May, Long Branch was then the leading resort on the coast. It had no shelving beach like that of Cape May, yet every one bathed—some daily and others two or three times a week. A unique regulation was in vogue at that time. A white flag signified "ladies hour," when no man, except a husband, could venture on the beach. When the red flag was up it signified "men's hour" and then the men crowded the surf. There was no pretence to bathing suits—not even trunks. The hotels were so far back on the bluff that bathers were concealed from the view of those on the verandas. The flag hoisting was in vogue at the time of Bonaparte's visit in 1830, and indeed as early as 1819, for it is mentioned in Niles' Naval Register of that year, the writer adding: "A wag lately hoisted both flags at the same time, which created some awful squinting and no little confusion."

²When Bonaparte landed in New York, in August, 1815, he stopped at the City Hotel, the principal tavern in the metropolis at that time, the floors of which were without carpets and the beds without curtains. There was neither glass nor mug nor cup, though choice rooms were provided with a white basin, a pitcher and a crash towel, for which an extra price was charged. These were conditions incident to the long-ago, before the modern hotel keeper was born and before city denizens had come to realize the delight of simple life in the country or the joy of summer days beside the sea at a well-appointed hotel in New Jersey.

Stevens, of Hoboken; "Shark," by Richard F. Stockton, of Princeton; and "Henry Archy," by Samuel and Joseph Laird, of Monmouth County.

Even now (1924) an attempt is being made to revive horse racing in New Jersey. Opposition, however, is coming from various quarters and there is little prospect of such a measure being enacted into law. Horse racing was banished from New Jersey in 1894 because it had fallen into disrepute. The demand for repressive legislation began soon after the new course at Long Branch was opened on July 4, 1890. On the old Monmouth Park track, before that time, "Iroquois," "Hanover," "Eole," "Miss Woodford," "Parole," "Hindoo," "Spendthrift," "Kingston," "Wanda," "Salvator," "Javisee," and other thoroughbreds made what the racing fraternity called "horse history."

The new tracks were spacious, having one circuit of a mile and three-quarters and another of a mile and three-eighths, with a grand-stand seven hundred feet long and a paddock fitted with ninety-six box stalls. It was the most modern racing park in America, as its predecessor was the oldest in New Jersey.³

In the construction of this new track, however, the sportsmen did not reckon with the growing sentiment against horse racing, particularly as it was practiced at the "mushroom" tracks, where the racing was open to severe criticism. Legitimate horse racing was ruined by abuses at Gloucester and other places. During the meets at these tracks, the neighboring towns were infested with hangers-on, touts, gamblers, and loafers. They were the parasites of a sordid industry. Indignation swelled into a tempest of denunciation, followed by a campaign led by the fearless Rev. Dr. Kempshell, of Elizabeth. The result was that in 1894 race tracks were legislated out of existence.

The Albany boat, on which Bonaparte and his friends were to take passage, left New York twice a week, and early in July, following his trip to Long Branch, while waiting for the "Lady Clinton" to start on her mid-week trip, he left his hotel in company with his two Philadelphia friends, to go aboard the boat and engage state rooms.⁴

³ Three miles due west, near Tinton Falls, was the home of New Jersey's first and foremost "jockey." He was none other than the distinguished Lewis Morris. Here he had his iron works and manor house in circa 1700. Morris was successfully chief justice and colonial governor. In early life he was inclined to be gay. In a sense, he followed the races. Indeed, he was the object of a presentment by the Monmouth County grand jury "for running of races and playing of nyne-pins on the Sabbath day."

⁴ On a previous occasion, in 1825 or 1826, Bonaparte made the trip by boat to Albany and thence by stage to Saratoga. On this occasion he also went aboard the boat to engage his state-room, accompanied by his secretary, Eloi Mailliard, and a gentleman whose name is unknown at this late day. Among the "booked" passengers were two other Frenchmen, one of whom was Monsieur Trusson, who had formerly lived in Philadelphia and was the husband of Stephen Girard's niece and adopted daughter. Having paid their passage, the five Frenchmen were conversing near the captain's office. They soon attracted the attention of an old man, accompanied by two children, one a boy of twelve and the other a girl of nearly the same age.

This stranger ventured to inquire of the others if they had seen a "leette French madame" on the boat, explaining that he had lost her the previous evening and had come aboard, hoping to find her, as she had proposed going up the river with the children. He said his name was Charles Vondre and before coming to America he had been a grenadier under Napoleon.

Bonaparte asked how long he had been in America. The old man said he had recently come from Bordeaux, having heard that King Joseph, who lived near Philadelphia, possessed a vast domain in the United States and gave farms to old soldiers of the emperor.

"I am going to the King's home at Bordentown," said he, "and will ask him for a farm." Bonaparte remarked that he was old, that most of the King's land was thickly wooded, and it would be very hard for him, at his age, to make a clearing. The old man explained that after Napoleon's exile he had earned his living by sawing planks and he was accustomed to living in the woods. He added that he had accompanied Napoleon to Elba as one of the seven hundred picked soldiers on the "Undaunted." The following year he had returned with the emperor on the brig "Inconstant." The enemies of Napoleon had stolen most of his uniform and he had also been deprived of his pension from the Legion of Honor. To save his copper eagle and various other ornaments, including a decoration won at Wagram, he had been obliged to bury them near his old home in France. Removing his hat, he revealed his cross, his eagle, his certificate of service and a diploma of the Legion of Honor.

Bonaparte was much affected by the old man's story, and after asking many questions, informed him that he would not find King Joseph at Bordentown.

The "Lady Clinton" was a huge safety barge, without means of propulsion. When the Supreme Court of New York destroyed the monopoly of steam navigation on the Hudson and in New York Bay, pursuant to a suit brought by Aaron Ogden, of New Jersey, there was sharp competition and a reduction in the rates of fare. The Fulton company met this competition by placing a safety barge on the Hudson. This barge was a vessel of two hundred tons, with neither sails nor steam, and was used exclusively for passengers. It was towed by the "Commerce," one of the regular Hudson River steamers. The dining room of the "Lady Clinton" was ninety feet long, besides which there was a deck cabin for ladies, state rooms, a reading room and a promenade deck about one hundred feet long. The trip to Albany was made twice a week in sixteen hours. Her companion barge was the "Lady Van Rensselaer."

Reaching Diana by stage from Albany via Carthage, Bonaparte proceeded to Lake Bonaparte, ten miles distant. On one of the hills overlooking the lake, he built a hunting lodge, containing four rooms, in one of which he kept an assortment of guns and gunning outfits.⁵

It was in the vicinity of his hunting lodge that Bonaparte met Captain Martin Scott, and it was here, also, in 1830, that Scott had his famous interviews with the coon that came down from the treetop so willingly. This incident has been ascribed to the noted David Crockett, of Tennessee and Texas, but the true hero was Martin Scott, and the incident occurred in the North Woods near Lake Bonaparte. The story was first published in one of the Utica newspapers about 1835, and it reappeared in the "New York Sun" about 1880. The coon has been famous for almost a century, but the man who made the coon come down is forgotten.

The true story, as gleaned by the writer some years ago, is as follows:

Captain Scott was hunting with a party of friends, who became separated. One of the party came upon a racoon sitting in one of the highest branches of a very tall tree. He fired at him and missed. One by one the rest of the party came up and tried a hand, each missing the coon, who grew saucier as the firing continued. At length Captain Scott arrived, and was

"The Count de Survilliers, whom you call the King, is away on a visit and will not return to Bordentown for weeks," said he.

The old man seemed distressed and said he was reduced to his last dollar. The King's heart was touched and he whispered to Mailliard to give the old man \$20. In handing him the money Mailliard revealed to Vondre that his friend was none other than King Joseph himself. Instantly the old man was on his knees, muttering thanks and kissing the hand of his benefactor. At that moment the children approached, and Vondre, rising with much dignity, cried out: "Be silent! It is the King!"

The boat was to leave next day and before returning to his hotel for the night, Bonaparte directed his secretary to make further inquiries and see that the old soldier did not suffer in the future for any of the necessities of life. Mailliard kept in touch with the man and learned that he died three years later. In his last delirium, said Mailliard, he cried out: "Long live the emperor! Forward grenadiers! The Old Guard dies, but never surrenders! Wagram! Austerlitz!"

On one occasion, a year or more before his death, Mailliard averred, the old man saw a company of New Jersey soldiers marching through Bordentown and said that with 2,000 such men he could march on Paris, dethrone Louis Phillippe and place young Napoleon on the throne of France.

⁵ This building was burned many years ago and his house at Natural Bridge was torn down about the time of the Civil War. A hotel was built on or near the site of the "White House" in 1903. Bonaparte lived in this house or at his lodge near the lake during two or three summers, leaving Bordentown late in June. He also passed at least a portion of one winter in the wilderness. When he arrived from New Jersey he usually went first to Natural Bridge and remained at the "White House" for a few days. L. D. Week, an old citizen of Harrisville, once recalled to the writer that on his trips from Natural Bridge to the lake, Bonaparte passed a little red school house, and each time he took from his pockets a handful of small coins and scattered them among the children. This same old timer—once a boy at the little red school house—added: "From Natural Bridge to the lake, in the winter season, Bonaparte was drawn by a pair of oxen hitched to a large sled. Every man he met on the road was invited into the sled and taken to the lake, and in this way he managed to have several companions while hunting. The men were paid for the time passed at the lake. He could stand in the door of his log house and see the deer—often a large herd of them—come down to the edge of the lake for water. He was very much afraid of wild animals and probably had the 'natives' as he called them, with him for protection against panthers, bears, wolves, bobcats and lynx."

in the act of pulling the trigger, when the coon looked slyly around the limb and said: "Who are you?" "I am Scott." "What Scott?" "Captain Scott." "Captain Martin Scott?" "The same." "Great Scott!" said the coon, unlimbering himself, "Don't shoot; I'll come down."

Martin Scott was a native of Bennington, Vermont, and distinguished himself as a hunter when only twelve years of age, when a bear made its appearance in the neighborhood and caused havoc among the cattle and sheep of the farmers. The people organized in squads to capture the bear. Young Scott, knowing that his father would not consent to his taking part in the hunt, loaded an old smooth-bore gun, sneaked out of the house before daylight and went in search of the bear. It was nearly night when he came upon the beast, lying apparently asleep. He raised the gun to his shoulder and fired. Fortunately, the load reached the vitals of the beast and killed it instantly. When Scott reached the tavern the hunters were all relating their experience. He announced that he had killed the bear, and agreed to show them where it was. When the men found the bear they constructed a litter on which to carry him into town, and mounted Martin on top of the bear. As they passed his father's house the old man called him down, but unlike the coon the youngster would not come down, and the triumphant crowd told his father he had killed the bear.

From his earliest days Scott was a remarkably fine shot. His fame extended over several counties. One day, while plowing in the field, he was handed a letter. He stopped his horse, opened the paper, and found that it was a commission as ensign in the United States Army. To the day of his death he never knew how he received this commission. He accepted, however, and soon became famous throughout the army as the best shot of his day.⁹

After he had been in the West a number of years and had accumulated considerable money, Captain Scott visited his relatives in Vermont. He

⁹ One of the stories of Scott's remarkable shooting is as follows: In the presence of his company an ace of clubs was tacked upon a tree. Captain Scott measured seventy-five yards from the tree and took his position. With a muzzle-loading squirrel rifle he proposed to see how quickly he could load and fire three times. He began and in one minute and twenty seconds had loaded and fired the three shots at the card. This was very quick work, forcing him to take a drop sight and fire instantaneously. Colonel R. D. Marcy went to examine the target, and found one hole exactly in the center. He remarked, however, that the other two shots had missed the tree entirely. Captain Scott smiled, called for an axe, dug into the tree and found the three balls imbedded in a single hole. Colonel Marcy afterwards said he had seen officers who vouched for having seen Captain Scott take two potatoes, throw them into the air successively and put a pistol ball through both of them as they crossed in the air, one going up and the other coming down. Naturally, this was not the sort of man with whom it was safe to fight a duel and yet he had fought a great many. His first duel was under peculiar circumstances. He was stationed at the military post of Council Bluffs. The army officers were then fond of a social glass and addicted to card playing. They considered a man who abstained entirely as lacking in the proper spirit. Captain Scott never drank a glass of liquor in his life and never played a game of cards, and while he was liberal in his intercourse with his brother officers, he was exceedingly parsimonious in his own personal expenses. The officers of the post took umbrage at this, and gradually withdrew from all intercourse with him, until he was put in coventry by all, save two or three of his most intimate associates. He submitted a long time to the insults and slights, and then consulted his three friends, who informed him that one alternative was to throw up his commission. The other was to challenge the first man who insulted him. He promptly announced that he chose the latter. His skill as a marksman and his undoubted nerve protected him for a while, no one caring to provoke an encounter with him. At length, however, an officer from a neighboring post, who was a celebrated shot, and had "downed" his man in some half dozen duels, came to the post. Captain Scott's singular habits soon gave him provocation, and he put a deliberate insult upon the captain. The affair occurred at the mess-table. Captain Scott left the room and immediately sent a challenge. In telling about the duel afterwards Captain Scott said that he went to the ground considerably agitated. It was his first duel, and being utterly opposed to the practice, he had determined to throw away his fire. While the seconds were measuring the ground, and the principals with their friends were grouped near each other, he accidentally heard his antagonist say that he had a very disagreeable job on hand—the shooting of a "damned Yankee." This raised Captain Scott's ire and he determined that instead of throwing his fire away he would put his ball where it would do some good. When the word was given, the men fired together. Captain Scott received a slight flesh wound, and sent a ball whizzing through his opponent's lungs. It is mentioned as a curious fact that this shot saved the man's life. He had consumption before the duel and recovered afterward. It was said that the wound stopped the course of the disease

had left there a poor boy and returned rich and famous. He had two remarkably fine horses and a negro boy named Jack, for whom he had paid five dollars a pound, or a total of \$560, and whom he afterward freed. Scott was seated in a showy gig, followed by Jack in livery as an outrider, mounted on his thoroughbred "Dandy," and twenty or thirty full-blooded dogs of various breeds. Shortly afterwards he was called to service in the Mexican War, and was killed while leading his command in the battle of Molino del Rey.

Returning to Bordentown late in August, Bonaparte found awaiting him an invitation from Stephen Girard to be the guest of the latter at his Philadelphia home. Indeed, it may be said that Bonaparte had a standing invitation from Girard to be his guest. Often, on a Saturday, he would drive down from Bordentown and spend Sunday at Girard's house on Water Street. In token of his appreciation of the merchant's hospitality, Bonaparte presented to him a handsome writing cabinet and a mechanical organ, both of which are now preserved in the famous Girard College, Philadelphia.⁷

Among the visitors at both of the Point Breeze mansions, beside Girard, were Bonaparte's physician, Dr. Nathaniel Chapman, William Short, who had served as minister to France, Charles J. Ingersoll, Peter S. Duponceau, General Thomas Cadwallader, and Judge Joseph Hopkinson, all of Philadelphia. In after years Bonaparte appointed Judge Hopkinson one of the executors of his will, but the King outlived the judge. In his will Bonaparte bequeathed a bronze statuette of Napoleon to Ingersoll; a marble bas-relief of Napoleon to Hopkinson; a bas-relief of Princess Pauline to Short, and a set of Voltaire's works to Chapman.

At an earlier date Point Breeze was visited by Henry Bradshaw Fearon, an Englishman, who traveled by stage in the United States the year after Bonaparte finished his first mansion. Fearon wrote a narrative of his travels, which was printed in London in 1819, and in this narrative he says, under date of October 2, 1817: "In the evening I arrived at Trenton, the capital of New Jersey. General Moreau's stables are still standing in this neighborhood, but his dwelling house was consumed by fire. King Joseph was negotiating for a house in Trenton, in anticipation of his brother Lucien's arrival. The price was to have been \$30,000.

It is probably true that Bonaparte considered Trenton, in his selection of a site for his first mansion, but Commodore Stewart prevailed upon him to locate at Bordentown. Referring to this matter some years afterward, Stewart said that Bonaparte was inclined to select another place of residence, but that he (the commodore) urged him to locate at Bordentown. Bonaparte had arranged to meet a citizen of Trenton, with the view of purchasing a home in that city, but he "drew off" when the owner attempted to fix a price in excess of the actual value of the property.

From the time of his settlement in Philadelphia, before the Bordentown purchase in 1816, there had been rumors in South Jersey of Bonaparte's great riches and of the hoards of specie he had deposited in the vault of Girard's bank. Mysterious boxes, securely sealed, were seen by Girard's clerks, and these were said to contain jewels of immense value. People reasoned that

⁷ Girard once advised Bonaparte to sell his European real estate, his pictures and his jewels and invest the proceeds in Philadelphia real estate. "In the course of time," Girard said, "you will make a big fortune out of the rise in the values and I will help you to invest with judgment." But Bonaparte thought that events might compel his return to Europe. "You deceive yourself," replied Girard; "it will be a long time before anything will occur there to your benefit. Lay politics aside. Instead of throwing away money, you should accumulate a fortune in this country."

a man with so large a retinue of attendants and servants must of necessity be possessed of unlimited means.⁸

Bonaparte built other houses in Bordentown, besides the one occupied by himself and his immediate attendants. Four of these were standing a few years ago, in various stages of decay. Besides the Lake House, once the home of Princess Zenaide and her cousin-husband, Charles Bonaparte, (Prince Canino⁹) there was a dilapidated lodge, called the Wash House, opposite the nearby home of Bonaparte's physician; also the home of Secretary Mailliard, now a part of the Bordentown Military Academy, and the Garden House, on the Trenton Road. The beautiful pines which mark every spot where the exiled King built a house in Bordentown seem to say, as they nod and sway in the passing breeze, "Sic transit gloria mundi."

Besides his two daughters, and his son-in-law, Prince Charles, Bonaparte's family at Bordentown, at one time or another, consisted of Francois La Coste, afterwards the French consul-general in New York, and his beautiful wife and boy; William Thibaud, afterwards manager of the Fesch art gallery in Rome; Mademoiselle Thibaud, who afterwards married Monsieur Hughes, of Paris; Madame Therese Gallet, Alphonse Thibaud, Eloi Mailliard and his wife, their son Adolph, and Bonaparte's ever-faithful valet, Leopold Stocker. La Coste was the brother of a brave and skillful young French general and engineer, who was with Bonaparte in Spain and was killed in the memorable siege of Saragossa.

Three years before Bonaparte's daughter Charlotte was landed in Philadelphia, by Captain Mickle, of Camden, while the ex-King was living quietly

⁸ Among the many attendants of Bonaparte, at Bordentown, none were more faithful than Eloi D. Mailliard and Leopold Stocker, both of whom lived at least a generation longer than Joseph, and died at an advanced age in Illinois,—one in 1885 and the other in 1891. Mailliard married a daughter of Madame Gallet, who was in the employ of Bonaparte's wife, Queen Julie, more than twenty-three years, through prosperity and adversity. She was the governess of Princess Charlotte during her childhood and subsequently served as chaperon of the two princesses, Zenaide and Charlotte. She accompanied Princess Charlotte to America in 1821, and her daughter Amanda Gallet, before her marriage to Mailliard, served as companion to the young princess at Bordentown.

Mailliard was born at Mortefontaine, Bonaparte's estate near Paris, and was taken to Spain by King Joseph in 1811, when the latter returned from a visit to the emperor in Paris. After the fall of the Napoleonic dynasty Mailliard went to Prangins, Switzerland, until the return of Napoleon from Elba. Then he hastened to Paris, but the disaster at Waterloo put an end to his hopes of serving the Bonapartes. He returned to Mortefontaine and in 1816 received a letter from Joseph Bonaparte, asking him to report for duty at Bordentown. On his arrival he was installed as superintendent of household, and held this position until June, 1824, when he returned to France with Madame Gallet and her daughter Amanda. At Mortefontaine he was married to Mademoiselle Gallet. The following year he returned to America and joined the Bonaparte family at Bordentown. A year or more later he was again in France and early in 1827 went to Florence, Italy, accompanied by his wife, where they lived with Princess Charlotte until 1832. Two of their nine children were born at Bordentown. When they left Florence the Mailliards were the parents of six living children, and wishing to have them united they left the Princess Charlotte, much against her will, to live on Bonaparte's estate at Survilliers. After living there a few years, Mailliard visited his wife's parents, the Gallet's, who, meantime had located in Illinois. He was much pleased with Illinois and was urged to make it his future home. He settled there permanently with his wife in 1841, and died at Avon in 1885.

Perhaps the best collection of Bonaparte relics in America is that of Eloi Mailliard, now owned by his descendants in Illinois. These include a beautiful painting on parchment "Eece Homo," given by King Joseph to Madame Gallet at Naples in 1808, and said to be by Raphael; several views of Mortefontaine, where the treaty between France and America was signed in 1800; a portrait of Joseph Bonaparte's mother; also a lithograph of Joseph Bonaparte, paintings by Princess Zenaide and Princess Charlotte on canvas and china, a powder horn used by Bonaparte, a watch-rest, china dishes, silverware, card case, snuff-box used by King Charles of Spain, ear drops once owned by Queen Julie, amulet containing Princess Charlotte's hair, mosaic pin from Bonaparte's mother, opal cross and ear drops, a cameo pin presented by Napoleon, coral ear drops, watch and chain, topaz ear drops, a ring set with rubies, given to Madame Gallet by the Empress Josephine, and various other articles once owned by Joseph or Napoleon Bonaparte, their mother, Joseph's daughters, and one or more of his sisters. One of the daughters of Eloi Mailliard, (Charlotte) married George Simmons. Pauline, another daughter married Alexander B. McFarland, and Zenaide, the seventh child, married James H. Bahhitt. Other children were Mrs. Mary Churchill, of Avon, Illinois, Mrs. Theresa Stevens, of Keytesville, Missouri, and A. A. Mailliard, of Lennox, Iowa.

It is related of Madame Gallet that being constantly in the company of Bonaparte's daughters, Zenaide and Charlotte, as chaperon, she met many notable people, among whom were the two wives of Napoleon, Josephine and Marie Louise. Josephine once insisted that Madame Gallet had taught her two nieces, Zenaide and Charlotte, to be always charitable and kind to the poor.

in his Point Breeze mansion, it was rumored throughout the country that a Bonaparte invasion of Mexico was contemplated. The matter was brought to the attention of President Monroe, and at his instance John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, wrote to the government commissioner at Galveston, informing him of a plot to seize Texas, then a part of Mexico, for Joseph Bonaparte.

This plot involved the formation of a camp or place of refuge in Texas for French emigrants—officers, soldiers, and laborers. The officers had been exiled from France on account of the part they had taken in restoring Napoleon to power after his return from Elba. They came to the United States and settled on a tract of land in Alabama, which had been assigned to them on terms almost equivalent to a gift.

Dissatisfied, however, with their situation in Alabama, a part of the company removed to Texas in the winter of 1818, and selected a section on Trinity River, north of Galveston, to which they gave the name of Champ d'Asile, signifying Field of the Asylum or Camp of Refuge. It was to be a rallying place for all exiled Frenchmen and, naturally, the name of Joseph Bonaparte was associated with the scheme by many Americans; but the men who promoted the camp were neither emigrants nor citizens. They were soldiers of fortune—veterans and heroes of Cairo, Joffa, Marengo, Moscow, and Waterloo.

Men of their kind could not become laborers and peaceable farmers. They grouped themselves in cohorts, commanded by superior officers, and such an organization naturally led to warlike manifestations, in which the

At the time of the second abdication, in 1815, Madame Gallet escaped from Paris as an English lady and passed as the mother of the two princesses. She carried with her many valuable papers and jewelry belonging to the imperial family.

Of Leopold Stocker there is an interesting story, communicated to the author, some years ago, by a descendant of one of the Bonaparte servitors in Illinois. Stocker entered the service of Bonaparte in 1825, as his valet de chambre, having previously served Prince Murat four years in the same capacity. In 1832 he accompanied Bonaparte to London, returning to Bordentown in 1836. In 1837 he again visited London and in 1840, when Bonaparte sailed from London to Italy he took Stocker with him. After remaining a short time with his wife and surviving daughter at Florence, Bonaparte traveled on the continent for the benefit of his health, spending much of his time at the celebrated baths in the Black Forest, Germany.

Stocker was entrusted with the ex-king's private purse, from which he paid the traveling and all other expenses. While in the Black Forest, Bonaparte grew worse while at the baths and returned to Florence, where, in the presence of his family, and in the arms of his trusted servant, he died in 1844. During his last illness Stocker slept on a couch in the same room, and the ex-king, being in great pain, would frequently leave his bed and walk about the room, supported by Stocker. It was in one of those paroxysms that he died. After Bonaparte's death, Stocker visited his boyhood home, near Vienna. The revolution of 1848-49 was then brewing, and the Austrian court was surrounded by various intriguing parties. Knowing that Stocker was master of four languages and acquainted with the habits and manners of kings and princes, they regarded him as a proper person to aid them in their plans to overthrow the government. One day in Vienna he was approached by a member of the intriguing party and offered a large sum of money if he would take service in the house of Count de Chambord and obtain information which they desired. Stocker spurned their offer, whereupon they threatened his life should he ever divulge the names of the conspirators. Thoroughly disgusted with the intrigues and immoralities he had witnessed among the potentates of the old world, Stocker resolved to quit Europe forever, and accordingly he embarked for America about 1850. After lingering a short time in New Jersey, he went to Illinois in 1856, and died there in 1891.

Stocker himself once related with much zest an incident that occurred in 1829, in Baltimore, when Joseph Bonaparte was attending the wedding of young Jerome Bonaparte, son of Madame Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte. While the ex-king was out driving, a day or two after the wedding, a very pleasant looking old gentleman called at his apartments and was admitted by Stocker with his customary courtly bow. The visitor mistook him for the count, and at once entered into a lively conversation upon the topics of the day. At the first opportunity Stocker informed him of his error, whereupon the old gentleman laughed heartily, and after cordially shaking hands took his leave. Stocker glanced at the card the visitor left on the table and discovered that he had been entertaining Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, then in his ninety-second year.

In his journal of travels, John J. Audubon, the American naturalist, says under date of April 15, 1824: "I obtained a room in Philadelphia and commenced work in earnest. Prince Canino engaged me to superintend his drawings intended for publication, but, my terms being much dearer than Alexander Wilson's, I was asked to discontinue this work." Under date of June 12, he writes: "Prince Canino often visited me and admired my drawings. He advised me to go to France, but replied coldly to my application for aid to carry out this purpose. The French consul was warmer in his sympathies and kind in his encouraging assurances." On August 2, 1824, he says: "I met Joseph Bonaparte and his two daughters and the Prince Canino in New York."

name of the exiled King was turned to good account. The scheme, however, was not countenanced by Bonaparte, then living quietly near Bordentown. Scarcely had the refugees begun to fortify their post, prescribe regulations and invite other emigrants, when they were informed by the Mexican authorities that they must abandon the settlement or acknowledge the sovereignty of Ferdinand of Spain, whose kingdom had been restored to him after Bonaparte's unhappy reign. Unable to resist the force sent against them, the colony was abandoned and the unfortunate soldiers were driven in poverty from the country.

CHAPTER XXIV.

RELIGIONS AND SOCIAL LIFE IN DAYS OF YORE.

A description of South Jersey in 1698, written by Gabriel Thomas, seems to have a tinge of *coulcur de rose*. He says:

Here are several good navigable rivers * * * Great Eggharbor River (up which a ship of two or three hundred tuns may sail), which runs by the back part of the country into the main sea. I call it back, because the first improvement made by the Christians was Delaware River-Side.

Again he says:

There are several meetings of worship in this country, viz.: the Presbyterians, Quakers and Anabaptists. The privileges as to matters of law are the same, both for plaintiff and defendant, as in England.

Referring to other rivers, he adds:

Prince Morise's River is where the Sweeds used to kill the geese in great numbers for their feathers, only leaving their carcasses behind them; Cohansey River, by which they send great store of cedar to Philadelphia City; Alloway River, Salem River, which runs by Salem Town, of greatest antiquity; Naman River, Rackoon River, which had its name from the great number of those creatures that always abound thereabouts; Old Man's River, Manto River and Woodberry River.

On another page he says:

The trade in Gloucester County consists chiefly in pitch, tar and rosin, the latter of which is made by Robert Styles, an excellent artist in that sort of work, for he delivers it as clear as gun-arabick.

Good old John Fothergill, who traveled through South Jersey in 1722, seems not to have found the advanced state of civilization and improvement which we might expect from the reading of Thomas' history. Fothergill tells of a "journey through the desarts" from Chesterfield, in Burlington County, to Egg Harbor, where he held a meeting among "some dark people that came thither, at the house of Gervas Farrar, and had a pretty good time in the extending of the love of truth to the people thereaway." The next day he "traveled part by land and through dismal marshes, and part by water in canoes to Great Egg Harbor," where he held another meeting "among some poor dark people that came thither." After holding a third meeting for the edification of the natives at John Scull's, he started over a "great river" to Cape May, but was nearly drowned in the crossing.

Fac-simile pages from Thomas's quaint history are edifying. He says: "This Place is noted for good store of Corn, Horses, Cows, Sheep, Hogs, &c. the Lands thereabouts being much improv'd, and built upon: Little Egg-Harbor-Creek, which take their Names from the great abundance of Eggs, which the Swans, Geese, Ducks, and other wild Fowls off those Rivers lay

thereabouts : Timber-River, alias Gloucester-River, which hath its Name (also) from the great quantity of curious Timber, which they send in great Floats to Philadelphia, a City in Pensilvania, as Oaks, Pines, Chesnut, Ash, and Cedars. This River runs down by Gloucester-Town, which is the Shire-Town ; And Newton-River, that runs by Newton ; Cooper-River ; Pensokin-River ; Northampton-River, with several others, at a convenient distance upon the Sea) the Shores whereof are generally deep and bold), of less Note, as Wissahiskonk-River, that runs down into the great River Delaware, by Burlington. The Countrey inhabited by the Christians is divided into four Parts or Counties, tho' the Tenth part of it is not yet peopled ; 'Tis far cheaper living there for Eatables than here in England ; and either Men or Women that have a Trade, or are Labourers, can, if industrious, get near three times the Wages they commonly earn in England.

"In this Country also is great Plenty of working Timber, as Oaks, Ash, Chesnuts, Pine, Cedar, Walnut, Poplar, Firr, and Masts for Ships, with Pitch and Rosin, of great Use and much Benefit to the Countrey. Here are several good Navigable Rivers, besides that famous River Delaware."

The pioneers of South Jersey were mostly Quakers. About the year 1658 the Dutch on Long Island determined to banish all members of "that heretical and abominable sect, called Quakers," and to punish all who harbored the heretics. John Tilton was convicted of giving lodging to a Quaker woman, and fined twelve pounds, Flemish money. This action, instead of intimidating Tilton, had the opposite effect. He cast his lot with the Quakers. It is recorded that in 1661 John and Henry Townsend, of Jamaica, and John Tilton and Samuel Spicer, of Gravesend, were arrested and conveyed to New Amsterdam (New York), where Henry Townsend and Spicer were fined, and John Tilton and John Townsend sentenced to be banished. The latter settled at Leed's Point, and was soon joined by his brother Henry, who, with Spicer, afterwards located in Cape May County.¹

John Brunyeate, a Quaker preacher, gives us the earliest journal of travel in South Jersey. In company with George Fox, Robert Withers, George Patison, and others, he crossed the State about March 1, 1672. These Friends came from Maryland to New Castle, Delaware, and were on their way to Long Island, to settle a dispute among brethren in that vicinity. Brunyeate says :

We stayed there (New Castle, Delaware) that night, and the next day we got over the river. When we were over, we could not get an Indian for a guide, and the Dutchmen we had hired would not go without an Indian ; so we were forced to stay there that day. The next day we rode about to seek an Indian, but could get none to go ; but late in the evening there came some over from the other side of the town, and we hired one, and so together we began our journey early the next morning, intending to travel through that country which is now called New Jersey, and we travelled, we supposed, that day, nearly forty miles. In the evening we got to a few Indian wigwams, which are their houses ; we saw no man or woman, house or dwelling that day, for there dwelt no English in that country then. We lodged that night in an Indian wigwam, and lay upon the ground, as the Indians themselves did ; and the next day we travelled through several of their towns, and they were kind to us, and helped us over the creeks with their canoes ; we made our horses swim at the side of the canoes, and so travelled on. Towards evening we got to an Indian town ; and when we had put our horses out to grass we went to the Indian King's house, who received us kindly, and

¹ John Townsend was among the original purchasers of land in Monmouth County from the Indians in 1670. Thompson's History of Long Island says that among others of the name, John, Henry and Richard Townsend, brothers, came to Boston, and from thence John and Henry went to Oyster Bay and were finally joined by Richard. It is supposed that the three brothers came from Norfolkshire, England. They went to Lynn, Massachusetts, before 1640, but soon left and eventually settled on Long Island.—"Salter's History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties," appendix lix.

showed us every civil respect. But alas! he was poorly provided, having got so little that day, that most of us could neither get eat or drink in his wigwam, but it was because he had it not. So we lay, as well as he, upon the ground, with only a mat under us, and a piece of wood, or any such thing, under our heads. Next morning early we took horse and traveled through several Indian towns, and that night we lodged in the woods. And the next day, being the fourth day, we got to an English plantation, to a town called Middletown, in East Jersey, where there was a plantation of English and several Friends, and we came down with a Friend to his house, near the water side, and he carried us over in his boat, and our horses to Long Island.

The exact route of these men is unknown, but they must have followed the old Indian trails, and crossed the upper end of Atlantic County to Indian Mills and thence to Crosswicks. Many of the other Quaker preachers speak of crossing streams in frail Indian canoes, and one, John Richardson, who was such a thorn in the side of George Keith, the apostate Friend, in substance recommends for safety in journeying that "travelers' horses should have long tails!" In crossing streams their frail canoes were liable to upset, and the traveler could preserve his life by seizing hold of his horse's tail. A companion of Mr. Richardson was saved from drowning by grasping the long tail of the preacher's horse.

The Quakers established meeting houses at various places along the coast. The first of these meetings was begun about 1695 at Somers' Point and among the members were John Somers, Jonathan Adams, John Scull, Jonas Valentine, and Peter Conover, mostly whalemens from Long Island.

The oldest preserved records show that in 1726 a monthly meeting was held alternately at the house of Richard Somers, on the Egg Harbor side, and at the house of Rebecca Garretson, on the Cape May side of the Great Egg Harbor. First-day and week-day meetings were also held at these houses.

Friends' meetings were held in at least three places in old Egg Harbor (Atlantic County) as early as 1726: Japhet Leeds', Peter White's and John Scull's. Subsequently, meeting houses were erected to accommodate the meetings at Leeds' and Scull's. Japhet Leeds lived at Leeds' Point and was the son of Daniel Leeds, publisher of Leeds' almanac.

The records show that in 1728 a meeting was held at the house of Deborah Leeds, widow of Japhet, which was continued for many years. Other settlements at that time were at Chestnut Neck, Clark's Landing, Pleasant Mills, Somers' Point and May's Landing. Chestnut Neck was a trading post, populated by lumbermen, and previous to its destruction by the British, in 1778, was the largest, or next to the largest village between Sandy Hook and Cape May.

Peter White, in 1699, purchased of Susanna Budd, widow of Thomas Budd, 1,000 acres of land at Absecon, and his house was, in all probability at or near Absecon. John Scull's was at Somers' Point. He was one of five men who, in 1695, purchased land and formed one of the first settlements in Egg Harbor. These primitive "meetings"—Leeds' Point, Absecon, and Somers' Point—passed out of existence many years ago. The only Friends' Meeting House in Atlantic County at this date is the one in Atlantic City, established in 1872.

The point called "Swimming Over," on the Mullica River, was so designated because in those primitive days the devout and sturdy Friends were accustomed to swim their horses across the stream, about an eighth of a mile wide at this point, when on their way to and from the Yearly Meeting at Tuckerton. They crossed the river in this way until some of their number were drowned, when they abandoned that dangerous method of going to meeting.

Many of the Burlington County young men were accustomed to "go-a-courting" to Great Egg Harbor in that way, and the Great Egg Harbor swains crossed to Burlington County, both parties swimming their horses across the stream. Several wedding parties crossed in the same way, in going to and returning from the meeting house.

Before the middle of the eighteenth century Presbyterian missionaries visited the Pine Belt of South Jersey and held meetings for the spiritual good of those not directly connected with the Friends' meeting. The seed thus planted was not entirely lost, for from these scattered bands several church organizations were founded. The first church in Port Republic was built by the Presbyterians, and was known as Clark's Mill Meeting House. A burying ground, in which a few headstones are still in a good state of preservation, adjoined the meeting house.²

Thomas Clark settled at what is known as Clark's Landing, on the Mullica River, and died there in 1743, aged seventy-eight years. He left three sons—Thomas, David, and Elijah.

The first two continued on the old farm and prospered greatly, and were finally buried in the old Clark's Mill burying ground, west of Port Republic. Elijah settled on the Hinchman farm near Haddonfield. He married Jane Lardner and became a colonel of militia. He was also a member of the Provincial Congress in 1775.

Clark's log meeting house stood at the junction of Atsion and Batsto creeks, at what is now Pleasant Mills. Upon practically the same site the Methodist Church now stands. This old log meeting house was 25 x 30 feet, ceiled with cedar boards and covered with cedar shingles. It was ten miles from the site of Clark's Mill meeting house, near Port Republic.

Andrew Blackman donated land, in 1764, for a church in the present Atlantic County, which for many years was known as the Cedar Bridge or Blackman's meeting house. It was built by the Presbyterian pioneers and stood where Zion Methodist Episcopal Church, a brick structure, near Bargaintown, now stands.

Rev. Philip V. Fithian, of Cohansie, now Greenwich, Cumberland County, kept a journal during the period of his religious missions in South Jersey. This interesting journal is still in the possession of the Fithian family in Cumberland County. Some of the records are as follows:

Friday, February 3, 1775.—Early in the morning, in company with Dr. Elmer, I left Cohansie for Egg Harbour. We arrived at Mr. Thomas Stites' at Great Egg Harbour, about 4 P. M. Sermon was appointed for Sunday at Mr. Champion's in the neighborhood, a half brother in the cause.—Sunday 5. Many straggling, impertinent, vociferous swamp men accompanied me this morning; they however, used me with great civility. At 12 began service. There were present between forty and fifty persons, who were attentive without any impropriety of behavior and seemed to have some solemnity. I spoke with great freedom of spirit, yet I hope with a real reverence of the universal presence and awful majesty of the great God.

Monday 6. I rode to the Forks at Little Egg Harbour and put up according to direction at Elijah Clark's, Esq. Mr. Clark is a man of fortune and taste. He appears also to be a man of integrity and piety, an Israelite indeed. And O Religion, thou hast one warm and unfeigned advocate in good and useful Mrs. Clark. I would rather have her spirit with the condition of a starving beggar, than destitute of it to have the wealth of worlds. She has more than the form,—she has the spirit of religion. This peaceful,

² John Brainerd was sent out from Scotland as a missionary early in the eighteenth century and was a zealous worker among the Indians, as well as the white settlers in New Jersey. His labors were largely in South Jersey. It was a common occurrence for him to ride forty miles a day on horseback to preach a sermon. In Atlantic County he left his impress at Port Republic, Pleasantville, Absecon, English Creek, Pleasant Mills, Batsto and Brotherton, now Indian Mills, Burlington County. After the death of Mr. Brainerd, his work was continued effectively by Elijah Clark, son of Thomas Clark.

friendly, heavenlike spirit is breathing from her in every sentence.—Wednesday, Feb. 8. According to appointment I preached in Mr. Clark's little log meeting house. Present about forty. I understand the people in this wild and thinly settled country are extremely nice and difficult to be suited in preaching. One would think that scarcely any but a clamorous person who has assurance enough to make a rumpus and bluster in the pulpit would have admirers here. It is however, otherwise. They must have before they can be entertained good speaking, good sense, sound divinity and neatness and cleanliness in the person and dress of the preacher. This I found from the remarks which several of them freely made upon gentlemen who had formerly preached here. Sunday, 12. We had at the small log house a large assembly. The day snowy. I preached but once.—Monday, 13. I rode by appointment up to Brotherton and preached to Mr. Brainerd's Indians. Present about thirty and as many white people. Mr. Fithian then proceeded to Greenwich, and returning on the 21st to Egg Harbour writes thus:

Saturday, 25th. From the Forks of Little Egg Harbour I rode to the sea shore to Mr. Price's, an English young gentleman of fortune and breeding, with a design to preach still lower down.—Sunday 26. I preached to a thin assembly at Cedar Bridge meeting house. At 2 P. M. I preached at Absecon, at one Mr. Steelman's; a full house.—Monday 27. At 11 I preached at Clark's Mill meeting house. The assembly very attentive. Here they gave me a dollar.

The celebrated George Whitefield left his impress on the people of South Jersey during the first half of the eighteenth century. It is recorded that in November, 1739, he preached from the court house balcony in Philadelphia to six thousand people, "who stood in awful silence." and a few days later he appeared in Burlington, on his way to New York. The following year, after a second visit to Georgia, he was again in West Jersey, preaching at Greenwich and Gloucester. Associated with Whitefield, for a time, was Rev. Gilbert Tennent, eldest son of Rev. William Tennent, founder of the famous "Log College," predecessor of the college chartered in 1746 and now known as Princeton University. Wherever they appeared there was a wave of religious enthusiasm. It was at this time that Tennent preached his sermon, "Danger of the Uncovered Ministry," which was so abusive that it caused a split in the Presbyterian Church, creating what was long known as the "old school" and "new school."

Around Tennent, Whitefield, and others, there were thunders of religious controversy. Men were hated by one party and revered by another. Whitefield, who had been under the influence of Wesley in England, disagreed with the latter on doctrinal points and placed himself without the pale of any denomination, but Tennent remained within the Presbyterian fold and was long the pastor of a church in New Brunswick before going to Philadelphia.

In the wake of these revivals were shouts of the converted and cries of those who had not availed themselves of the opportunities presented by Whitefield and Tennent. We are told that "men dreamed and saw visions, after they had fallen upon the ground, so powerfully had they been moved by the preaching." Whitefield continued his itinerant ministry, crossing and recrossing the Atlantic. He preached at many places, and many times in New Jersey, and finally returned to England, where he died in 1769.

Whitefield's preaching prepared the way for the great Methodist Episcopal Church in America; it also furthered a plan, then under way, for a trained ministry. "Stripped of some of its doctrinal absurdities and all of its unfortunate quarrels, the Whitefield movement remains the most striking in the religious history of colonial times."

John Woolman, the Quaker, wrought on his father's plantation until 1741, and then became a bookkeeper and clerk in Mount Holly. Next he learned the tailoring trade and later on opened a school for poor, neglected

children, in conformity with his oft-expressed sentiment: "It is a lovely sight to behold innocent children," adding, "to labor for their help against that which would mar the beauty of their minds is a debt we owe them." At twenty-three he entered upon his career as a missionary and preacher, traveling first through East Jersey. After a tour through Virginia he was constrained to minister to the Indians on the frontier of Pennsylvania. Next we find him renewing his work in West Jersey, and in 1772 he embarked for England, where in March of that year he died of small-pox while traveling afoot to York.

The religious strength of the various denominations is indicated by a canvass made in 1765, with the following result:

The Presbyterians had 41 churches in East Jersey and 14 in West Jersey, chiefly in Gloucester, Salem, Cumberland and Cape May counties; Society of Friends in East Jersey, 7, West Jersey, 31; Episcopalians in East Jersey, 12, West Jersey, 9; Baptists in East Jersey, 10, West Jersey, 9; Seventh Day Baptists in East Jersey, 1, West Jersey, 1; Dutch Reformed in East Jersey, 15, West Jersey, 6; Lutherans in East Jersey, 3, West Jersey, 3; German Presbyterians in West Jersey, 1; Swedish and Moravians, one of each in West Jersey.

We get a glimpse of the morality and religion of West Jersey, a year or two before the Revolution, in the diary of a certain Dr. Alexander Hamilton, who lived in Annapolis, Maryland, and who journeyed to Boston in 1774. The itinerary of his travels was afterwards presented to an Italian of distinction, who took it to Italy, where it lay apparently lost for nearly one hundred and fifty years. A citizen of Pennsylvania, visiting in Italy a few years ago, was shown this old diary, from which he made this extract:

In July, 1774, I took a horse about five in the afternoon, crossed the ferry of the Delaware about seven o'clock and later arrived at Trenton. I put up at one Elijah Bond's, at the Sign of the Wheat Sheaf. Two gentlemen of the town came there and invited me into their company. One was named Cadwallis (evidently a mistake for Dr. David Cadwallader), a doctor in the place and as I understood, a fallen-off Quaker. He gave me the character of the constitution and government. The House of Assembly, he told me, was chiefly composed of mechanics and ignorant wretches, obstinate to the last degree. He said there were a number of proprietors in the government and a multitude of Quakers. The people are chiefly Presbyterians and Quakers, and there are so many proprietors that share the lands in the Jerseys and so many doubtful titles and rights that it creates an inexhaustible and profitable pool for the lawyers.

The churches or meeting houses, in colonial days, were all plain but substantial buildings. Little or no attention was paid to adornment. All had benches without cushions and were fireless in winter. The meeting houses were usually erected at points convenient to a farming community, and every church was amply provided with sheds for the horses. Services were conducted with the greatest decorum, although both before and after the sermon, which was usually doctrinal, the congregation assembled outside or in the entrance hall to discuss matters of interest to themselves and their neighbors, often "crops," hog killings, etc.

Whatever may have been the differences as to faith or form of government, there was, with one exception (Episcopalian) an indifferent feeling toward music. In imitation of John Knox, who had called the pipe organ a "kist full of whistles," the Calvinists and Quakers would not tolerate a musical instrument of any kind in the church.

Moral Codes and Social Customs—Throughout the province of New Jersey the character of the settlements indicated nationality. Emigrants from different countries settled in distinct bodies, where their peculiar na-

tional manners and customs were preserved. The Swedes appear to have been less tenacious of these than the Dutch. They copied, at an early date, the manners of the English. Eventually, one of their principal churches, at Swedesboro, originally Lutheran, was taken over by the Episcopalians. The inhabitants of South Jersey—English Quakers, Scotch Presbyterians, Dutch Calvinists, and Swedish Lutherans—during the colonial period were assimilated by habits of industry and frugality. These conditions tended toward tranquility among the people, a tranquility that was not disturbed until the venom and hatred of Whigs and Tories estranged families and friends and disrupted the social structure in revolutionary days.

At a later period the social lines in South Jersey, as in other parts of the State, were sharply defined. In the lower section, members of the Society of Friends, with their large plantation interests, formed a dignified landed aristocracy, analogous to that of East Jersey, represented by the descendants of the early Dutch settlers. In both sections these "first families of New Jersey" retained their ancestral homes. They were what one writer termed the "country gentry of post-revolutionary days." Another group was composed of small farmers, store keepers and artisans, and below these were the mechanics, day laborers, and trade apprentices. Slaves and half-breed Indians were at the base of the social structure. The opportunities to acquire vast wealth by forestalling and profiteering did not exist; patrimonies were usually as slowly dissipated as they were accumulated. Social life among the men was limited to polite intercourse at their several homes or at taverns, since there were no clubs, if we except the Society of the Cincinnati, whose membership was confined to those who had been officers in the Continental army or their descendants.

Every election was bitterly contested and every man of prominence was called upon to declare his sentiments. It was the time of feasting and drinking. Town meetings and other public occasions afforded an opportunity for free speech combined with generous eating and hearty potations. The successful candidate was dined and wined.

Quilting parties were pleasing diversions for the women, while for both men and women, in the country, there was the hog killing and the barn raising—sometimes the framing of a new church. These gatherings meant hard cider for the men, with pumpkin pie, mince pie, cakes and preserves in abundance for everybody. Quilting parties were the antecedents of our present-day women's clubs. One object of these parties was to give the women of the countryside an opportunity to talk and exchange gossip. Still, there was always a big pile of finished quilts to show for the day's activities.

The quilting frames consisted of four boards about twelve feet long, one inch thick and four inches wide, with holes about six inches apart, into which could be fitted wooden pegs. On starting the quilt, the four corners of the frame were rested on the tops of chairs, to which the figured quilt covering was attached, facedown. Then rolls of cotton were laid over the covering. The under covering was then placed over the cotton and the women worked on each side of the frame, sewing on the rosettes that held the three layers together. As the work progressed the wooden pegs were set further in until those working from the two sides met in the center. The quilt was then finished.

Meanwhile, as the women sewed they talked about everything of moment, but the big event of the day was the dinner. The visitors all brought something to be added to that of the hostess. After dinner they sewed until

near sunset. There never has been and never will be a more delightful pastime for the women of the countryside than the old time quilting party.

To provide for such family necessities as were not produced on the farm, the men folk, of course, had to sell farm products and to do this they had to make weekly or semi-weekly trips to the city. Market wagons were continually seen on roads leading to the ferries at Gloucester, Kaighn's Point, Federal Street, Market Street and Cooper's Point, Camden. Sometimes the market wagons crossed from Burlington to Bristol. Trips of this kind meant a stopping place over night in Philadelphia. One of these was known as the Khouli Khan, a very popular house at the northeast corner of Chestnut and Front streets. It was patronized chiefly by people from New Jersey and Delaware, whose inhabitants eventually disagreed on the subject of slavery. To avoid each other both parties deserted the place, which naturally left the proprietor without a paying business. He therefore moved out and opened a new restaurant on South Penn Square, near the site of the present City Hall, Philadelphia. Here his business languished for a while and then the Khouli Khan passed out of existence.

At the corner of Delaware Avenue and Market Street was a hotel for the accommodation of South Jerseymen. It was long known as the Ridgeway House and got its name from a family once well known in Little Egg Harbor, one of whom attained distinction and affluence and founded the Ridgeway Library in Philadelphia. In ante-bellum days, at the Ridgeway House, Jersey farmers got a night's lodging and a breakfast—the two for twenty-five cents. The bed-rooms were large and airy, and each room contained a number of beds—some as many as a dozen. The farmers disposed off their coats, trousers, and vests by folding and placing them under their pillows for safety. Another similar hotel on the river front was at the corner of Arch Street, known as the Arch Street House. This was the resort of oystermen and coast-wise sea captains. At both of these houses there was always plenty of intoxicants, which Jerseymen were accustomed to call "licker." They made a distinction between "licker" and "booze"—a distinction without a difference. One was taken from a bottle and swallowed in front of the bar, while the other was carried around in a hip pocket flask.

Previous to the introduction of the word "booze," the flask was in common use. Indeed, fancy pocket flasks came into popularity early in the nineteenth century. Some bore the American eagle, some ornamented with the head of Washington and some with the head of Taylor. In 1840 log cabin designs in dark brown and green came into use. These were popular during the hard cider campaign and were made by the Whitney Glass Works, of Glassboro, for a Philadelphia distiller named E. C. Booz. "Booz" flasks were soon known as "booze" bottles, and the word, thus popularized, was in common use until July, 1918, when it was supplanted by a new word, "hootch," coined when intoxicants came under the ban of prohibition.³

In the "hard cider" campaign of 1840, the Whigs, for some reason, had neglected to provide their candidate with a platform, other than the slogan, "Hero of Tippecanoe," but his opponents obligingly supplied him with something infinitely better than a platform. In a Baltimore newspaper, a sneering reference to Harrison, as a man who would be perfectly content to live in a log cabin and drink hard cider, was eagerly snapped up by the Whig cam-

³ Thomas Whitney Synnot, of Wenonah, nephew of Hon. Thomas Heston Whitney, one-time head of the Whitney Glass Works, says the Booz distillery was at No. 120 Walnut Street, Philadelphia. He adds: "I remember the Booz bottle very well. It was made in the shape of a log cabin (an oblong square with a sloping roof) and the neck was in the centre, representing the chimney."

paign leaders, who saw in it just what they needed—a slogan that would appeal to the common people. Van Buren, a candidate for re-election, had been severely criticized for his aristocratic ways and his extravagant mode of living in the White House. Speeches had been made in Congress, denouncing him for dining off silver and gold plate and for drinking imported wines. Accordingly, the log cabin and barrel of hard cider were seized upon by the Whigs as typefying the simple life for which their candidate stood. Log cabins and cider barrels became the principal features of the campaign. They were carried in parades, emblazoned on badges and pictured in campaign literature. Songs were written and sung by the enthusiastic Whigs. One collection of songs used in South Jersey was the product of a rhymester named John Leadbeater, whose book of poems, hymns, and songs was afterwards published by Henry Curts, a Camden printer.

In South Jersey the principal Whig speakers were Thomas Jones Yorke, of Salem, Charles C. Stratton, and Thomas H. Whitney, of Gloucester, and James G. Hampton, of Cumberland. One of the songs of the Whig paraders was:

Let Van from his coolers of silver drink wine
 And lounge on his cushioned settee;
 Our man on his buckeye bench can recline—
 Content with hard cider is he.
 Then a shout for each freeman, a shout for each State,
 To the plain, honest husbandman true,
 And this be our motto, the motto of fate,
 Hurrah for old Tippecanoe!

Another, sung to the tune of "Old Lang Syne," was:

No ruffled shirt, no silken hose,
 No airs does Tip display;
 But like "the pith of worth" he goes
 In homespun "hodin-gray."
 Upon his board there ne'er appeared
 The costly, sparkling wine,
 But plain hard cider such as cheered,
 In days of old lang syne.

With such appeals there could be but one result. Van Buren was completely "snowed under," or, as some of the Whigs declared, "drowned in a flood of hard cider."

The city bred-and-born woman of South Jersey, in the days of "old Tippecanoe and Tyler too," had plenty to keep her busy. Even if she did not always do her own cooking, she at least knew how to see that it was done properly by others. She had another accomplishment, too—one that has been surreptitiously acquired lately by anti-prohibitionists. She knew how to make grape and currant wine, various cordials, spice brandy, cherry bounce, peach brandy, and other delectable beverages.

They had their problems of etiquette, too, in the forties, also their books on social behavior. One of these manuals, discussing the use of finger bowls, advises its readers to "omit the disgusting and foreign fashion of taking water into your mouth, rinsing and gurgling it around, and then spitting it back into the glass." In another place the same writer advises the rising generation of elegants to remember that "in polished society it is inelegant for gentlemen to blow their noses with the fingers, especially when in the street—a practice infinitely more common than refined."⁴

⁴ Finger bowl gargling went out of fashion so long ago that no one now alive remembers ever seeing it done, and as for nose-blow with the fingers—that was tabooed in South Jersey more than a generation ago.

The polka and waltz were danced in the forties and fifties, though not with the approval of writers on social deportment. One writer of that period declared:

The waltz is a dance of quite too loose a character, and unmarried ladies should refrain from it altogether, both in public and private. Very young married ladies, however, may be allowed to waltz in private balls, if with persons of their acquaintance. Concerning the polka, a well-to-do, but pious resident of Bridgeton, after a week at Saratoga Springs, wrote: "I must say that the indecency of the polka, as danced at Saratoga, stands out in bold relief from anything I have ever witnessed among the refined and cultivated people of Philadelphia. I have not been in London or Paris, but from what I have been told I would say that the polka is worse than the disgraceful exhibitions of the lowest haunts in those cities."

One cannot help wondering what this dignified South Jersey guardian of public morals would have said could she have witnessed the young men and maidens at Atlantic City treading the chaste measures of present-day jazz.

Social life among the men found its freest expression at the county seats, especially while the courts were in session. Associate justices of the Supreme Court and lawyers on circuit, leading men of the community, ambitious politicians, post-riders, stage-coachmen, and suitors at court put up at the tavern and passed much of their time near the tap room. Outside the tap room were slaves, apprentices, and the town rabble. Day and night there was noise and bustle, with late arrivals and early departures, always by stagecoach, private conveyance or astride a horse.

The standard of living at that time embraced fewer creature comforts than at a later date. Nowhere in America, until the forties, was there anything approaching a modern cookstove. Coal was a curiosity in the country, though not uncommon in the cities. The improved Franklin or open-oven stove was still in use and closed-oven stoves were a rarity. In country districts, previous to 1850, the cooking was done, for the most part, with wood or charcoal, over an open fire. Canned vegetables were of course unknown and ice houses were infrequent. Water was drawn from wells and tallow dips or wax candles constituted the only illuminant, until superceded by lard-oil lamps.

In families where religious prejudice against dancing was not enforced, the girls were permitted to dance at home or at the assemblies. Though usually an atrocious speller, the young woman of post-revolutionary days was an omnivorous reader, particularly of bombastic novels from England. She was heartily affectionate and flirted with first one flame then another, though she ultimately settled down to a quiescent matrimonial life and usually became the mother of four to six home-loving children.

Horse racing was popular, even among the staid Quakers, long before and long after the Revolution. Indeed, Burlington, Gloucester, and Salem, the three "Quaker counties" of South Jersey, were famous for their strains of racing stock, and the newspapers frequently advertised this or that "blooded horse," always "got" by such and such a racer, who would be "at" this or that place on such and such a date. Thus, we find Samuel Shreve advertising "Liberty," who would be at his place in Deptford, "within sight of the great road leading from Cooper's Ferry to Salem, near Mantua Creek Bridge." On another occasion "Whynot" was "at" the plantation of Whitten Cripps, one mile from Salem. Likewise, David Henry, of Salem, advertised "Colossus," who was "fleet and gay under the saddle, with great spirit and ease to the rider."

Horse trading was common, not only in New Jersey, but in the other provinces. Washington himself was not above driving a sharp bargain in horse flesh. There is an authentic record that he was once arrested in Fredericksburg for trading horses on Sunday in close proximity to a house of worship. As a young man he frequently rode over from Williamsburg astride a favorite horse. The occasion of these visits may be surmised from an account by the historian of Fredericksburg. Washington said he "wasn't coming to Fredericksburg any more because the gentlemen at the Rising Sun Tavern were too smart for him and he always lost money." Nevertheless the cleverness of these Virginians must have left a favorable impression on the mind of the young surveyor and gamester, for in after years five of them including the tavern keeper and the tavern keeper's brother-in-law, became generals in the Revolutionary army. Washington's boyhood home town and the adjacent country furnished more generals and colonels during the Revolution than any other State, with possibly one exception.

The Jerseymen of Washington's day were not more given to conviviality than the Virginians, nor was Washington a contemner of intoxication. He contracted with his gardner, Philip Baxter, at a certain wage, with an extra allowance of "four dollars at Christmas, with which to be drunk four days and four nights, two dollars at Easter, to effect the same purpose, and two dollars at Whitsuntide, to be drunk for two days." In addition, Baxter was allowed "a dram in the morning and a drink of grog at noon during each day of the year." It is even said that the extra allowance at Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide was stipulated with the expectation that Baxter would be in condition to demand his daily wage at those seasons.⁶

In the post-Revolutionary period election and training day fights, combining tests of strength with personal antagonism, were held in the stable yards of South Jersey taverns, where eye gouging and chewing of ears were allowable under the rough and ready "rules" governing such affairs.

Another form of entertainment (if such it be), and which reached all classes, even until Civil War days, was a morbid desire to attend funerals. Riders were sent out with notices of the death, with particular attention to the day and hour of interment. The notices were usually written, unless a printing office was convenient. With the introduction of envelopes, the announcements became more formal. The printed folder showed a heavy black line above and below the printed lines.⁶ To provide for the proper entertainment of those who came from near and far, a few of the housewives remained after the long string of carriages and buggies had started for the church graveyard or the private burying ground. These stay-at-homes prepared the dinner, which usually occupied a full hour after the return from the place of interment. Dinner was followed by conferences

⁶ The historian adds: "I do not claim to be telling anything particularly new. Some at least of these little incidents have been published before and are now tucked away in musty libraries where only the diligently curious ever see them. I am merely reminding you that George Washington was a human being. One of our most cherished possessions is a punch bowl from which he partook too freely. We know he got into a rage over an election matter and without provocation said harsh things to one W. Payne, still remembered as "Captain Pepper," because of his easily aroused ire. Washington was knocked down and afterward so fully realized his error that he sent for Mr. Payne and greeted him with an apology, with "wine and glasses, instead of the expected invitation to the field of honor."

⁶ The first envelope of which there is any knowledge enclosed a letter sent in 1697 by Sir William Turnbull to Sir James Ogilvie. The epistle dealt with English affairs of state and, with its covering, is carefully preserved in the British Museum. At that period, and long afterward, it was the general custom to fold letters and seal them with wafers of wax. Early in the last century envelopes began to come into use. Stamped adhesive envelopes were popular in England shortly after the establishment of penny posts in 1840, and by 1850 were largely used in the United States. The first machine for the manufacture of envelopes was patented in 1844 by George Wilson, an Englishman, and improvements were made the following year by Warren De La Rue and E. Hill.

and commiserations indoors or about the premises. Some of the mourners waited to hear the will read—if the deceased happened to be the head of a family.⁷

Such was the routine life of those who were living in South Jersey between 1800 and 1850, even as late as 1860. There were, of course, the training days, the hog killings and the husking bees, although these were rather more dominant features of country life during the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

The rigidity of church discipline was a powerful restraint upon evil doing and dissipation. No one dare question the declarations of the pulpit with regard to amusements. As time wore on, the Society of Friends, the young but rapidly growing Methodist Episcopal connection, the Presbyterian and Baptist denominations—the leaders of these sects came out boldly in opposition to things that had been tolerated in years gone by. They opposed dancing and denounced lotteries, the latter once employed as a means to an end, which end may have been the building of a manse, a meeting or school house, a rectory or a parsonage.⁸ Excessive drink came under the ban of the churches about the same time, and card playing, which led to greater evils, was forbidden in all of the so-called “well-regulated families.”

At a later period, even within the lifetime of those whose looks belie the three-score-and-ten, there was a relaxing of the cords that held young men and women within prescribed rules of conduct. The result was seen in closer home ties, less intemperance, and greater social purity. The ideal home was that which was common in South Jersey in the forties and fifties. Indeed, many such homes existed during the sixties.

The religious life and social customs of that period were quite unlike those of the present day. It was the time of four-posters and feather beds, the closed parlor and the ever-present family album, the quilting parties, the barn dances and the corn huskings. These things, once common in America, are now unknown. In their stead, we have the telephone, the automobile, the moving pictures, and the radio.

In many homes, it is true, there was an absence of present-day “refinements.” The old-time spirit of do-as-you-please is illustrated by a story once told by President Roosevelt to his friend “Archie” Butt. He was speaking of changes at the White House following his retirement from office on March 4, 1909. Said he:

I don't believe in judging people by the way the White House looks, has looked, or will look after we move out. What a poor showing old Zack Taylor would have made, measured by our present standard of refinement. When he died the Filmores had to have the house disinfected in order to make it habitable, and yet Taylor stands out to me as one of our great presidents, and Filmore a pompous old nonentity. I can understand Taylor, when he came to the White House, spreading matting all over the

⁷ The early Dutch settlers in New Jersey included distilled and fomented liquors (apple jack, rum, wine and beer) among the requisites at a funeral, as is evidenced by an itemized account of the expenses of a burial in Bergen County in 1690:

Coffin and spirits	25 Guilders 10 St.
One-half keg of beer	15 Guilders 16 St.
Flour and milk	6 Guilders 5 St.
Aanspreker (burial official).....	19 Guilders 10 St.
Carting the goods and sundries	18 Guilders 5 St.

—
\$5 6

⁸ Lotteries were not outlawed in New Jersey until long afterward. What was long known as the William Disston cottage (son of the founder of Disston's saw works, Philadelphia), at the corner of Pacific and Indiana avenues, Atlantic City, was sold in 1904 to Clark Merchant, of Philadelphia, for \$40,000. This property once owned by Jacob Freas, was disposed of by lottery in 1866. It was won by William Wetherill, whose winning ticket cost him \$5. About three hundred tickets were issued, at \$5 each. The lottery was conducted by the Atlantic City Cottagers' Association, of which Charles C. Freas was president.

carpets, so that he could spit where he chose, without hunting for cuspidors. That had been his habit. He did not like to change and thereby divert his thoughts from the great things in life. I can imagine nothing more disconcerting than to have to look for cuspidors if one has the habit of spitting. I won't have one in the White House, but for reasons entirely different from those which prompted Taylor to do without them. They are repulsive to us, but for a different reason. If the Tafts want footmen, let them have them. They like the gilt and gold that goes with hotel life. Therefore, when we are out and they are in, they will want footmen. Even my sister, Mrs. Cowles, whose taste as a rule is excellent, did all she could to have us employ English butlers and English footmen. She insisted that this was our chance to metamorphose the White House. We metamorphosed it, but not in that way.

If we could look into a well ordered country home of the earlier day—1840 to 1860—we would see the family seated at the breakfast table. Morning prayer or grace is said by the father. All the little heads are bowed and the father's hand is upraised as he repeats familiar phrases which linger through the disappearing years in the minds of many Americans whose heads are now whitened. Usually the prayer ended with "give us this day our daily bread." When the day's work was done, the father was always at home with his family. At the supper table he gave thanks for the blessings of the day.

The gray heads of today, especially if "brought up" in the country, have only delightful memories of steaks cooked country style, chicken fried in crumbs of bread kneaded and baked by "mother," the home-made biscuits, the pancakes, the country sausage and chitlings, the home-grown sweet potatoes and the home-made cracklings, the mince pies, pumpkin pies, apple sauce and dumplings!

Generations of the best Jerseymen were reared in such homes. They had none of the things now counted as comforts, but they had the joy of a simple life that is now unknown. Upstairs there was, as stated, the four-poster bed, often unvarnished. Instead of modern wire springs, the beds had "springs" of rope, each strand fastened through holes or pegs at the sides and ends of the bed. On this spring there was a big, fluffy feather bed, sometimes two, and after toil, on a winter day, there was no place so delightful as a feather bed in a South Jersey home.

Of course, there was the church supper, of which a recent writer says:

Church eating indicates a moral downfall of the churches. It is not necessary to make use of chicken dinners, oyster suppers, etc., as a bait for those whom we wish to entice into church. Put out the fire in the cook stove and start it in the pulpit.

To this, another churchman has replied, neatly:

There may not be any religion in a piece of home-broiled chicken, or in a steaming pan of scalloped potatoes, or in a section of delicate, flaky apple pie, or in the fifteen varieties of pickles, jams, preserves and relishes that were forced upon us by sweet-faced old ladies or plump, rosy-cheeked matrons, but you got something out of a church supper other than a full stomach. It made you want to pay the preacher's salary. Certainly, as a boy on Hallowe'en night it did not make me feel like stealing the gate in front of the old lady who was so solicitous for my welfare. I haven't attended a church supper for many years, but I can testify that twenty years ago, in a small town, it represented the height of the culinary art. Possibly the church supper is not the proper way of attracting people to city churches, but unless the small town has changed since I was a boy, I would be inclined to favor, with enthusiasm, the maintenance of this great American institution in all its epicurean glory.

Time was when, if the housewife was industrious—and most of them were—every home had its assortment of colored rag rugs on the floor, all made at home. There were many other evidences of a woman's handiwork. The quilts or comforters comprised hundreds of scraps, tiny pieces saved

from dresses and shirts, and assembled in a motley fashion. Others were worked into definite patterns and colors. Some of these now hang as treasured fabrics in city museums. They belonged to the age of the pillow sham elaborately worked in colored embroidery, often with an invocation from the Bible. The finest were kept for the "company" bed.⁹

Then he asks: If we could go poking about in the shadows of those old homes, a score of familiar objects would be brought to view. In some, the parlor was unopened for months, but always there was the ingrain or rag carpet on the floor—or perhaps a medallion brussels—with a table in the centre. The table cover had a fringe, and on top of this was the family Bible, supported by the family album.

Fireplaces in the days of yore were not all spacious. Some of them were only big enough for a small stick, but all of them engendered dreams. The boy who has not looked into one of those big fireplaces has missed one of the sweetest reveries of youth.¹⁰

The fall brought barn dances, with pumpkin pie, new cider, and a game supper. The biggest barn in the community was cleared of the farming implements, the floor scrubbed and sanded. Then the great night came. Young people would drive twenty-five miles to attend.

When the buggies began to arrive there was a great commotion of neighing horses, laughing young folk, salutations heartily exchanged and a general merry-making. Then everybody who could get into the barn would crowd through the doors and the fiddler took his place. Often his fiddle had wire strings and gave forth strange wails.

It was amusing to watch a master fiddler of the old school in action. He was an authority on the dance and "called" all the figures as he played. He kept time with one foot, sawed away for dear life with both hands and wagged his head in unison. For the most part he had a shrill voice and "called" "swing your partners" with a true autocrat's bearing.

The dancing was continued into the small hours of the morning, and when the couples began to leave for home they would step out into the frosty air, maybe with a silver moon breaking through the clouds. Then off they would go, the horses keen for the drive after hours in the cold, while their masters occupied the barn. And such drives! Many a grandmother of today returned home with a new ring on her finger.

CHAPTER XXV.

FEDERALISM AND THE STATES' RIGHTS OF DEMOCRACY.

Division of opinion at the Constitutional Convention in 1787 led to the formation of political parties. This division took definite form before the inauguration of Washington in 1789. In New Jersey, as elsewhere, there were sharply drawn lines of demarkation. In spite of the intense conser-

⁹The people of this country were at that time just beginning to feel the restrictions and the high overhead expense of living in cities. Since then city life, and in fact all life, has become much more complicated and expensive. Thoreau mentions the cost of a house in his day as "perhaps eight hundred dollars." "To lay up this sum," he says, "will take from ten to fifteen years of the laborer's life, even if he is not encumbered with a family—estimating the pecuniary value of every man's labor at one dollar a day—so that he must spend more than half his life before his wigwam will be earned." Then he asks: "Would the savage have been wise to exchange his wigwam for a palace on these terms?"

¹⁰The six-plate box stove was first made in Marlboro, Virginia, some time between 1752 and 1760. This was followed by the nine-plate "James" stove, and next in succession was the "Conont" stove, introduced in 1819. It had an oven directly over the fire pot, with doors at both ends. The "Woolson" stove, made at Claremont, New Jersey, with a side oven, came into use between 1810 and 1820. Two improved cook stoves were patented by P. P. Stewart in 1828 and 1850. The first had a fire box hung in the upper part of the oven. The second was a large oven stove, with a shut flue underneath.

vatism of South Jersey, led by the Quakers, who were Federalists almost to a man, there was a considerable anti-Federalist sentiment throughout the State. The "antis" were spurred by a virulent press and the democratic tendency of the Methodist Episcopal Church, then young, but soon to become the dominant religion in South Jersey. In East Jersey, among the Calvinists, there was also a considerable anti-Federalist sentiment.

A few years later these conditions brought about the election of Thomas Jefferson as President, followed by the choice of Joseph Bloomfield, anti-Federalist, as Governor, in 1801. The latter was a Presbyterian. At the beginning of the Revolution he was living in Cohansie, Cumberland County, and is described by Judge L. Q. C. Elmer as an "eminent counsellor," residing at Bridgeton. Apparently, at the time of the Greenwich "tea party," in 1774, his home was at Cohansie. A year later, in the "Pennsylvania Packet" of July 24, 1775, he is listed among those whose mail was awaiting delivery at the Philadelphia post office. His place of residence is given as Cohansie, and not Cohansy Bridge, the original name of Bridgeton. In the same list is the name of Maskell Ewing, of Greenwich, ancestor of the family of that name which afterwards attained distinction in Ohio, and whose most distinguished member was Hon. Thomas Ewing, one-time United States Senator.¹

At the Constitutional Convention the extreme anti-Federalists had expressed themselves as in favor of a continuation of the confederation as it existed, following the Revolution. They wished to leave to the future an adjustment of existing problems of government. Between the two extremes lay a conservative element—men who desired a republican form of government subject to revision in case the experiment proved unsuccessful.

In New Jersey, as stated, the Federal spirit was dominant, largely because the State was conservative and accustomed to the centralization of power. Men of prominence swayed public opinion. First and foremost among these was William Livingston, fourteen years governor of the State, (1776 to 1790) including the trying days of the Revolution, John Witherspoon, of Princeton, and Francis Hopkinson, of Bordentown, both signers of the Declaration of Independence. Dr. Jonathan Elmer and Dr. Ebenezer Elmer, of Bridgeton, Richard Howell, scion of a well-known Cumberland County family of that name, and Chief Justice Kinsey, a native of Burlington. Livingston died in 1790, and Hopkinson a year later. The former, in 1783, was opposed for Governor by John Cooper, of Gloucester County, who headed a West Jersey opposition. Nevertheless, when the joint meeting proceeded to the election that year, Cooper received only one vote.²

¹The habits of a well-to-do Presbyterian family in Cumberland County is seen in an interesting account of the Ewing family, in Cumberland County, about the middle of the eighteenth century. It is taken from the biography of Maskell Ewing, who married Mary Padgett in 1743. Of Mrs. Ewing we read: "She was a woman of plain manners, though lady-like and very sensible. She was remarkable for her powers as a housekeeper. With the exception of her husband's Sunday coat, which was the one that had served at his wedding and which lasted for a good part of his life, she had on hand the making of his and the children's garments from the flax and the wool. All the bedding and house linen must be made, and geese kept to find materials for beds; some thousand weight of cheese to be prepared annually for market; poultry and calves to be raised; gardening to be done; the work of butchering-time to be attended to; and this included the putting up of pork and salt meat to last the whole year, besides sausage for winter and the making of candles; herbs to be gathered and dried and ointments compounded; besides all the ordinary housework of washing, ironing, patching, darning, knitting, scrubbing, baking, cooking, and many other avocations which a farmer's wife now-a-days would be apt to think entirely out of her line. All of this without any help, other than that afforded by her own little daughters, as they became able—and for the first twenty-two years with a baby always to be nursed. This afforded no time for any reading but the best, but many a good book she contrived to read by laying it on her lap whilst her hands plied the knitting needles, or to hear read by the husband or one of the children while she and the rest spent the evening in sewing. On the Sabbath a folio Flavel, the institutes of Calvin, and above all the Bible, were the treasures in which her soul delighted."

At the outset there was no well-organized opposition to the Federalists. Men of prominence held aloof from an opposition party, recruited largely from those who in early life had been redemptioners, country store keepers or captains of sailing vessels. One figure, however, looms up prominent as a leader of the anti-Federalists—Abraham Clark, of Elizabeth, another signer of the Declaration of Independence. He was a forceful man, of arbitrary political will. He opposed Livingston for Governor in 1786, but like Cooper, failed of election in the joint meeting of the Legislature.

With the close of the first session of the second Congress, in 1793, came the actual organization of political parties. Under the leadership of Alexander Hamilton, whose cabinet quarrels with Jefferson filled the newspapers, the Federalist party was definitely organized. Once in existence, party spirit knew no bounds. No man contributed more, perhaps none as much, to the bitter partisanship of that period, as a Jerseyman of French extraction—Philip Freneau, of Monmouth County. He assailed bitterly every man of prominence in the Federal party, including Washington, Hamilton, and Adams.

Jefferson and his party of anti-Federalists employed Freneau to edit the "National Gazette," published by them as a rival newspaper to the "United States Gazette"—the Washington administration sheet published at Philadelphia. To a degree of mendacity and indecency that put partisan newspaper virulence to the blush, Freneau assailed every administrative measure not supported by Jefferson and incidentally outrageously impugned the motives and character of Washington. At the same time he was a paid

² Richard Howell of Cohansie, was one of those who destroyed the tea at Greenwich. He had been a major during the Revolution and had written the lines that were sung by matrons and girls as Washington approached the arch erected in his honor, at Trenton, on April 21, 1789:

Welcome, Mighty Chief, once more,
Welcome to this grateful shore!
Now no mercenary foe
Aims again the fatal blow—
Aims at thee the fatal blow.
Virgins fair and Matrons grave—
Those thy conquering arms did save—
Build for thee triumphal bowers,
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers—
Strew your hero's way with flowers!

The first four lines were sung by both matrons and young women, and the fifth line by the young women alone. The matrons sang the first part and the young women the last part of the sixth line; then both sang the next two lines, then the matrons the ninth line and the young women the tenth line.

Washington's horse paced slowly through the arch and as the last two lines of the ode were sung the pathway was strewn with flowers by the young women and little girls. Washington bowed in deep emotion and often referred to this event as one of the most charming incidents of his life.

The matrons taking part in this demonstration were: Susannah Armstrong, wife of Rev. James F. Armstrong; Mary Borden, widow of Capt. Jos. Borden, Jr.; Susannah Calhoun, wife of Alexander Calhoun; Elizabeth Chambers, wife of Alexander Chambers; Esther Cox, wife of Col. John Cox; Mary Dickinson, wife of Gen. Philemon Dickinson; Elizabeth Ewing, wife of James Ewing; Sarah Furman, wife of Moore Furman; Susanna Gordon, wife of Maj. Peter Gordon; Mary Hanna, wife of Rev. John Hanna; Sarah How, wife of Micajah How; Keziah B. Howell, wife of Gov. Rich'd Howell; Mary Hunt, wife of Abraham Hunt; Esther Lowrey, wife of Col. Thos. Lowrey; Sarah Milnor, wife of Joseph Milnor; Ann Richmond, wife of Jonathan Richmond; Mary Smith, wife of Col. Isaac Smith; Rachel Stevens, wife of Col. John Stevens; Annis Stockton, widow of Richard Stockton; Catherine Stockton, wife of Samuel Witham Stockton; Jane Tate, wife of Dr. James Tate; Grace Woodruff, daughter of Col. Thos. Lowrey.

With these matrons were thirteen young ladies who represented the several States. It is believed the following is a correct list: Eleanor Armstrong, daughter of Rev. Jas. F. Armstrong; Elizabeth Borden, daughter of Capt. Jos. Borden, Jr.; Elizabeth Cadwalader, daughter of Gen. John Cadwalader; Catherine Calhoun, daughter of Alexander Calhoun; Esther Cox, daughter of Col. John Cox; Mary Cox, daughter of Col. John Cox; Mary Dickinson, daughter of Gen. Phil. Dickinson; Maria Furman, daughter of Moore Furman; Mary C. Keen, daughter of Jacob Keen; Mary Lowrey, daughter of Col. Thos. Lowrey; Maria Meredith, daughter of Maj. Sam'l Meredith; Sarah Moore, daughter of Nathaniel Moore; Margaret Tate, daughter of Dr. James Tate. Sarah Moore afterwards became the second wife of Jonathan Hand, of Cape May Court House.

The six little girls who strewed the flowers before Washington were: Sarah Airy, daughter of Cornelius Airy; Jemima Broadhurst, daughter of Jos. Broadhurst; Sarah Collins, daughter of Isaac Collins; Sarah How, daughter of Micajah How; Sarah B. Howell, daughter of Maj. (Gov) Rich'd Howell; Elizabeth Milnor, daughter of Joseph Milnor.

servant of the Government, employed in Jefferson's department as a translating clerk.

Washington was deeply incensed at the course of this sheet and remonstrated with Jefferson, who denied having any agency in the matter. Nevertheless, in a letter to Madison, recounting the interview, Jefferson said the President "was sore and warm, and I took his intention to be that I should withdraw his (Freneau's) appointment of clerk in my office. But I will not do it!"

Hamilton came in for his share of drubbing by Freneau. His paper rejoined to one of Freneau's philippics and he by a scathing letter in the *Federalist*, in which he adverted to the fact that Freneau was paid a salary by the Government, and significantly inquired whether this *quid pro quo* was paid him "for translations or publications," adding that "in common life it was thought ungrateful for a man to bite the hand that feeds him."

On another occasion Hamilton referred to Freneau's "Gazette" as "devoted to the interests of a certain party of which Mr. Jefferson is the head, a newspaper instituted by a public officer and the editor of it regularly pensioned with the public money at the disposal of that officer."

Washington's neutrality policy of 1794 and the Genet controversy that ensued, stirred all the reserved venom in Freneau's nature, as expressed in a series of vicious diatribes that added greatly to the misunderstanding of the issue. He intensified the popular feeling against what was thought to be a breach of faith with France on the part of the administration, but with the popular reaction favorable to the latter, which soon set in, and the elimination of Genet as a disturbing element, together with Jefferson's resignation from the Cabinet, Freneau found himself discredited and his occupation gone.

So far as Freneau's partisanship in the neutrality controversy is concerned, it is undoubtedly explicable on the score of his French origin and his natural bias toward the Gallic side of the question. It cannot be truthfully said of him that he was mercenary. A hireling is the last thing to call a person who starts with deep-rooted principles, fights actively for them the greater part of his life, and dies at a ripe old age, venerated and respected, though not well-to-do; one who was the honored and loved friend of two such sterling patriots as Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, and whose home life was perfect.

Edmund Clarence Stedman, in a letter to the Daughters of the American Revolution, said, a few years ago: "If Washington was the father of his country, Freneau was the father of his country's literature." Several American writers have been praised in England, but Freneau was the first to be plagiarized. Not only did Walter Scott say that one of his songs was the finest of its kind in the language, but he and another English poet liked one of Freneau's lines so well that they used it in poems as their own. His reputation endures not as a political writer, but as a poet. One or two of his poems are undoubtedly worthy of distinction. He composed some high-sounding but meretricious verses after the inflated and bombastic style of the day, on the strength of which his biographer styled him "the poet of the Revolution." His graceful lyric "The Wild Honeysuckle," has been described as "the springtime of our literature." The poem first appeared in a collection of the author's prose and verse, published in Philadelphia in 1788, while the author himself was "wandering over gloomy seas." The second appearance was in "a new and complete edition" of the poems (cor-

rected by the author and printed on his private press at Monmouth, New Jersey) in 1795. Another revised edition of his poems was brought out by Freneau in New York in 1809, in which his lyric received its final touches of refinement. In a letter to Madison the poet says of this edition that he is trying to "have them published in a respectable manner and free as possible from the blemishes imputable to the two former editions." The text of the poem, as it appears in this edition, is as follows:

Fair flower that dost so comely grow,
 Hid in this silent, dull retreat,
 Untouched thy honied blossoms blow,
 Unseen thy little branches greet;
 No roving foot shall crush thee here,
 No busy hand provoke a tear.

By Nature's self in white arrayed,
 She bade thee shun the vulgar eye,
 And planted here the guardian shade,
 And sent soft waters murmuring by;
 Thus quietly thy Summer goes,
 Thy days declining to repose.

Smit with those charms, that must decay,
 I grieve to see your future doom;
 They died—nor were those flowers more gay,
 The flowers that did in Eden bloom;
 Unpyting frosts and autumn's power
 Shall leave no vestige of this flower.

From morning suns and evening dews
 At first thy little being came;
 If nothing once, you nothing lose,
 For when you die you are the same;
 The space between, is but an hour,
 The frail duration of a flower.

From 1790 to 1793 there had been no outward change of political sentiment in New Jersey. Although the death of Livingston had deprived the Federalists of their leader, another man was found to take his place in the person of William Paterson, who was elected governor without opposition for three successive years, or until he resigned to accept an appointment by Washington as a member of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Early in 1793 came the news that France had declared war against Great Britain and Holland. This crystalized a strong Republican sentiment, not only in New Jersey, but in other States, particularly in the South. The leveling tendencies of the French Revolution awakened the spirit of extreme republicanism and resulted in the formation of the Republican party, adherents of which were later known as Democratic-Republican. Out of this combination grew the Democratic party, headed by Andrew Jackson in 1829.

Following Richard Howell, in 1801, first native South Jerseyman to serve as Governor, came Joseph Bloomfield, also of Cumberland County, who had located in North Jersey after the Revolution. Bloomfield was a Democratic-Republican, as was his successor, John Lambert, acting Governor from 1802 to 1803.

Succeeding Governors from South Jersey were: Elias P. Seeley, of Cumberland County, (Whig) in 1833; Charles C. Stratton (Whig), of Gloucester, in 1845-48; George F. Fort (Democrat) in 1851-54; David O. Watkins (acting) Republican, in 1898-99; Edward C. Stokes (Republican), of Cumberland, in 1905-08; and Walter E. Edge (Republican), of Atlantic, in 1917-19.

Hostility to England was shown when Congress met in the latter part of 1793. The Republicans made numerous charges against the "Mother Country"—using that term derisively and effectively. Refusing to abandon her military posts or to pay for slaves carried away by her armies, in direct violation of the treaty of 1783, England was accused of inciting the Indians to attack her "children" on the northern frontier and of being instrumental in letting loose the Algerian pirates to prey upon American commerce. Nine years later, it was the fate of a native South Jerseyman, Commander Somers, of Somers' Point, to sacrifice his life in a desperate effort to subdue the pirates by destroying the harbor of Tripoli.

The "mother country" was also accused of impressing American seamen and of compelling corn ships bound for France to seek English ports, where they were seized, the captain and owners being tried before English courts. To adjust these differences the Federalists wished to create a navy and preserve a strict neutrality between England and France, while the Republicans wavered between a total prohibition of English trade and the establishment of discriminating duties.

In domestic affairs the Republicans favored a direct tax and advocated the passage of a constitutional amendment securing the States against suits in the United States courts. This was the beginning of the doctrine of States' Rights, for many years a popular political issue in the South, and not without many adherents in the North. In later years New Jersey Democrats, who dominated the Camden and Amboy Railroad, emphasized their belief in the doctrine by naming one of their ferry-boats "States Rights." It plied between Camden and Philadelphia many years before and long after the Civil War.³

The first judicial test of "States' Rights" came when the Supreme Court of the United States decided the famous Dartmouth College case. Daniel Webster was attorney for the college. His argument is recognized as not only one of the supreme legal efforts of his career, but also one of the greatest of all the arguments that have been heard in the country's highest court.

The basis of the proceeding was that the State of New Hampshire, by an act of the Legislature, sought to alter and amend the charter of the college without its consent, to the financial and educational disadvantage of the institution. Carried through the courts of New Hampshire, the case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, which was then composed of Chief Justice Marshall and Associate Justices Bushrod Washington, William Johnson, Brockholst Livingston, Thomas Todd, Gabriel Duvall, and Joseph Story, all of them men of great legal attainments.

The opinion, delivered by Chief Justice Marshall, was concurred in by four other judges, Justice Duvall being the only dissenter.⁴ Justice Marshall said:

³ The Century Dictionary defines the Federal party as one that believed in a "confederation or union of the States, deriving its power from the people of all, considered as an entirety, and not solely by and from each of the States separately." The Democratic party of today was first known as the anti-Federalist party—then it took the name of Republican, and about 1795 the hyphenated name of Democratic-Republican came into use. The shortened name, Democratic, found favor about 1810, but was not finally adopted until about 1829. A federal government is properly one in which the federal authority is independent of any of its component parts, and is distinguished from a confederate government, in which the States alone are sovereign and which possesses no inherent power. It is emphatically a government of States' Rights.

⁴ The Supreme Court, at that time, consisted of five jurists from States in which the doctrine of States' Rights was dominant, and two from the North, as follows: Chief Justice Marshall, of Virginia, who served during the years of 1801-35; Bushrod Washington, of Virginia, 1798-1829; William Johnson, of South Carolina, 1804-34; Henry Brockholst Livingston, of New York, 1807-23; Thomas Todd, of Kentucky, 1807-26; Gabriel Duvall, of Maryland, 1811-36; Joseph Story, of Massachusetts, 1811-45. Justice Duvall became deaf, and resigned eight years before his death in 1844. The others died in office.

This court can be insensible neither to the magnitude nor delicacy of this question. The validity of a legislative act is to be examined, and the opinion of the highest law tribunal of a State is to be reviewed.

On more than one occasion this court has expressed the cautious circumspection with which it approaches the consideration of such questions, and has declared that in no doubtful case would it pronounce a legislative act to be contrary to the Constitution.

But the American people have said, in the Constitution of the United States, that "no State shall pass any bill of attainder or ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts."

On the judges of this court, then, is imposed the high and solemn duty of protecting, from even legislative violation, those contracts which the Constitution of our country has placed beyond legislative control.

The Chief Justice concluded his opinion by saying that the act of the New Hampshire Legislature in altering a charter contract was null and void.⁵

The effort of the Republicans to bring about an amendment to the Constitution, securing the States against the United States in the matter of judicial interference, was followed by Jay's treaty with England. In spite of his failure to secure the rights of Americans on the high seas and in open ports, Jay's treaty was approved by Washington. This only served to intensify Republican opposition. They were furious and went so far as to charge Washington with treason. The hot heads threatened impeachment and assassination.

Although the Republicans failed to defeat Richard Howell for re-election as Governor of New Jersey, they had a formidable party leader in the next Congress in the person of Jonathan Dayton, who had previously moved to sequester all moneys due British creditors, and apply them towards indemnifying American ship owners for losses incurred. Dayton was brought forward for Speaker and was opposed by Frederick A. Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania. After a sharp contest Dayton was elected. Quarreling with the President over the Jay treaty, the inevitable result was disgust on the part of Washington and a determination to retire to private life. Following his retirement, party lines were even more sharply defined and party spirit was as bitter as at any period in the history of the United States.

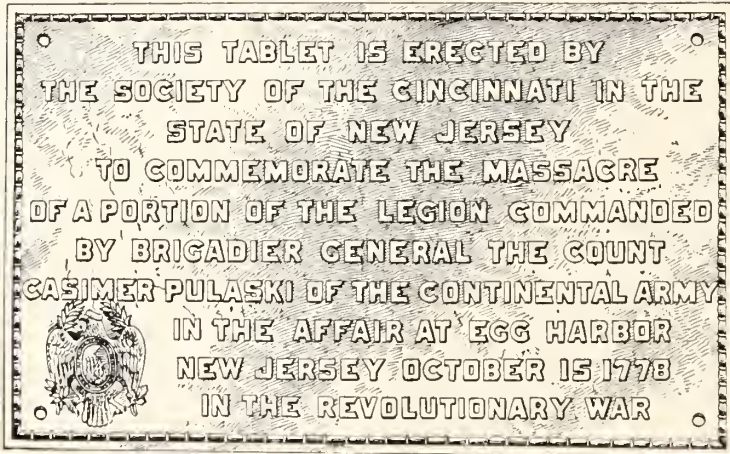
About this time the Republicans proceeded to get an expression of opinion from the legislatures of two States in which their party was strongly entrenched. Under the leadership of Madison and Jefferson—one in Virginia and the other in Kentucky—certain resolutions were adopted by those States. Madison had the able assistance of his wife, the beautiful Dolly Payne (Todd) Madison, a whilom Haddonfield belle, who, after her marriage to the future President, became the first and foremost woman politician in Washington.⁶

⁵ Another decision, involving the doctrine of "States' Rights," and one of particular interest to South Jerseymen, came before the Supreme Court at Washington in 1812. In the neighborhood of Indian Mills, Burlington County, is a tract of land which was set aside by an act of the Legislature in 1758 for the exclusive use of the Indians of New Jersey, at the same time stipulating that "the lands to be purchased for the Indians shall not hereafter be subject to any tax, any law, usage or custom to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding." The circumstances surrounding this decision are recited in a preceding chapter.

⁶ The old tavern in Haddonfield, where the Legislature met for a time during the Revolution and where the Council of Safety held its sessions, is closely associated with a woman distinguished in American history. Soon after the war was over and before the colonies entered into the federal compact, this tavern was kept by Hugh Creighton. A frequent visitor at the tavern at that time, as a guest of the Creightons, was a young lady whose home was in Philadelphia. Her name before marriage was Dorothy Payne, a daughter of John Payne. She was born in 1772, her parents being at that time residents of Virginia. Her father had served as a captain in the American army, but being drawn toward the Quakers he connected himself with that society. In this course he was influenced by the publications of John Woolman, the Burlington County Quaker, who died in the year Payne's daughter was born. The former captain, in 1786, sold his estate in Virginia and removed with his negroes to Philadelphia, where they were given their freedom. Dorothy was brought up as a Quakeress and in 1791 married John Todd, a wealthy young lawyer of Philadelphia, also a Quaker. He died in 1793, of yellow fever, leaving his widow with two children, one an infant in arms. After the death of her husband she aban-



COUNT CASIMIR PULASKI.



Memorial Tablet erected on the site of the Massacre by the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of New Jersey.

The resolutions of Virginia and Kentucky declared that the constitution was a compact by which the States had surrendered only a limited portion of their powers; that when the Federal government stepped beyond its delegated authority, it was the right and duty of the States to interpose, and maintain the rights which they had reserved to themselves; that the alien and sedition laws were a usurpation of power by the Federal government, and that such laws were unconstitutional. Kentucky resolved that the States were one party to a compact and the Federal government the other, and that each party must be the judge of infractions and the manner of redress.

A vain appeal to New Jersey and other States to adopt these or similar resolutions was followed by their repeal in Kentucky the following year, in opposition to the wishes of Jefferson, who had advised that "any State might rightfully nullify and declare void any act of Congress which it might declare unconstitutional." This was a concise statement of the later doctrine of South Carolina in her nullification fiasco of 1832, and the seceding resolutions of the South in 1860-61.

CHAPTER XXVI.

EXPLOITS AND MASSACRES—RED BANK AND TUCKERTON.

When the British entered Philadelphia, in the latter part of 1777, they found the city in great disorder. The streets were unkept and public property neglected. Homes had been abandoned, on the approach of the enemy, and the Quaker element, representing about one-fifth of the thirty thousand inhabitants, was distressed over the removal of influential members of the society to Virginia. This had been done on the order of Congress, as a matter of safety, suspicion having been directed against them on account of correspondence discovered in New Jersey, and an "address" of the Philadelphia meeting, which was regarded as treasonable.

The enemy troops began pillaging and burning property of both Whigs and Tories. In the suburbs, provisions and supplies were taken from the farmers by raiding parties of both armies. Secret trade was conducted with the Tories in Philadelphia, while all intercourse with New Jersey was prohibited after January 15, 1778, except by the "new" and "old" ferries, which were guarded by British troops. Between Burlington and Bridgeton, during the British occupation, there was an almost continuous raid by enemy troops,

done the faith of her parents and husband, laid aside her plain dress, entered fashionable society and was soon known as the "fascinating young widow." Her presence in Haddonfield before marriage and during her widowhood attracted country beaux, more than one of whom, even in their old age, confessed their inability to resist her charms. Their out-door parties in summer time and quilting parties during the winter always found her a welcome guest. In Philadelphia, especially during the sessions of Congress, she was conspicuous among those who contributed to the gayeties of the capital city. Among the delegates to Congress was James Madison, a young lawyer from Virginia. He was introduced to Dolly Todd, as she was then called, and was smitten by her charms. This occasioned considerable gossip and young Madison was made the butt of many jokes. Even the dignified President Washington joined in the pleasantries. The following year (1794) Dolly Todd became Dolly Madison and subsequently, when the sessions of Congress were held in the new federal city on the Potomac, she was one of the noted women of her day. For eight years she presided as mistress of the White House during her husband's presidency. In her exalted position she never forgot her friends and the delightful days in Haddonfield. She survived nearly all of her contemporaries and in her old age was honored with a seat on the floor of the House of Representatives. She often met people from South Jersey and always inquired particularly of those whom she held in remembrance. Many times before her death, in 1849, she chatted with L. Q. C. Elmer, of Bridgeton, Richard M. Cooper and George Sykes, both Quakers, the former from Camden and the latter from Burlington, Charles C. Stratton, of Gloucester, and James G. Hampton, of Cumberland, all of whom were members of Congress in the days when Dolly Madison was conspicuous in Washington society.

assisted by Loyalist regiments and unorganized bands of refugee robbers.

Previous to the British occupancy of Philadelphia, and while the Delaware was being blockaded by enemy vessels, it was impossible to convey merchandise, especially groceries, to that city. Consequently, vessels of light draft sailed up the Mullica as far as "the Forks," at Pleasant Mills and Batsto. At this point barrels of sugar and bags of coffee, boxes of tea, puncheons of rum, and various other articles of trade were unloaded and placed on wagons, to be hauled to Philadelphia. The ingenuity of the teamsters was taxed, as they approached the ferries, to escape detection by revenue officers. Between "the Forks" and Haddonfield every swamp had its secret place of deposit. Indeed, before the occupancy, the loyalty of the Whigs of South Jersey contributed largely to the delivery of contraband goods to the pent-up patriots.

Sometimes a load of salt hay concealed several barrels of molasses or sugar, or a quantity of clams kept from view numerous bags of coffee or boxes of tea. Cedar hoop poles provided a good cover for articles of smaller bulk, and cordwood was an excellent hiding place for other goods, contraband of war.

Occasionally, however, during hot weather, hoops and staves would not hold the molasses, and finding a vent, it left a stream along the road, thus betraying the smuggler to the British officers. The load and team were confiscated, and the driver was fortunate if he escaped into the forest. After several such mishaps, it occurred to the patriotic smugglers that the cool night atmosphere was the time for carrying goods across the country, and when the sound of a loaded wagon was heard along the road "between two days," the country folk knew what it meant. Some of these incidents, illustrating the patriotism of the stalwart sires and sturdy sons of old Gloucester County, have been employed by writers to point a moral or adorn a tale, just as the romantic love-tale of John Estaugh and Elizabeth Haddon, founder of Haddonfield, furnished the incidents for "Elizabeth," one of Longfellow's delightful "Tales of a Wayside Inn." Naturally, a region in which the spirit of patriotism was so pronounced and of whom Lafayette afterwards said: "I found these men above their reputation," were objects of vengeance.¹

The assault at Quinton's Bridge and the massacre at Hancock's Bridge, under direction of Colonel Mawwood and Mayor Simcoe, are instances of unprovoked attack. The enemy order at Hancock's Bridge was: "Spare no one; put all to death; give no quarter." So far as possible, this order was obeyed. The attack was made at night, when most of the victims were in bed and asleep, worn out with watching.

The affairs at Quinton's and Hancock's bridges, the assault at Chestnut Neck, the skirmishes above and below Woodbury, the exploits in the

¹ Late in November, 1777, Lafayette gave much trouble to Cornwallis, who attempted to cross a body of troops from below Woodbury to the Pennsylvania side. General Greene, with a detachment of American troops, was stationed at Haddonfield, with orders to keep close watch of Cornwallis, then encamped at Gloucester. Anticipating trouble, the British commander had pushed out his pickets for several miles. This movement led to the suspicion that some change of base was contemplated. Lafayette, who had not yet recovered from a wound received at the battle of Brandywine, volunteered to reconnoitre the British and attack them, if advisable. His command consisted of a few dragoons, a company of riflemen and some militia. Making a circuit, he crossed Clement's bridge and passed down the south side of Big Timber Creek. To inform himself of the real position of the enemy he ventured out on the sandy peninsula south of the outlet of the creek and was discovered. A detachment of dragoons was sent to intercept him, but before it got to the bridge, by the assistance of his guide, he had joined his command. Having accomplished his purpose, he passed down between Big and Little Timber creeks, until he reached the king's highway, where he found some of the Hessian artillery. These were at once attacked and driven back to Gloucester, but night coming on, the advantage could not be followed up. The conduct of his riflemen and militia occasioned the complimentary remark by Lafayette: "I found these men above their reputation."

vicinity of Camden, Haddonfield, Moorestown, Burlington, and Mount Holly, the wanton attack at Bordentown and the brutal massacre at Tuckerton—these all pale before the brilliant repulse of the Hessians at Red Bank.

Five months after this memorable battle and on the very day of the massacre at Hancock's Bridge, Washington, then encamped at Valley Forge, wrote a letter which has just come to light in Philadelphia, even as these pages are going to press. It throws a flood of light on conditions on the Delaware, below Red Bank, a few months before the evacuation of Philadelphia, in June, 1778, which evacuation was followed by the British march across South Jersey, as described in a preceding chapter. Near Freehold they were met by Washington and the memorable battle of Monmouth followed.

The Washington letter, of which there seems to have been no previous record, has been in the possession of a Philadelphia family for many years. It is dated March 20, 1778, and is addressed to General William Smallwood, then in Maryland.²

The first paragraph deals with Washington's disapproval of the findings of a court martial acquitting Colonel Josias C. Hall, who had threatened to blow out the brains of any officer who attempted to execute an order of General Smallwood to impress horses for military use.

Washington held Colonel Hall in personal esteem and wrote to him explaining the general orders he had issued in the case, saying subordination would be at an end in the army, if orders of a commanding officer were set at defiance. Colonel Hall proposed to resign from the service, but Washington seems to have placated him by advising that the differences be mutually forgotten.

The rest of the letter illustrates the close watch Washington kept on the field of military operations:

I was yesterday fav'd with yours without a date, inclosing the proceedings of a Court Martial held upon Col. Hall of Maryland. Inclosed you have Copy of my opinion which is published in the General Orders of this day.

I am informed that there still remains a considerable quantity of Hay between Chester and Wilmington upon the Riverside, particularly at one John Smiths near Marcus Hook. I would have you find an Officer immediately along the Shore to let the owners of the Hay know that it must be removed some distance back from the Water without loss of time; otherwise we shall be obliged to burn it to prevent its falling into the Hands of the Enemy. You must allow a few days for the removal, and at the expiration of that time, what cannot be got off must be burned and Certificates of the Quantity destroyed given to the owners.

I have rec'd advice that four Regiments had embarked at New York, and that the Transports had fallen down to the Hook. It also appears by accounts from Rhode Island as if they were about to evacuate that place. I therefore desire you to keep a good look out for these vessels, for I am fully of opinion that they are bound for Philada. If any Vessels come in, endeavor to discover whether they have any troops on Board.

I thought you had eight pieces of Cannon at Wilmington. I would nevertheless have you send two pieces with the Waggons belonging to them to Camp. Keep the best Horses with those that remain, that you may move rapidly upon occasion. If General Howe draws his force together, we must unite ours. I would therefore have you hold everything in readiness to move at a moment's warning and I would recommend it to you and your Officers to remove any useless and heavy Baggage immediately. I would rather have you hold up an Idea that we have thoughts of leaving Wilmington. I would rather hint the contrary, and that I only disincumbered myself of my useless Baggage and Stores to act with more vigor.

² This letter was found in the family papers of Daniel Graham, a lieutenant under Washington, who had a son, Paulding, named after John Paulding, one of the captors of Major Andre. The present owner of the letter is Mrs. Clifton Mackensie, of Philadelphia. It reveals Washington's scrupulous regard for the rights of property seized or destroyed in war, as shown in his admonition that if necessary to burn the hay of farmers, lest the enemy capture it, certificates of the quantity destroyed should be given to the owners.

As our Commissioners meet those from General Howe on Tuesday next, I hope the depositions wrote for will not be delayed beyond that time. I shall be glad to have Major Stewarts deposition, relative to his treatment while a prisoner, taken and sent up as soon as possible.

The advantage of Billingsport as a military post was not overlooked by either the American or the British. On June 12, 1777, John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress, sitting in Philadelphia, wrote to Governor Livingston to order five hundred militia to assist in completing the works then being erected at Billingsport for the defence of the Delaware. In the fall of that year, when the British secured possession of Philadelphia, it became a matter of the greatest importance to them that the English fleet should communicate with the city. General Howe sent two regiments under Colonel Sterling to attack the fort at Billingsport. Crossing the river from Chester, on September 30th, they made an attack upon the fort from the rear. The Americans were surprised and believing themselves too weak to resist the assault of the enemy, they spiked their guns, set fire to the barracks and abandoned the fortification. Sergeant William Ellis was killed by a cannon ball, which took off both his legs above the knees. The British thereupon demolished the works on the river front, made a passage seven feet wide through the stockades, sailed through the aperture with six light vessels and anchored in the Delaware below Red Bank, leaving the larger ships of war behind. General Howe then determined to make a general sweep of all the American works on the Delaware, and with that end in view concentrated his entire army in the vicinity of Philadelphia. At this time two Rhode Island regiments, belonging to General Varnum's brigade, under Colonel Christopher Greene, garrisoned Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, with four hundred men.

It was very important for the American cause that the Delaware should be defended against the invading fleet. On a low and marshy island, which has since become a part of the mainland of Pennsylvania, at the mouth of the Schuylkill, Fort Mifflin was thrown up for the purpose of covering with batteries the river obstructions. On the opposite New Jersey shore Fort Mercer was built on a high bank, commanding the open stretch of the Delaware above and below. In the river between the two forts, under cover of their guns, ranges of strong frames were sunk as *chevaux-de-frise*, to rake the wooden bottoms of England's ships of war, and blockade the narrow channel. These efforts, great in their day, seem puerile in this age of floating fortresses.

Fort Mifflin was distant from Fort Mercer about one mile and was garrisoned by about four hundred men of the Maryland line, in command of Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Smith. The American fleet in the river, between Red Bank and Philadelphia, consisted chiefly of galleys commanded by Commander Hazlewood. The Americans determined to hold these posts to the last extremity. Captain Hammond, as stated, had forced a way through the lower channel obstructions and come to within range of the guns at Fort Mercer and Fort Mifflin. Then began one of the most glorious stands ever made by patriots fighting for home and country in the last ditch.

Count Carl Emil Kirt von Donop, a brave German officer, was sent out from Philadelphia with four battalions of Hessian veterans, chosen from the powerful army of occupation. On Tuesday, October 21, 1777, they crossed the Delaware at Cooper's Ferry, now Camden, marched to Haddonfield, and thence by way of a place then known as Cattle-town, to the King's Highway, above Woodbury and toward Red Bank. They had intended taking a more



COLONEL CHRISTOPHER GREENE

direct route, but the Americans had destroyed the bridge over Timber Creek, and the Hessians were obliged to march four miles up the creek to a shallow ford, at or near Clement's Bridge.

Colonel Greene, energetic, obedient and patriotic, had not been idle during those October days. Washington had written him, under date of October 9th, from his headquarters at Skippack, above Philadelphia, as follows:

I have directed General Varnum to send your regiment and that of Colonel Angell's to Red Bank, by a route which has been marked out to him. The command of that detachment will, of course, devolve on you, with which you will proceed with all expedition, and throw yourself into that place. When you arrive there you will immediately communicate your arrival to Colonel Smith, commander of the garrison at Fort Mifflin, and Com. Hazlewood, commander of the fleet in the river. You are to co-operate with them in every measure necessary for the defence of the obstructions in the river, and to counteract every attempt the enemy may make for their removal. You will find a very good fortification at Red Bank, but if anything should be requisite to render it stronger, or proportion it to the size of your garrison, you will have it done. The cannon you will stand in need of, as much as can be spared, will be furnished from the galleys at Fort Mifflin, from whence you will also derive supplies of military stores. I have sent Captain Duplessis, with some officers and men, to take the immediate direction of the artillery for your garrison. He is also to superintend any works that may be necessary. If there be any deficiency of men for the artillery the security of the garrison will require you to assist them in the few additional ones from your detachment. You should not lose a moment's time in getting to the place of your destination and making every preparation for its defence. Any delay might give the enemy an opportunity of getting there before you, which could not fail of being most fatal in its consequences. If, in the progress of your march, you should fall in with any detachment of the enemy, bending toward the same object, and likely to gain it before you, and from intelligence you should have reason to think yourself equal to the task, you will by all means attack them and endeavor by that means to disappoint their design. I have written to General Newcomb, of the Jersey militia, to give you all the aid in his power, for which you will accordingly apply when necessary. Upon the whole, sir, you will be pleased to remember that the post with which you are now entrusted is of the utmost importance to America, and demands every exertion of which you are capable for its security and defence. The whole defence of the Delaware absolutely depends upon it; and consequently all the enemy's hopes of keeping Philadelphia and finally succeeding in the object of the present campaign. Influenced by these considerations, I doubt not your regard to the service and your own reputation will prompt you to every possible effort to accomplish the important end of your trust, and frustrate the intentions of the enemy.

The fact that Colonel Greene was entrusted with the command of a post that was of "the utmost importance to America," and upon which the whole defence of the Delaware absolutely depended, in the estimation of Washington, is a tribute to the honor, the valor and the judgment of Colonel Greene, no less appreciable than the gift of a sword by Congress.³

Not having men to properly man the fort, Colonel Greene proposed to abandon about two-thirds, or the upper end of it; put a double board fence across the lower third; protect it with wooden pickets and the sharpened branches of trees; place the cannon in such a position as to rake the upper part of the fort; cover them with bushes; fill the space between the two fences with hay, old lumber and such other obstructions as were at hand. The cannon were heavily loaded with grape shot and other destructive missiles. It was arranged that only a show of defence should be made at the upper end of the fort, which was to be abandoned as soon as the attack was found to be in earnest, and a retreat made to the small enclosure or main fort below. This was to be defended to the last extremity.

³ Christopher Greene was a brave and accomplished soldier. When the battles at Lexington and Concord awakened the colonies, he joined the army. After the battle of Bunker Hill he was appointed colonel of a Rhode Island regiment, and in that capacity accompanied Arnold through the wilderness to Quebec, and fought bravely under the walls of that city, when beleaguered by Montgomery. Lieutenant-Colonel Greene was forty-four years old at the time of his death in 1781.

The little garrison was not expecting a formidable land attack, and their sentry lines did not extend far beyond the fortification. They must be in readiness for any movement made by that fleet of war vessels in the river, whose spars could be seen above the ramparts of the fort. Late in the afternoon, the Hessians appeared before the fort. The British naval force in the river was ready to co-operate with them in the attack.

Colonel Greene was not dismayed by the appearance of the Hessians, although the farthest sentry had dashed into the fort and said they numbered twenty-five hundred. He immediately ordered preparations for the defence. The fourteen guns were double-shotted and reprimed. Within there was the roll of drums calling to quarters, the rattle of snapping flints, the hurrying footfalls of men forming a line along the parapets, the shouting of orders, the clash of steel and the tattoo of ramrods. Without there was the roll of Hessian drums. Then came a time of silence, when the men, we may suppose, said their prayers and examined their flints.

The last preparations were made within, when a Hessian officer rode out from the woods, across the open field, bearing a flag of truce and followed by a drummer. He halted close to the ramparts and shouted:

The king of England orders his rebellious subjects to lay down their arms, and they are warned that if they stand the battle no quarter will be given.

Colonel Greene deputized a man to mount the parapet and fling back the answer: "We ask no quarter, nor will we give any."

One trustworthy account says the exact words were: "We'll see King George be damned first; we ask no quarter."

The Hessian officer rode back to lines and the attack began immediately.

A field battery was dragged up and placed "half a shot away," says an old chronicler, "and within the fort all were eager and busy." It was then four o'clock in the afternoon. The Hessians opened fire with their battery, hoping to make a breach in the walls. At the same time the British ships below the *chevaux-de-frise* began to thunder upon the little fort, but many of their balls fell too low and entered the bluff beneath the works. After cannonading for a short time, the Hessians advanced to the first entrenchment. Finding this abandoned, they shouted "Victory," waved their hats and rushed into the deserted area before the redoubt. When the first of the assailants had come up to the abatis and were endeavoring to cut away the branches, the Americans opened a terrific fire of cannon and musketry in front and flank. Death rode in every volley. So near were the Hessians to the caponiere or looped trench which flanked the enemy when they set upon the main fort, that the wads were blown entirely through their bodies. The officers leading the attack fought bravely. Again and again they rallied their men and brought them to the charge, but they fell in heaps among the was easily distinguished, but his example availed nothing. Repulsed from boughs of the abatis and into the moat. In the thickest of the fight Donop the redoubt in front, his men made an attack upon the escarpment on the northwest or river side, but the fire from the American galleys drove them back with great loss, and at last they flew in great disorder to the woods, leaving many slain.

Another column made a simultaneous attack upon the south, but was repulsed, and all retreated save twenty, who were standing on the berm against the shelvings of the parapet, under and out of the way of the guns, whence they were afraid to move. They were captured by Manduit, the French engineer,⁴ who had sallied from the fort to repair some palisades.

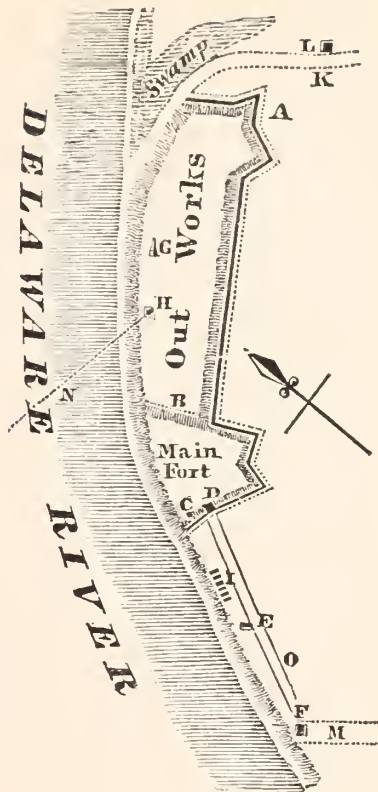
⁴ His full name was Captain M. du Plessis Manduit.

PLAN
Of Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, N J.

REFERENCES.

- A End of the fort at which the Hessians entered.
- B Small ditch, cross embankment and location of the masked battery.
- C Remains of the hickory-tree used during the battle as a flag-staff.
- D Ruins of a brick wall in the middle of the artificial bank.—Gateway.
- E Count Donop's grave.
- F Louis Whitall's house.
- G Monument, erected in 1829.
- H Pleasure-house.
- I Marks of the trenches in which the slain were deposited.
- K Road the Hessians marched to the attack.—Reeve's old road.
- L Tenant house.
- M Road to Woodbury.
- N Direction of Fort Mifflin.
- O Farm road.

NOTE.—The works represented extend about 350 yards in a right line.



TRENCH OF THE OLD FRENCH FORT AT RED BANK

This brave Frenchman, making another sortie a few minutes afterwards, to repair the southern abatis, heard a voice from among the heaps of dead and dying exclaim in broken English: "Whoever you are, draw me hence." This was Count Donop. The Frenchman caused him to be carried into the fort, where it was found that his hip was broken, but the wound was not considered fatal. Remembering the threat of the Hessian officer, who was permitted to approach the fort before the battle, an American said, in the hearing of Donop:

"It is determined to give no quarter." "I am in your hands," said the Count, "you may revenge yourselves." Nevertheless, the wounded Hessian was properly cared for. Manduit, enjoining the men in broken English to be generous toward their bleeding and humbled prisoner, Donop said to him, "You appear to be a foreigner, sir; who are you?" "A French officer, sir," was the reply. "I am content," said Donop; "I die in the hands of honor itself."

Donop was removed first to the Whitall house, below the fort, and afterwards to the house of one Lowe, over the dam, at Woodbury Creek, where he died of his wounds three days later. When told that his end was near, he said: "It is finishing a noble career early, but I die the victim of ambition and the avarice of my sovereign." To Colonel Clymer he said: "See in me the vanity of all human pride. I have shone in all the courts of Europe, and now I am dying on the banks of the Delaware, in the house of an obscure Quaker."

The house in which Donop died was standing until about 1860. It was of brick with the old style hip roof.

The defeat of the Hessians and the death, not only of Donop, but of Mingerode, the officer second in command, demoralized them, and they retreated towards Cooper's Ferry in detached bodies, begging food and shelter of those whom they had so badly treated. The transportation of the wounded caused much trouble, and as one detachment approached Haddonfield, a farmer living near the road was, with his horse and cart, pressed into service to carry those who were unable to walk further. The appearance of armed men so terrified the farmer that he neglected to fasten down the front of his cart, and in ascending a hill near the village the weight of the men was thrown on the rear of the cart. Consequently all were pitched headlong into the road, at which there was much swearing in German by the soldiers and protestations in English by the farmer, but after many threats the vehicle was properly secured and the journey to Cooper's Ferry was completed. At the beginning of their retreat this detachment was considerably galled by the American galleys and floating batteries in the river.

Other detachments of Hessians retreated by way of Blackwood or Chew's Landing. Near the latter place they were met by a company of farmers' boys, who held them at bay for some time. This detachment had with them a brass cannon, which they are said to have thrown into the creek near Chew's Landing.

The battle lasted forty minutes, and during its progress at least one American was killed by the bursting of a cannon. The slain Hessians, numbering 87, were buried in the moat south of the fort. Those who were not mortally wounded were taken to Philadelphia by Manduit and exchanged. A number of the 201 wounded Hessians subsequently died. Including these, the killed Hessians numbered not less than one hundred and fifty. It is also said that there were taken over the Delaware "not less than two hundred wounded." The American loss was 14 killed and 22 wounded.

Donop was buried in the pathway half way between the old Whitall house and the lower end of the fort, his feet towards the river. Some one placed a rough stone at his head, on which were picked in a very crude way,

the letters, "Here lies buried Count Donop." Years afterward what was left of the Hessian was dug up and distributed among various persons as ghastly relics. Time was when men were guilty of exhibiting canes, the heads of which were set with teeth taken from the jaw bone of a count! Annalist John F. Watson, of Philadelphia, said he visited Red Bank in 1847, and at the home of Louis Whitall, grandson of Friend Job Whitall, he saw the skull of Count Donop.

While the Hessians were assaulting Fort Mercer, the British fleet in the river, besides firing in the direction of Red Bank, made an attack upon Fort Mifflin, across the river, into which Washington had thrown a garrison which made a defence not less heroic than that of their comrades at Red Bank. It was one of the most valorous fights of the whole Revolution. Day after day during more than a week the little garrison was exposed to a terrific cannonade from the batteries which the British had set up on Province Island, and from the British fleet in the river. Colonel Smith, of Maryland, their commander, who afterwards received from Congress a medal, was shot down; Major Fleury, an equally brave French engineer, was wounded, and few of the other officers escaped the galling fire. Indeed, more than a thousand cannon balls fell upon the fort. It was not until the works had been battered down, the guns dismantled and the fort filled with the dead and dying that the gallant Major Thayer, of Rhode Island, who had assumed command, admitted that defence was hopeless and made his preparations for retreat. Even then, with only a handful of men left, by direction of Colonel Smith, he refused to surrender. He ordered that all the stores which could be carried off should be gathered together, that the wounded should be cared for, and that all hands should take to the boats for the Jersey shore amidst the fire of the enemy. When the battle had begun there were three hundred men in the fort; when it was evacuated there were only fifty that had not been slain or wounded!

Colonel Greene was ordered to evacuate Fort Mercer, as the British fleet, after the reduction of Fort Mifflin, had gone by and up to Philadelphia. Accordingly, he blew up and evacuated the fort on November 20th.

As a recognition of his valorous defence of Fort Mercer, Congress directed that a sword be presented to Colonel Greene, but this sword it was not his privilege to receive. It was given to his son after the close of the war, the Colonel himself being then dead. While stationed with his regiment near Croton River, New York, he was surprised about sunrise, on May 13, 1781, by a company of Tories, consisting of about one hundred cavalry and two hundred infantry, commanded by the notorious Colonel James Delancey. They first attacked Colonel Greene's and Major Flag's quarters, and killed the Major while in bed. Colonel Greene fell after his single arm had slain a number of his assailants. Being badly wounded while in the house, he was carried into the woods and barbarously murdered. Two subalterns and twenty-seven privates were also killed, and a lieutenant and surgeon, with about twenty men, taken prisoners.

Along the eastern shore of the Delaware, across from League Island, where modern battleships gleam white in their might, and opposite the ramparts of old Fort Mifflin, among the trees and beneath the undergrowth, we can trace a rounded ridge, a tangle-hidden ditch and a few hillocks—all that is left of the old fort at Red Bank.

In 1872, the Government purchased a tract of about one hundred acres along the Delaware, at Red Bank, including the site of the fortifications,

and the old Whitall house, whose floors are still stained with the blood of wounded Hessians and Patriots, and while the house has undergone a thorough renovation, the monument was ignored, neglected and forgotten.⁵

This shaft, whose inscription is half obliterated, looms up gray in the woodland gap. It was signalized exactly fifty years after the battle, by a sham fight between the Pennsylvania troops, commanded by Colonel Bartle, representing the Hessians, and the New Jersey militia, commanded by Colonel Armstrong, representing the Americans. A short distance from the monument stands an ancient farm house, built in 1748, according to a stone set in the eastern gable, and around it cluster stories of a dauntless Quaker dame, Ann Whitall, who is said to have sat at her spinning wheel while cannon balls crashed around and through the house. This incident, stated by Mickle, in his "Reminiscence of Old Gloucester," and repeated by Lossing, in his "Field Book of the Revolution," is of doubtful authenticity.

The massacre at Tuckerton, one year after the battle of Red Bank, was one of a number of brutal night attacks by the enemy during the Revolution. Following the attack upon Chestnut Neck, of which an account is given in the "History of Atlantic County," Captain Ferguson was notified of the contiguity of salt works. The barges were accordingly steered to the landing place of Eli Mathis, at the mouth of Bass River. Here the troops again disembarked and destroyed Mathis' dwelling house, farm buildings and their contents, salt works, a saw mill, and twelve houses in the neighborhood.

On the following day, Wednesday, October 7, 1778, the troops returned to the harbor, where they found the "Zebra" and "Vigilant" aground on the bar. Both vessels were floated the following morning.

On the evening of October 8th, Pulaski and his Legion entered the village of Tuckerton, and proceeding down the Island road, encamped on the farm of James Willets. The command consisted of three companies of light infantry, a detachment of light artillery, equipped with a single brass field piece, and three troops of light horse. From the Willet's farm house Pulaski had a good view of the harbor, and the English fleet at anchor. Farther down the road and nearer the lowlands was a picket post of about fifty infantrymen, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel the Baron de Bosen.

Lieutenant Gustav Juliet, of the Legion, organized a fishing party on the 13th and, while in the bay, having reduced three of the number to a state of helpless intoxication, and having compelled two others to submit to the disgraceful proceedings, the signal was given and they were taken on board the British fleet as deserters from the Americans. Juliet gave Ferguson a complete account of the strength and position of Pulaski's force. He also falsely told the British captain that Pulaski had directed that no quarter be given any of the British if taken in battle. It should be stated that a year before this, Juliet, then a member of the hired Hessian army, had deserted to the Americans. Lieutenant-Colonel the Baron de Bosen, second in command of Pulaski's Legion, did not admire a man who would desert his colors, and plainly showed it in his treatment of Juliet. The latter, therefore, sought the first opportunity for revenge. On board the "Zebra" and "Vigilant" a diabolical scheme was planned. Before midnight of October 14th, Captain Ferguson, accompanied by the renegade Juliet, left the fleet with 250 British

⁵ The New Jersey Society of the Sons of the Revolution unveiled memorial tablets on a shaft at Red Bank on October 22, 1909—exactly one hundred and thirty-two years after the battle. The unveiling took place in the presence of about five hundred people. General Alfred H. Woodhull, of Princeton, presided, and aged John Whitall, a direct descendant of the old Whitall family, released the four flags covering the tablets. Alfred M. Heston, of Atlantic City, made the historic address, reviewing the battle and reciting historical facts in connection with the memorable event.

regulars and Jersey loyalists, besides a number of marines. They purposed surprising Pulaski's picket guard of fifty men commanded by Baron de Bosen. The British rowed over ten miles in galleys to Osborn's Island, and landed between three and four o'clock in the morning of Thursday, October 15th. Captain Ferguson sent a party to guard the inmates of the home of Richard Osborn, Jr., and to compel some male member of that family to guide them to the picket post of the Americans on the mainland. Osborn's son Thomas was threatened with a drawn sword and thus compelled to serve as guide.

Marching across the island, they came to a bridge over Big Creek. Ferguson left fifty men to guard this point and secure his retreat. Then silently proceeding about a mile over a rough corduroy road, they came to the upland, where they found a single sentinel, whom they captured before he could discharge his firelock. This soldier being secured, and some accounts say he was killed, the entire command of Ferguson made a rush for the three houses containing the picket guard. Thomas Osborn, the unwilling guide, had meanwhile concealed himself in the meadow grass, and from his hiding place he heard the cries of the Legion as they were being massacred. Awakened by the shouts of the British, they seized their weapons and prepared to make a defence. Lieutenant-Colonel de Bosen led his men in their desperate effort to break the British cordon, and with sword and pistol he fought valiantly. Juliet spied him in the darkness, and called out: "This is the Colonel; kill him." Instantly his body was pierced by many bayonets. The men cried for quarter, but as at Old Tappan and Paoli, their appeals were unheeded. About forty men, including de Bosen and Lieutenant de la Borderie, were overpowered and butchered. Five men only were taken prisoners, and very few escaped. Ferguson afterwards reported that they were "almost entirely cut to pieces." He also destroyed the houses which belonged to peaceful Quaker settlers.

The first discharge of fire-arms was heard at Pulaski's headquarters, more than a mile distant and he was instantly in the saddle. While his command was "mounting in hot haste," he dashed down the road to aid de Bosen and drive off the enemy. But he was too late. The British, after their cruel deed, made a hasty retreat to the bridge and thence to the landing place. In their retreat, they removed the planking on the bridge, and thus halted Pulaski in his pursuit.

The guide, Thomas Osborn, came out of his hiding place when he saw the American troops, and told Pulaski of his compulsory service. The excited soldiers would not believe him and tied him to a tree, where they flogged him so unmercifully that his life was only spared by the interference of the officers. That day they sent over to the island for the father. Both prisoners were taken to Trenton and lodged in jail for two weeks, being released when it was found that no treason could be proven against them.

The British loss in this affair was two regulars killed and two wounded; Ensign John Camp, a Tory volunteer, stabbed in the thigh, and another Tory wounded. As they were crossing the island, a Tory told them that Colonel Thomas Proctor, with a detachment of artillery, armed with two brass twelve-pounders and one three-pounder, had come from The Forks of the Mullica, and was then only about two miles in the rear. Having no artillery to oppose this pursuing force, Captain Ferguson concluded that it would not be safe to risk another encounter with men made desperate by the thought of the butchery of their comrades. In the middle of the afternoon of October 16th,



MONUMENT AT RED BANK



THE WHITTALL HOUSE, RED BANK

the British soldiers were safely aboard the fleet, which immediately weighed anchor. As the flagship "Zebra" was passing over the bar, she again grounded. After trying in vain to get her off, the captain transferred the troops to the "Vigilant" and "Nautilus," and with great reluctance ordered the "Zebra" to be fired. For many years after the Revolution, fragments of this wreck could be seen in the vicinity of Chestnut Neck.

Of this affair near Tuckerton, Judge Jones, the Tory historian, says: "They (the British) plundered the inhabitants, burnt their houses, their churches and their barns; ruined their farms; stole their cattle, hogs, horses and sheep, and then triumphantly returned to New York." Washington Irving says of it that it was "a marauding expedition worthy of the times of the buccaneers."

CHAPTER XXVII.

FOOT-PRINTS ON THE SANDS OF TIME.

"Lives of great men all remind us we can make our lives sublime, and, departing, leave behind us footprints on the sands of time." Thus wrote the distinguished American poet at his Brattle Street home, Cambridge, commonly known as the "Cragie House," in honor of the family whose home it had been for many years before the Longfellow purchase. General Cragie was doubtless a good provider for Washington's soldiers, holding his rank as a commissary throughout the war, but like other good men who can serve others efficiently, he had no genius in the management of his own affairs. Following the war, in the mad rush to maintain appearances, the good general was often short of cash, and when his will was probated, it was found that his proud and eccentric widow had not a dollar with which to keep up appearances. All she had left was the roof over her head and that she was unable long to retain. In the course of time the author of "sands of time" slept in the room where Washington had once reposed uneasily, and wrote poetry in the room where Washington had once composed letters and army orders.

Not a few moderately great men—some of them distinguished and honorable—have left their footprints on the sands of South Jersey. Undoubtedly, the greatest of all great men of New Jersey is John Woolman, born of Quaker parents in Burlington County. True greatness is the ability to preach and practice the gospel of brotherly love—to live according to the Golden Rule. This John Woolman did to a degree far in excess of any other man in the history of New Jersey—greater, perhaps, than any other American. To the world he is best known by his "Journal," first printed in Philadelphia in 1775, three years after his death—reprinted many times in Dublin, London, and elsewhere in Europe, and more recently by the Macmillans, of New York and London. Not only as a theologian, a true disciple of Jesus, but as a stylist, John Woolman deserves the highest rank among American writers. In his "Elia," the lovable Charles Lamb says: "Get the writings of John Woolman by heart." Channing's enthusiasm is even more pronounced. He says of Woolman's Journal: "It is the purest and sweetest of all autobiographies," and Henry Crabb Robinson says: "His style is of the most exquisite purity and grace." Judged by the standard of the greatest preacher and the greatest teacher that ever lived, John Woolman is the greatest American that ever lived.

Never was a reformer possessed of a deeper love for his fellowman than

this quiet South Jersey Quaker, who gave his life, without stint or reward, to the work of awakening the conscience of all people. The "Journal" was not the only product of his pious mind. The depth of his interest in mankind may be judged by the titles of three of his publications. Thus in Philadelphia, in 1753 and 1762, he issued "Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes," which in 1768 was followed by "Considerations on Pure Wisdom and Human Policy on Labor, Schools, and the Right Use of the Lord's Outward Gift."

In juxtaposition with the name of Woolman we place that of Stephen Grellet, a native of France, who came to America at the age of twenty. At first a Roman Catholic, he joined the Society of Friends in 1795. In his native country he had been a member of Louis XVI's bodyguard at the time of the French Revolution. During the yellow fever epidemic, in 1798, in connection with Stephen Girard, he did heroic service, and two years later, in 1800, made a missionary tour through the United States, Canada, and some of the European countries. While in Europe he had personal interviews with the Czar and Pope. His home was in Burlington, where he died in 1855. Of Grellet very little is known, except that he was a philanthropist and the author of a gem that is worthy of a place beside any of those in Woolman's Journal.

The librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania says: "I have tried in every library in Philadelphia to find Grellet's 'Present Duties,' but in vain." Doubtless, copies of Grellet's book are in existence, but they are hard to find in this country. His "Life" was published in London, about 1859. In the "Book of Quotations, proverbs and Household Words," published by J. B. Lippincott & Company, in 1907, and edited by W. Gurney Benham, we read:

I expect to pass through this world but once. Any good, therefore, that I can do, or any kindness that I can show to any fellow creature, let me do it now. Let me not defer or neglect it, for I shall not pass this way again.

Mr. Benham adds: "Every effort to identify the author of this much-quoted saying has failed. It has been attributed to Stephen Grellet, Thomas Carlyle, and others. It is also said that the germ of it is found in the writings of a Chinese philosopher. The best authorities favor Stephen Grellet as the author, though the passage does not occur in any of his printed works."

In "Blessed be Drudgery," by William C. Gannet, published in Glasgow, Grellet's saying is thus recorded: "The old Quaker was right: 'I expect to pass through life but once. If there is any kindness or any good thing I can do my fellow beings, let me do it now. I shall pass this way but once,'" Stephen Grellet was one of South Jersey's great men.

One of New Jersey's foremost citizens, and the most worthy of Gloucester County's patriots of the Revolutionary period, was Franklin Davenport, of Woodbury. At the time of his death, in 1832, he was a major-general of militia and the ranking officer of New Jersey, having been in the service for a period of fifty-six years, beginning in 1775.

General Davenport was born in Philadelphia in 1775, the son of Josiah Franklin Davenport, which suggests a relationship or an intimate friendship of his parents with Benjamin Franklin, whose father was Josiah Franklin. Franklin Davenport had a sister named Deborah, which was also the name of Benjamin Franklin's wife.

In 1769 Josiah Franklin Davenport was part owner of a stage route between Philadelphia and New York, and kept a tavern on Third Street near

Chestnut, Philadelphia, known as the "Sign of the Bunch of Grapes." Frank H. Stewart, president of the Gloucester County Historical Society, delivered an address at the North Woodbury Presbyterian grave-yard on January 11, 1921, when a memorial stone was dedicated to the memory of General Davenport.

Mr. Stewart says the father of the general removed from Philadelphia to Burlington, where on February 22, 1773, he was appointed a justice of the peace by Governor Franklin. Three years later, in 1776, he was sheriff of the county. Apparently, he died about a year afterwards, as in 1778 his widow, Ann Annis Davenport, advertised a boarding school for girls under twelve years of age at her "large and airy house in Burlington."

In 1775, the son, Franklin Davenport, is recorded as a student at law in the office of John Lawrence, older brother of the famous naval commander, James Lawrence, and he probably moved to Woodbury with the Lawrences at about that time. After serving as prosecutor of the pleas of Gloucester County during the closing years of the Revolution, he entered actively into politics and on December 5, 1798, was appointed United States Senator to succeed John Rutherford. He served until February 14 of the following year.

The closing years of Franklin Davenport's life were saddened by financial misfortunes. The sheriff of Gloucester County, in 1832, according to the Woodbury records, sold two brick dwelling houses in that town, title to which was then in the name of Franklin Davenport. One of these houses was occupied at the time by the gallant Revolutionary soldier himself, and the other by his sister Deborah. At the time of this sale Davenport was crippled with the infirmities of age. It is recorded of him that thereafter he "had no roof over his head," and that being divested of his home, his furniture and his books, he was in a "sorry plight," until relieved by death a few months later. That he left no estate is evidenced by the nominal charge made for burial—three dollars. His grave was unmarked for almost ninety years, when a marker was erected by the Gloucester County Historical Society, at which time Mr. Stewart paid a glowing tribute to his memory.

Burlington County was the home of a considerable number of New Jersey's celebrities. Some of these lived at Bordentown and are mentioned in a preceding chapter. This old town on the Delaware was originally known as Farnsworth's Landing, in honor of Thomas Farnsworth, who came over from England with a number of other Quakers in 1677. He sought an undeveloped tract of land upon which to found a home, and in 1681 sailed up the Delaware until he found a high bank overlooking the river. He was a man of some means and purchased a tract of eight hundred acres fronting on the river and running back into the country. It comprised the whole of the present town site. The next year he built a log house, at a point now the corner of Prince and Park streets.

In 1717 part of the Farnsworth holding fell into the hands of Joseph Borden, who had lived in Freehold, and by 1724 Borden had acquired all the property then in the Farnsworth family, and the name of the town was changed to Bordentown. Joseph Borden was a rich man for those days. He had a son Joseph who became a judge, who in turn had a son Joseph. With the death of the last-named, the Borden line became extinct. The family home stood at what is now the northwest corner of Farnsworth Avenue and Park Street. It was burned by the British soldiers during the Revolution.

In 1723, a little way out in the country, lived a certain Dr. Joseph Brown, who kept a tavern. One night a footsore and weary youth of seventeen years applied for lodging. He said he was walking from New York to Philadelphia, and that his name was Benjamin Franklin. Dr. Brown made him welcome and ever after that, when Franklin came to Bordentown, he always stopped to see his friend. Brown later opened another hotel, at which Franklin was a frequent visitor. That hotel is still standing and is now known as the Washington House. Dr. Brown was a man of nimble wit and little godliness, who apparently delighted in shocking the solemn young Franklin with gibes against religion. Franklin was much concerned about his friend's lack of reverence, and says so in his book.

Perhaps the most distinguished American inhabitant of Bordentown was Francis Hopkinson, the "signer," whose home stands today on the southeast corner of Farnsworth Avenue and Park Street. It is now the residence of Judge Harold B. Wells, former State Senator. When it was built it had a peaked roof—not the present mansard. Otherwise it is much as it was when erected in 1750. Hopkinson, a native of Philadelphia, was in the habit of spending a portion of each year at Bordentown, but in 1774 he made it his permanent home and died there in 1791. In 1768 he married Miss Nancy Borden, daughter of the second Joseph Borden, the judge.

Nancy Borden's sister, Maria, married Governor Thomas McKean, of Pennsylvania, who also signed the Declaration of Independence, so that two daughters of Judge Borden were wives of "signers," a unique circumstance in connection with that immortal document. Another sister was the wife of Rev. Jacob Duche, whose tragic history is traced in a preceding chapter.

Midway between the military academy and the Gilder house, also mentioned in a preceding chapter, stands a red brick school house, now piously preserved. Here from 1852 to 1854, Clara Barton, one of the country's most famous women, who later founded the American Red Cross, conducted what is said to have been New Jersey's first free school. In 1921 the children of the State subscribed a sum of money sufficient to restore what was a tumble-down wreck into the present quaint structure.

"Linden Hall," now a row of houses on Park Street, was the home of Prince Lucien Murat. The prince was not a particularly lovely character, although possessed of a sense of humor and deviltry that caused people to smile indulgently at his misdoings. He married Caroline Fraser, a native of South Carolina, then living in Bordentown. After spending all his own money he spent hers, too, and she was obliged to open a school for young ladies, which for several years was very fashionable. After undergoing privations in her later years, Caroline Fraser Murat, honored as Princess Murat, with her five children, was assisted by the town's people, before starting on her journey to France to join Prince Murat. They never returned to America, although the Princess did not entirely forget her old friends. She corresponded with them until her death.

Bordentown has the distinction of being the scene of the first railroad experiment in New Jersey. In 1831 the Camden and Amboy laid 3,500 yards of track and over it ran the "John Bull," the pioneer locomotive now preserved in the National Museum at Washington. It is said that the only woman who had the courage to ride in the train on its first trip was Princess Murat. Joseph Bonaparte was another noted participant in this "opening." A stone monument now marks a spot on the route of where the first rails were laid.

Eight or ten miles below Bordentown, at Burlington, we find other reminders of distinguished Americans. Here on September 15, 1923, the Burlington County Historical Society dedicated the birthplace of James Fenimore Cooper as a public shrine. On November 23d following, memorial exercises were held, when addresses were made by William Lloyd Phelps and Hon. Harold B. Wells. The exercises were conducted by Miss Alice C. D'Olier, sister of Colonel Franklin D'Olier, first National Commander of the American Legion. Colonel D'Olier, a native of Burlington, also delivered a brief address.

The Cooper house stands at No. 457 High Street, adjoining the birthplace of another famous American, Captain James Lawrence, whose dying words, "Don't give up the ship," became a watchword of the American Navy.

Cooper was born in Burlington on September 15, 1789; he moved with his family to Cooperstown, New York, a year later, but years afterwards resided in Burlington and used some of its residents as characters in his "Leatherstocking Tales." In his address, Professor Phelps described Cooper as the first American author to create American literature out of American materials.

James Lawrence was quite a boy when Cooper was born. Whether they ever met is conjecture. Both served on the "Wasp." The American Navy was hardly big enough in those days to boast two ships of the same name. Lawrence entered the navy as a midshipman in 1793. Not so much is told of Cooper's naval career, but he commanded a gunboat for a time on Lake Champlain, while Lawrence commanded in succession the "Argus," "Vixen," and "Wasp." He was aboard the "Wasp" until 1811. Cooper had also been aboard a ship named "Wasp" for some time when, after his marriage, he resigned from the navy in 1811 to gratify the wish of his wife.

Cooper was the eleventh of twelve children, most of whom died in infancy. His father, William Cooper, was a Quaker. The settlement around Cooperstown was in the wilderness, along the upper reaches of the Susquehanna. There, James in his boyhood saw much of wild life, and of Indians and settlers to provide material for the thrilling books of adventure that he began to write in 1820. The first work to win him fame was "The Spy," written in 1821. The "Leatherstocking Tales" were started during that decade. The later years of Cooper's life were clouded by his bitter clashes with critics, in which the novelist wasted much time, energy, and fortune. He died at Cooperstown, September 14, 1851, one day before his sixty-second birthday.

His innate obstinacy may be accounted for by an incident that happened at the time the family was ready to quit Burlington for their new home on Otsego Lake. When the household goods were loaded and most of the family settled away in the Jersey wagon, the wife, who was opposed to the change, refused to leave the arm chair in which she had seated herself with baby James on her lap. The husband and father pleaded and remonstrated, but the wife and mother would not budge. Finally, William Cooper determined on an expedient that would show his mastership. He grabbed the chair, wife and baby in his arms, carried them to the wagon, set them down in their designated corner, seized the reins, cracked his whip and was off with his precious load, in spite of the protests of his wife.

This incident of his babyhood explains the inherent temper of the man. Three letters written during the early years of Cooper's life serve to throw some light upon the character of the novelist, exhibiting the beginnings of

certain qualities that were an integral part of his nature. The first letter (when Cooper was eleven years old) is dated Coopers Town, March 3, 1800, and is said to be the first letter written by James Fenimore Cooper. It reads:

Dear Papa: I take this opportunity to write to you as Isaac is agoing directly to Philadelphia. We have got 6 lambs one has died and another is most dead. Mr. Macdonald is agoing to leave us for Albany. Mama will not let Samuel go with Isaac, though he wished to very much. I go to school to Mr. Corey, where I write and cypher. Mr. Macdonald has had a new student from New York who encamped in Mr. Kents barn and laid 3 days there without being found out and had his feet frozen. We are all well. I hope I shall have the pleasure of receiving a letter from you soon as this letter reaches you. Your Affectionate son,

James K. Cooper.

18 Century, 1800.

The "K" which Cooper used as his middle initial is for Kent, after Moses Kent, a man for whom young Cooper had a vast admiration. The second of these boyhood letters is dated a year later, September 5, 1801, and is to Isaac Cooper. It reads:

Corporal: I sit down to write to you by the desire of Mrs. Ellison, who wishes me to ask you to send by the most careful person you can find coming this way the very finest piece of cambric muslin you have got, in your Store. Such as Mrs. Banyer got. Sisters & Papa left this, this morning. Papa gave me 70 dollars for to pay some debts and as I went to Mr. Banyer's to see them start I either lost them agoing or after I came to Mr. Banyer's I do not know which, I searcht for them but they have not yet shown their faces. Sisters both were in good health, likewise Papa, Lieut. Cooper is a recruiting here, you must excuse mistakes bad writing as I am in a great hurry.

James Cooper.

The third letter was written in 1810, when Cooper was in the navy. It is to his brother, Richard, and it marks a crucial moment in the young man's life. After discussing the probabilities of resigning from the navy, because of the lack of interest in that branch of the service by Congress, Cooper reaches the real reason of his letter. As he words it, "Like all the rest of the sons of Adam, I have bowed to the influence of the charms of a fair damsel of eighteen." She was Susan de Lancey, and Cooper explains to his brother that her father consented to Cooper's addresses, providing he secured the approbation of his mother. Then he says:

Now I have to request you will take your hat and go to mother, the boys, girls, and say to them: Have you any objections that James Cooper shall marry at a future day Susan de Lancey? If any of them forbids the banns may the Lord have forgiven them, for I never will. Then take your pen and write to Mr. de Lancey, stating the happiness and pleasure it will give all the family to have this connection completed—all this I wish you to do immediately as I am deprived of the pleasure of visiting my flame, until this be done, by that confounded bore delicacy. Be so good as to enclose the letter in one to me, at the same time don't forget to enclose a handsome sum to square the yards here and bring me up to Cooperstown.

I wish not to interrupt you in your attempt to clear the estate. My expenditures shall be as small as possible.

Susan Fenimore Cooper, in her "Legends and Traditions of a Northern County," writes of a family dinner given by Isaac Cooper to the Sailor James Fenimore Cooper, when he returned home on a furlough. Writing to her nephew and referring to her father, the novelist, she says:

Your grandfather would seem to have been something of a dandy in those days; he sported a queue, would you believe it! Some of the young naval officers at that time followed the fashion of Napoleon and Nelson, and sported that appendage. Judge of the excitement caused in the family, and in the village, by the midshipman's pigtail! He soon threw it aside. But his brother, my uncle Isaac, by a successful manoeuvre,

got possession of it on the day of the dinner party, and when the family assembled about the table, there, suspended to the chandelier, was the young gentleman's pigtail!

Writing of her early childhood, Cooper's daughter naively declares, "My father played the flute in those days!" Cooper was greatly interested in agricultural matters and belonged to the agricultural society of the county. He was also an aide-de-camp of Governor Clinton, with the rank of colonel. "More than once," writes Susan, "we little girls had the pleasure of admiring him in full uniform, blue and buff, cocked hat and sword, mounted on Bull-head, before proceeding to some review." He was always a great reader. Military works, travels, biographies, histories, and novels were among his favorites. It was while he was reading an English novel (one of Mrs. Opie's), that he threw it down with the remark, "I could write you a better book than that myself." Cooper's wife laughed at the idea—that he who found so much trouble in writing a letter should write a book. Cooper persisted in his declaration and almost immediately wrote the first pages of a tale, with the action laid in England. In describing this period, Susan Cooper writes:

He soon became interested, and, amused with the new undertaking, drew a regular plot, talked over the details with our mother, and resolved to imitate the tone and character of an English tale of the ordinary type. After a few chapters were written he would have thrown it aside, but our dear mother encouraged him to persevere; why not finish it? why not print it? This last idea amused him greatly. He usually wrote in the drawing room, and, after finishing a chapter, always brought my mother in to hear it. One day he left the room, the door was open, and I went in and retired under the writing table, which was covered with a cloth, for a play with my doll. Father and mother came in together. I went on playing quietly with my doll. The reading of a chapter of "Precaution" began. This interested me greatly; it was Chapter —. Suddenly I burst into tears and sobbed aloud over the woes of —. Father and mother were amazed.

When the book was finished, the entire family went on a visit to the Jays to secure their opinion of its quality. Governor Jay was one of the audience that listened to this first outside reading of "Precaution." When the book was published many people thought that it was written by Anne De Lancey, James Fenimore Cooper's wife's sister, who was living in England. The success of "Precaution" spurred Cooper on. An anecdote which Governor Jay had told him about a Revolutionary spy supplied the framework for the next book. This was "The Spy," and its subsequent success is a part of American literary history. Susan Cooper states that while her father was at work on the story he often invited old farmers who had fought in the Revolution to pass the evening with him. They would describe the battle of White Plains and all the skirmishes of the Cowboys and Skinners.

The book after that, "The Pioneer," was laid at Cooperstown, on Lake Otsego. Some of the characters were drawn from real life, but the plot was purely fiction. Natty Bumppo was entirely original, with the exception of his leather stockings, which were worn by a very prosaic old hunter of the name of Shipman.

The Cooper birthplace at Burlington has long been cherished among the historical shrines of which Burlington has an unusual wealth. For a century it has been pointed out to visitors as one of the city's chief places of interest. It remained under private ownership during the period, but owners and tenants acceded to public sentiment and preserved the property through successive generations with the greatest care.

True, some of the modern tenants tore out the mantelpieces, which were

an adornment of the colonial houses in Cooper's day. A more modern door was also provided when the old one wore out. The general appearance of the house, however, remains much as it was when the novelist was born there. The small panes in the windows alone are sufficient to distinguish it from present day homes.

The Burlington County Historical Society has also set about to restore some of the colonial features of the old house since it purchased the property. The historical society for years had its quarters in the old library building on Union Street, but with the completion of repairs to the Cooper house it moved its quarters to the novelist's birthplace.

James Lawrence is greatest of all the Jerseymen identified with the War of 1812. He was born of distinguished parentage in Burlington on October 1, 1781, and was a younger brother of John Lawrence, prominent member of the Gloucester county bar, living in Woodbury. Like that intrepid son of old Gloucester County, Richard Somers, he showed a predilection for naval life while at school in Woodbury. The names of Bainbridge, another Jerseyman, born at Princeton, Lawrence, and Somers, are ineffably connected with the naval history of the United States. In the great World War no less than fifteen vessels bore the names of Jerseymen, the dates of commission being as follows: "Palmer," November 22, 1916; "Stockton," November 26, 1917; "Duncan," January 22, 1918; "Montgomery," July 26, 1918; "Boggs," September 20, 1918; "Crane," April 18, 1919; "DuPont," April 30, 1919; "McCalla," May 19, 1919; "Dickerson," September 3, 1919; "Southard," September 24, 1919; "Clemson," December 29, 1919; "Bainbridge," June 12, 1920; "Somers," June 23, 1920; "Marcus," February 23, 1921; and the "Lawrence," April 18, 1921.

James Lawrence was the son of John Brown Lawrence, of Burlington, a prominent Tory during the Revolution. Bainbridge, was also the son of a Tory—Dr. Absalom Bainbridge, of Princeton. As a boy Lawrence attended the Woodbury Academy and later on was entered as a student in the law office of his brother. He tired of his law books in two years and adopted the more congenial life of a sailor. Stephen Decatur was a student at Woodbury with Lawrence and made his home with the West family, at the Buck Tavern, now Westville.¹

Lawrence secured a midshipman's warrant before he was seventeen. During the war with Tripoli he was advanced to a lieutenantcy and placed in command of the "Enterprise." With the ardor of a young patriot, he plunged into the cause of seamen's rights, so cruelly outraged by the Barbary pirates—a cause in which Richard Somers, of Somers Point, sacrificed his life.

When the war with England began, Lawrence commanded the "Hornet," and in the early months of 1813, off Demarara, he met and sunk the "Peacock." Soon afterwards he was assigned to the "Chesapeake," and lay in Boston harbor the night of May 30th. Unprepared as he was, but in response to a challenge on the part of the British frigate "Shannon," he went out to-

¹A gentleman who knew both Lawrence and Decatur gave to Isaac W. Mickle, the Camden historian, about 1845, an anecdote of the latter. In 1793, when the yellow fever was raging in Philadelphia, it was found that venturesome people, to avoid the quarantine, had escaped from infected ships at the Lazaretto and landed above Woodbury, whence they reached Philadelphia by recrossing the river at Cooper's Ferry. To prevent this, a company of young men, living in the vicinity of Woodbury, was formed to guard the Delaware River shore. Decatur and a friend joined this company and on one occasion (both being on duty the same night), the friend, as captain of the guard, stationed Decatur at Red Bank. At midnight all the lookouts below Woodbury Creek were relieved, according to previous arrangements, but Decatur, stationed above the creek, was neglected and left on guard until daylight. He remained manfully at his post, but next morning hunted up his friend and visited upon him such a round of sailor's blessings that the very air was blue for a time.

ward the open sea to give battle to the enemy. The two vessels manoeuvred in the bay in a silence that has been described as "awful." Circling nearer and nearer, both ships finally gave broadside for broadside. The result was disaster and death. The decks of both vessels, according to the record, were "red with blood and the air filled with cries of the dying." The "Chesapeake," and "Shannon" came closer and were then fouled. The American frigate was rendered helpless. At about the same time Lawrence, mortally wounded, was carried below. With no thought of himself and thinking only of victory, he appealed to his men, "Don't give up the ship!"

With her commander mortally wounded and her gearing fouled, the "Chesapeake" was at the mercy of the victorious "Shannon." Lawrence was taken to Halifax, where he died on June 5th, and was buried with the honors of war. In later years his body was moved to Boston and thence to New York, where it was buried in the graveyard of old Trinity Church. Upon the stone marking his tomb is engraved:

His bravery in action was only equalled by his modesty in triumph and his magnanimity to the vanquished. In private life he was a gentleman of the most pronounced and endearing qualities, and so acknowledged was his public worth that the whole nation mourned his loss, and the enemy contended with his countrymen who most should honor his remains. The hero whose remains are here deposited, with his dying breath expressed his devotion to his country. Neither the fury of battle, the anguish of the mortal wound, nor the horrors of approaching death could subdue his gallant spirit.

It should be noted, in this connection, that "Don't give up the ship," were not all the hero's words as his men were carrying him below. With the odds against him, he cried to his men: "Keep the guns going. Fight till she strikes. Don't give up the ship." The last five words were repeated in his delirium during the ensuing four days and became a watchword of the American navy.²

Exploit of Commander Richard Somers—Of all the old homes in South Jersey, none is more deserving of preservation than the birthplace of Richard Somers, at Somers Point, overlooking Great Egg Harbor Bay. Abundant in its memories of the young man who met a tragic death before Tripoli, in the early part of September, 1804, it was also the scene of many gaieties in the days preceding and following the Revolution. Here were entertained Colonel Richard Wescoat, ancestor of many people of prominence—Endicotts, Penningtons and Scotts—the Wests, of Catawba, below May's Landing—one of them of unpleasant memory—the Leaming's, the Spicers, and the Townsends, of Cape May County.

The old Somers homestead is still standing, but the family relics passed into other hands many years ago. An old building, located back in the woods, once owned by another Somers and afterwards by a man named Spain, whence its name, "Spain House," and still later used as a club house by Philadelphia gentlemen, was burned in the winter of 1900. Being unoccupied at the time, the presumption is that this old building was set on fire. The Somers homestead, however, birthplace of Commander Richard Somers, and his father, Richard Somers, second, a Revolutionary colonel, like the old Lawrence

² Exactly thirty-seven years before this fight between the "Chesapeake" and "Shannon" the "Pennsylvania Evening Post" of June 1, 1776, in giving an account of an unequal fight off Pudding Gut Point, Boston, between Captain Mugford, of the armed schooner "Franklin," with twenty-one men and eight or nine British vessels,—many of them armed with swivels and having on board about two hundred men—said:

"The brave Captain Mugford, in making a blow at the people in the boats with a cutlass, received a wound in the breast, on which he called to his lieutenant: 'I am a dead man; don't give up the vessel.' Captain Mugford died a few minutes afterwards. The lieutenant ran his boat ashore and his crew escaped with the loss of one, besides Captain Mugford. The enemy lost about seventy men."

home at Burlington, should be a shrine at which South Jersey patriots might worship. It was erected about 1730 by the first Richard Somers. Nearby is the old Somers burying ground, and in the yard of the public school is a cenotaph, erected in memory of the gallant commander, whose dust mingles with that of other American heroes on the Mediterranean shore.

John Somers, an older brother of Richard Somers, second, (Revolutionary colonel of militia) occupied the old brick mansion at Somers Point, and owned, jointly with his brother Richard, the property at the "point" and Peck's Beach, now the site of Ocean City. Colonel Somers was also a judge of the county court and his name appears among the members of the Provincial Congress for the year 1775, but he did not take his seat.

Five years after the death of Commander Somers' father, on January 10, 1800, the following advertisement appeared in Claypoole's "Daily Advertiser," of Philadelphia:

To be rented:—That well-known, pleasantly situated place at Great Egg-harbour Inlet, formerly the residence of Colonel Richard Somers, containing four hundred acres of upland and three of meadow and marsh. The dwelling house is commodious, with suitable out buildings, and well calculated for store and tavern keeping.

N. B.—There are four apple and a peach orchards, all in good repair; other advantages from nature, of fish, fowl and oysters unexcelled by any place in the country. Apply to Wm. Jones Keen, Front st., or on the premises.

While Captain Keen was thus seeking a tenant for the boyhood home of Commander Somers, the latter was voyaging in the frigate "United States" with Commodore Barry. Four years later his body was blown to atoms or burned in the hold of the ketch "Intrepid." On the monument to his memory is chiseled:

In Memory of
RICHARD SOMERS
Son of Richard and Sophia Somers
Master Commandant
In the Navy of the United States
Born September 15, 1778.

He perished in the 25th year of his age in the ketch Intrepid, in the memorable attempt to destroy the Turkish flotilla, in the harbor of Tripoli, on the night of the 4th of September, 1805.

Distinguished for his Energy, His Courage
and his Manly Sense of Honor.

Pro Patria non timidus mori.

The valor and virtue of Richard Somers cannot be told by sculptured urn or storied monument. These are but symbols of national or family pride—memorials for the living rather than of the dead. He went to sea when quite a youth, after an academic education at Burlington, with perhaps a short period at the Woodbury Academy. He joined the American navy in its infancy, receiving his warrant as midshipman in the spring of 1798, and soon became distinguished for great courage.

Somers was intimately associated with Charles Stewart and James Lawrence, both Jerseymen, conspicuously identified with the American navy early in the last century. Of sterner stuff, perhaps, than any of these, was Richard Somers, whose exploit in the harbor of Tripoli demanded equal courage and greater sacrifice than that of Decatur, which Nelson pronounced the "most daring act of the age." Between Somers and Decatur there was

a singularly loving friendship. The character of Somers was also much admired by Washington, and as a special token of his admiration he presented Somers with a ring, containing a lock of his hair. This ring is now in the possession of the Leaming family, of Cape May, descendants of Constant Somers, brother of the naval hero.

There are but three locks of Washington's hair now in existence, one of which is the property of Richmond Lodge, No. 4, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons. Another belongs to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, and the third is the ring given to Richard Somers, now owned by the Leaming family.

Of the grandmother of Commander Somers we are told that during the early part of the eighteenth century the widow of Sir James Letart, a native of Acadia, came to reside in Philadelphia. She was the mother of several children, one of whom, a daughter, was adopted by a wealthy gentleman named Peter White, who subsequently moved to Absecon. It was here that Miss Judith Letart White, a very Evangeline for beauty and devotion, won the heart and became the wife of the first Richard Somers, at the early age of fifteen. Of their nine children, the second was the father of Captain Somers.

He was colonel of the Egg Harbor militia, judge of the court and member of the Provincial Legislature. He was particularly obnoxious to the British and Tories during the Revolution, and Atlantic County being much exposed to depredations of the enemy, he was induced to remove to Philadelphia for protection. He remained there until near the time of his death in 1794. The only picture of the hero now extant is a silhouette, with his signature underneath.

Somers was promoted to a lieutenantcy in the spring of 1799, and was subsequently placed in command of the "Nautilus." This was in the spring of 1803. The Mediterranean Squadron, which sailed in the summer and autumn of 1803, was that which became so celebrated under the orders of Commodore Preble. It consisted of the "Constitution," the "Philadelphia," the "Argus," the "Vixen," the "Enterprise," and the "Nautilus." These vessels did not proceed to their station in squadron, but sailed away for the Mediterranean as they were ready, being ordered to the Mediterranean to subdue the Tripolitans, who persisted in exacting tribute of the American merchant marine.

After settling a similar difficulty with Morocco, without any waste of powder, Commodore Preble, in command of the squadron, declared the blockade of Tripoli, before which he believed the frigates "Philadelphia" and "Vixen" were then cruising, though, unknown to him, the former had run upon the rocks and had been captured by the enemy, Commodore Bainbridge and crew being then prisoners of war.

On September 3, 1804, a fourth and last attack was made on Tripoli. Preble sent Decatur and Somers, with gunboats, covered with brigs and schooners, into the harbor's mouth, while the ketches bombarded more to leeward. On this occasion Somers was desperately engaged for more than an hour, pressing the enemy into his own port. Somers' gunboat was smaller than any one of those of the enemy, but so true was the fire that not one of them succeeded in getting alongside of him to board.

They were all bearing straight down upon the rocks, and Somers could not spare enough men from the guns to man his sweeps. Preble, on the "Constitution," saw his danger and, coming up in time, sent a broadside of grape among the pirates, who got out their sweeps and retreated when one

united attack would have made the victory theirs. As they drew off, instead of returning to the "Constitution," as Preble wished, Somers pursued them until within less than a cable's length of a twelve-gun battery, which had not fired before for fear of damaging the fleeing Tripolitans. When she opened fire at this close range the destruction of Somers' valiant little vessel seemed inevitable; but by a lucky chance a bomb exploded in the battery, blew up the platform, and drove the Tripolitans to cover.

The arrival of reinforcements had been expected in vain for several weeks. Somers finally conceived a plan for destroying the enemy's flotilla as it lay at anchor in the harbor. A ketch that had been captured from the Tripolitans by Decatur was in the squadron, and had been rechristened the "Intrepid," for the brilliant occasion on which she had been used, when Decatur recaptured and destroyed the "Philadelphia." Somers proposed to fit up the ketch in the dual capacity of fire ship and infernal, take her into the harbor of Tripoli, and there explode her in the midst of the Tripolitan vessels. The panic created by such an assault, in the dead of night, it was hoped, would produce peace and the liberation of Bainbridge and his crew. Somers, after some difficulty, secured the permission of Preble to engage in this hazardous undertaking.

Preble repeatedly warned the young officer of the desperate character of the work, and told him that on account of the Napoleonic wars the Tripolitans were short of ammunition, and that so much powder must not fall into the hands of the enemy. But Somers needed no warning. On the deck of the ketch, around the mast and over the magazine was piled a quantity of shells of different sizes, and in the hold was placed 1,500 pounds of powder. Notwithstanding the desperate character of the service, so great was their devotion to Somers, that every man on board the "Nautilus" offered to engage in it. This compelled him to make a selection, and after consultation with Preble, he selected four men from the "Nautilus" and six from the "Constitution," which, with Lieutenant Henry Wadsworth, of the "Constitution," an uncle of the poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and Somers himself, made up the complement of twelve men who were permitted to engage in an undertaking which was likely to cost them their lives. Midshipman Joseph Israel, familiarly known as Pickle Israel, and recently promoted to a lieutenantcy, with the assistance of Quartermaster Daniel Dixon, as he afterwards confessed, eluded the eye of his superior and was found on board one of the life boats accompanying the ketch, under a tarpaulin, after Somers had started on his errand of destruction. The ten seamen were: James Sinms, Thomas Tompline, James Harris and William Keith, of the "Nautilus"; William Harrison, Robert Clark, Hugh McCormick, Jacob Williams, Peter Penner and Isaac W. Downes, of the "Constitution." These men were all Pennsylvanians and Jerseymen. All told they numbered thirteen.

On the afternoon of September 4th, Somers was ready to take the ketch into the harbor. He pointed out the desperate character of the service to the men, and said he wished no man to go who would not prefer being blown up to being taken by the enemy; that such was his own determination and he wished all who were with him to be of the same mind. It was said, by those who witnessed the scene, that in reply each man asked the privilege of applying the match to the fuse. Stewart and Decatur visited Somers before he got away. The latter took from his finger a ring and broke it into three pieces, giving each of his friends a piece and retaining one himself. He also handed to Decatur a sealed envelope wherein was his will, and a personal note to Decatur, which read as follows:

Herein is my will, which I charge you to see executed, if I should never come back. For yourself, dear Decatur, I have no words that I can write. To other men I may express my affection, and ask their forgiveness for any injury I have done them; but between you and me, there is nothing to forgive—only the remembrance of brotherhood ever since we were boys.

At nine o'clock that night all was ready and the "Intrepid" was started for the harbor in the tow of two lifeboats, manned by ten seamen, with muffled oars. Stewart and Decatur, in their vessels, followed the ketch as far in the offing as was prudent. Midshipman Ridgley, on the "Nautilus," by the aid of a powerful night-glass aloft, managed to follow her until she got well within the harbor, and then she vanished. * * * The suspense soon became almost unbearable, for not a shot had been fired, and not a sound came from the direction in which she had gone. About nine o'clock a half dozen cannon shots could be plainly heard, and even the knowledge that she had been discovered and was being fired on was a relief from the awful silence. About ten o'clock Stewart was standing at the gangway of the "Siren" with Lieutenant Carrol when the latter, craning his neck out into the night, suddenly exclaimed, "Look! See the light!"

Away up the harbor Stewart saw a speck of light, as if from a lantern, which moved rapidly as though it were being carried by some one running along a deck. Then it paused and disappeared from view. In a second a tremendous flame shot up hundreds of feet into the air, and the glare of it was so intense that it seemed close aboard. The flash and shock were so stupendous that the guardships, though far out to sea, trembled and shivered.

The officers and men looked at one another in mute horror. Could anything have lived in the area of that dreadful explosion? The tension upon the men of the little fleet was almost at the breaking point.

The vessels beat to and fro between the harbor entrances, firing rockets and guns for the guidance of possible fugitives. All night the fleet kept vigil, but not a shot nor a voice nor even a splash came out from the harbor.

With the first streaks of dawn the Americans were aloft with their glasses. On the rocks at the northern entrance through which the "Intrepid" had passed they saw a mast and fragments of vessels. One of the enemy's largest gunboats had disappeared, and two others were so badly shattered that they lay upon the shore.

The details of the occurrence were never actually known. Somers was a man capable of any sacrifice for the honor and welfare of his country. Being discovered and in danger of capture, he may have ordered the match applied to the magazine, and thus sacrificed his own life and the lives of his men, to keep from the enemy the means of prolonging the war. The whole was over in less than a minute—the flame, the quaking of towers, the reeling of ships and the bursting of shells. No one ever came back from the ill-fated "Intrepid" to tell the story of the explosion.

The late Dr. J. B. Somers, of Linwood, in a letter to the writer, under date of October 25, 1895, says:

I do not think the facts will warrant the conclusion that he (Richard Somers) blew himself up, although this was the popular opinion at the time, based upon the reports of the commodore. He had signified his intention to do so, rather than allow so great a quantity of powder to fall into the hands of the enemy, but to do so without the occasion warranting it would indicate a rashness foreign to everything we know of his character. The account of their boat being surrounded and boarded by Tripolitans is all a myth. Many of the discrepancies arise from the statements made by his sister, Mrs. Sarah Somers Keen, in her later years, when dementia had begun its work. I have tried by corresponding with the Episcopal minister at Burlington to have some

matters straightened out, but to no avail. I have also corresponded with the Bainbridges, McDonoughs, etc., but they think Decatur's friends captured most of the glory for him.

Commodore Preble, in his official report, alluding to the men on the "Intrepid," said: "they were officers of conspicuous bravery, talent and merit." The bashaw offered a dollar for each body recovered from the water, and within two days the entire thirteen were recovered. Two bodies, those of officers, were found in the bottom of the ketch, which had drifted among the rocks. The six-oared boat drifted on the beach and one body was found in this. Six more bodies were found on the shore southward of the city and the remaining four were found floating in the harbor. Captain Bainbridge, at that time a prisoner in Tripoli, saw the two bodies found in the ketch and the four floating in the harbor, and he described them as being "so much disfigured that it was impossible to recognize any human feature, or even distinguish an officer from a seaman." Surgeon's mate Cowdery, another prisoner, however, selected three of these men as officers, being guided by some fragments of dress remaining on the bodies and by the delicate appearance of the hands. The ten seamen were buried on the beach, outside the town, while the three officers—Somers, Wadsworth and Pickle—were interred in the same grave, "about a cable's length to the southward and eastward of the castle." Small stones were placed at the four corners of this last grave to mark its site, but they were shortly afterwards removed by the Tripolitans, who objected to the disfiguring of their land with a Christian monument.

Congress passed a resolution of condolence and erected a monument at the navy yard in Washington in honor of these heroes. At the burning of that city, in 1814, this monument was very much defaced. Subsequently it was restored and removed to the west front of the capitol, whence it was transferred, in 1860, to the grounds of the Naval Academy at Annapolis.

Latter Day South Jersey Celebrities—Southward of the Somers homestead, aforesaid, were the plantation homes of early settlers in Cape May County. Their houses were usually low and rambling, frequently faced with white cedar shingles, with interiors of oak, red cedar, holly or gum. Here dwelt those whose homes are best known in the annals of the merchant marine—the Corsons, the Whildens, the Eldridges, the Stiles, the Youngs, the Cresses, the Skellingers, the Ludlams, the Crawfords, the Willets, and the Hewitts. The large estates were chiefly owned by the Leamings, the Ludlams, and the Steelmans.

Northward, toward Mays Landing and Absecon, were the Clarks, the Lakes, the Leeds, the Sculls, the Collins, the Wescoats, the Smiths, the Endicotts, the Penningtons, the Blackmans, the Pitneys, and others.

Above Absecon, in old Burlington, were the Tuckers, the Frenches, the Parkers, the Clarks, the Crammers, the Osbornes, the Falkinburgs, the Ridgeways, the Lacys, and the Gaunts.

Westward of Cape May, in old Cumberland, centering around Bridgeton, were the Elmers, the Bowens, the Bucks, the Whites, the Woodruffs, the Minches, the Sheppards, the Garrisons, the Reeves, the Harrises, the Ogdens, the Osbornes—at the head of whom was that man of God, Rev. Ethan Osborne, familiarly known as Father Osborne, pastor of the Old Stone Church in Fairfield,—the Fithians, the Dares, the Mulfords, the Bate-mans, the Potters, chief of whom was Colonel William E. Potter, the Holmes, the Maskells, the Seeleys, the Bacons, and the Parvins. Many of these families came from the early settlers around Greenwich.

Northward, in Salem County, were many stately homes, including those of the Sinnicks, the Carpenters, the Halls, the Sharps, the Van Meters, the Newkirks, the Mecums, the Greys, the Chews, Du Bois, Sparks, Garrisons, Eakins, Moores, Beldens, Pedricks, Hancocks, Shourds, and Matlacks.

Coming north, between Clayton and Woodbury, were the Claytons, one of whom, Hannah Clayton, married Colonel Thomas Heston, a Revolutionary soldier, who founded Heston's Glass Works, now Glassboro, and who in turn was succeeded by the Whitneys, whose head, Captain Eben Whitney, of Maine, was shipwrecked at Cape May, and traveling northward, by land, toward Philadelphia, stopped at the home of Colonel Heston, fell in love with his daughter Bathsheba, married her, settled down at the "works," which he purchased of the widow after the death of Heston, and thus founded the Whitney family of Gloucester County, whose most distinguished member was Hon. Thomas Heston Whitney. A nephew of the last named, Thomas Whitney Synnott, is now a leading citizen of the county, living at Wenonah, in his eightieth year, and is actively engaged in the benevolent work of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

Other leading families of Gloucester include the Collins and Rambos, the Helms and the Keens, the Hoffmans and the Vannemens, all of Swedish extraction, the Matlacks, the Clements, the Watkins, the Stewarts, and the Strattons, while northward, in Camden, were the Brownings, the Coopers, the Scovels, the Chews, the Carpenters, the Dudleys, the Clements, the Kaighns, the Reeves, the Hillmans, the Robesons, the Humphreys, the Carmans, the Fetters, the Daytons, the Greys, the Voorhees, the Stockhams, the Mickles, the Mulfords, the McKeens, and others.

Turning to those of a later day—men still living or not long deceased—we find many names deserving of mention—men who have left their foot-prints on the sands of time in South Jersey.

Dr. Reynell Coates was one of the habitués of Elwell's Hotel, Camden, in the days when that old time hostelry at the foot of Bridge Avenue was the rendezvous of politicians and partisans of "Camden and Amboy." He ran for the vice-presidency of the United States, on the native American ticket, which circumstance gave him great importance with the political circle. He was then editing the "American Banner," with John H. Jones, the war horse of his party. Jones ran for Congress as a native American in 1858, but was defeated by John T. Nixon of Bridgeton, son-in-law of the distinguished Judge L. Q. C. Elmer. Nixon was a Republican and was afterwards appointed United States District Court Judge. Jones subsequently became the editor of the "Camden Democrat." Dr. Coates was an eloquent and earnest partisan of his principles, and the luckless stranger who entered into a controversy with him was pretty sure to come to grief. At an earlier date (1838) the doctor was to have gone with Commodore Charles Wilkes on the scientific exploring expedition as naturalist, and he provided himself, as part of his outfit, with a number of pairs of very long boots, to be used in exploring strange waters for strange insects. For some reason the doctor did not go and his boots were preserved for some years, an object of interest and the wonder of his fellow boarders at Elwell's. During the Civil War period he conducted a private school in Camden and imparted wisdom to a considerable number of boys and girls who afterwards left their impress upon the community.

The railroad magnates held meetings at Elwell's, affecting the political complexion of the State. New Jersey was called the "State of Camden and

Amboy," the railroad corporation controlling its politics by setting up one man and putting down another.

The old hotel was pulled down long before James Elwell died, and its site is now covered by the numerous rails of the Pennsylvania company. That such a hotel existed is unknown to many people of today and few could indicate the spot, where Commodore Robert F. Stockton, Robert L and Edwin A. Stevens, Captain John W. Mickle, General Cook, John McKnight, Robert Van Rensselaer, and other railroad worthies held their confabs.

The dominating figure in New Jersey politics, a generation ago, was William J. Sewell, of Camden. For many years he was identified with the Pennsylvania Railroad, representing the interests of that company in New Jersey, after it took over the old Camden and Amboy system in 1871. On June 30th of that year the united companies—Philadelphia and Trenton and Camden and Amboy, including its "branch" line from Trenton to New Brunswick—with other vast interests, passed by lease for nine hundred and ninety-nine years into the hands of the Pennsylvania Company. During the succeeding two years, or until the passage of a general railroad law in 1873, political and legislative warfare against the united companies was constant and bitter.

The transfer of the Camden and Amboy marked the culmination of political power that had existed since 1831, when the "John Bull," with a whiskey barrel on its tender, steamed over a bit of track above Bordentown. In 1845, opposition to the Camden and Amboy resulted in the election of Charles C. Stratton, of Mullica Hill, Gloucester County, the Whig candidate for Governor, over John R. Thompson, Democrat. Stratton, unlike Thompson, was a native Jerseyman and the opposition availed themselves of this fact to influence the voters in favor of Stratton. It was an era of campaign verses, which were sung throughout South Jersey. One of these alluded to Richard F. Stockton, of Princeton, chief promoter of the Delaware and Raritan Canal, as well as the dominating spirit of the Camden and Amboy. As a captain in the navy, he commanded a squadron on the California coast during the Mexican War. This Whig song was entitled, "Jersey Blues We Look to You," and was sung to the tune of "Lucy Neal." Three of the stanzas were as follows:

A captain bold, as I've been told,
 Who sails in Uncle's fleet,
 Has been enrolled, to use his gold,
 A Jersey Blue to beat.
 So Jersey Blues we look to you,
 To keep the spoilers out;
 This motley crew will never do,
 So mind what your about.

The Polkats,too, have joined his crew,
 To sell their native state;
 They'll never do, where men are true,
 They cannot seal her fate.
 The great nor small want no canal
 To hold corruption's sway;
 Their hopes so tall will get a fall,
 When comes election day.

This state is free, thus let it be;
 We want no iron track;
 Just let them see you scorn their plea
 To take it on your back.

We see their aim, we see their game,
 They showed their hands too soon,
 The Captain's fame nor the Captain's name
 Can't save his favorite "John."

Another song, entitled "Come Out For New Jersey's Own Son," was sung to the tune of "Star Spangled Banner." The following are some of the lines:

O say have you heard what the Polkites have done
 On the green fields of Trenton, where the battle was won,
 Where the blood of your sires so nobly was shed—
 Where the Hessians and Britons before Washington fled?
 Then come out for yourselves, ere the mischief be done,
 And vote for Stratton, New Jersey's own son.
 * * * * *

Say have you not heard of a railroad's great power,
 That has ruled o'er a neighbor and darkened her hour.
 Where prosperity beamed on each valley and hill
 Corruption now reigns o'er the people's own will.
 * * * * *

Choose one that is free, yes free from the spoil,
 Whose breath was first drawn on your own native soil;
 Choose one that you know to be virtuous and true,
 A son of old Broad Seal, a true Jersey Blue.

Still another Whig song was entitled "Come Jersey Blues and Lend a Hand," and was sung to the tune of "Yankee Doodle." One of the stanzas read—

Come Jersey Blues and lend a hand
 To save the Broad Seal State,
 The railroad with its selfish hand,
 Conspires to seal your fate.
 Then Jersey Blues, keep off the track,
 Beware of John R. Thompson,
 Keep the railroad off your back,
 And vote for Charley Stratton.

These and other political songs, together with a number of devotional and didactic hymns and miscellaneous rhymes, were printed in a curious little volume entitled "Literary Remains of John Leadbeater, Jr."

The leased lines of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company included a North Jersey corporation, known as the New Jersey Railroad and Transportation Company. The lease was confirmed by the courts on March 27, 1873, and thereafter, for many years, the Pennsylvania Company found itself in the throes of politics. The Republicans plunged into the fight for immediate control of the Legislature, as well as to elect another Republican to the United States Senate, to succeed the retiring Republican, Alexander G. Cattell, of Camden County. Into this contest the Pennsylvania Railroad Company entered boldly and the roll call of the next Senate and Assembly showed a Republican majority. Edward Bettle, of Haddonfield, was the hold-over Senator from Camden, and he was an out-and-out Pennsylvania Railroad man. His predecessor had been James M. Scovel, who at that time (1872) had antagonized the regular Republicans by his activities in the campaign for Horace Greeley, candidate of the Liberal Republicans for President. Indeed, Scovel's friends had presented his name for Vice-President before the convention in Cincinnati, but in the balloting he was defeated by former Governor B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri. One of the prominent Republicans whose influence was potent at this convention was Hon. Stanley Matthews,

of Ohio, father of Right Reverend Paul N. Matthews, present bishop of the Diocese of New Jersey.

With the retirement of Bettle, in 1873, William J. Sewell was brought forward by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company as their successful candidate for State Senator. Twice thereafter he was re-elected for regular terms of three years, but near the close of his last term was elevated to the United States Senate in a memorable contest with George M. Robeson, also of Camden. Robeson had been Secretary of the Navy under Grant, and later a member of Congress from the First District—1879 to 1883. Sewell secured a majority of one in the joint caucus and it was charged, somewhat to his hurt, that the one vote was his own.

General Sewell—his title of general was on account of bravery and efficiency as a commander during the Civil War—took his seat in the United States Senate on March 4, 1881, and served creditably the full term, until March 3, 1887. The Legislature at that time was Democratic and Sewell's successor was Rufus Blodgett, identified with the Gould interests and the New Jersey Southern Railroad. His home was in Ocean County. In 1895, when the term of Senator John R. McPherson expired, the Legislature was again Republican on joint meeting, and Sewell was elected as McPherson's successor. He served until his death, December 26, 1901.

John J. Gardner was intimately associated with General Sewell and for many years was Sewell's spokesman in South Jersey. He was commonly regarded as the "brains" of the New Jersey Senate during his fifteen years' service as Senator from Atlantic County—1878 to 1893. Others gave him the sobriquet of "Honest John." For forty years John J. Gardner was one of the large figures in New Jersey politics, intellectually powerful among a considerable number of other so-called "intellectuals." His work in the Senate was always notable, but the most memorable was his exposure of election frauds in Hudson County. The magnitude of the majority cast for Leon Abbett, Democratic candidate for Governor in 1883, aroused suspicions of irregularities, and Senator Gardner was made chairman of a committee of five to investigate elections in that county.

In spite of revelations of systematic fraud—juggling with ballot boxes and tally sheets, regardless of law or decency, the local grand jury, drawn by a sheriff in sympathy with the ballot thieves, hesitated to indict the guilty. Dr. Leonard J. Gordon, as foreman of the jury, thereupon took the matter into his own hands and delivered to Justice Knapp all indictments before the jurymen could carry out the preconceived intention to reconsider and reject the bills on the assumption of new "evidence." As a result of these indictments, sixty-four members of the election boards were convicted and sent to the State prison.

The honorable service of Mr. Gardner as a State Senator brought him additional honors as a Congressman from the Second District. He served with distinction from 1893 to 1913, a period of twenty years. As a member of Congress he did not make frequent display of his forensic power, having early discovered that those who made national reputation by talking were not the men who wrote legislation; but when he did speak he was heard with respectful attention. On one occasion, when a southern member attempted to ridicule an item on the River and Harbor Bill, appropriating money for the improvement of Raccoon Creek, in Gloucester County, Mr. Gardner replied in a vein of sarcasm that compelled the member from the South to seek his "hole" as eagerly as the four-legged coon seeks his cover, when pursued by an alert and nimble hunter.

Mr. Gardner spent all of his life in the county in which he was born in 1845. He married in Philadelphia, in 1873, Mittie Scull, the daughter of an old South Jersey family. A close observer of human nature, he had a seemingly inexhaustible supply of character sketches, with which he frequently entertained his friends.

After his retirement from Congress (without a competency) he settled down on a farm at Indian Mills, in the adjoining county of Burlington, where he died in February, 1921, at the age of seventy-six years. Stricken suddenly with uremic poisoning, while about to step into his automobile in front of his home, he fell unconscious in the arms of his son and died four days later.

Another worthy son of Atlantic County, and a useful citizen of New Jersey, was General Lewis T. Bryant, who died suddenly at his post of duty in Trenton, on June 27, 1923. He served as Commissioner of Labor for a number of years, appointed at first by a Republican Governor and re-appointed by Governor Silzer, a Democrat, in appreciation of his efficiency. After sitting as foreman of the Federal Grand Jury in Newark, he returned to Trenton and worked until midnight. He then went to the Rehabilitation Clinic, where he was stricken. Ten minutes after he had called for help, General Bryant said: "I'm done for, boys. Tell my wife I thought of her till the last." He then lapsed into unconsciousness and died before daylight, aged forty-nine years.

Though crippled for many years by a spinal affliction, due to a fall, General Bryant never relinquished his activities and was devoted to the work of building up his department, in which he had the support of manufacturers and labor organizations alike, and the unanimous indorsement of social and welfare organizations throughout the State.

General Bryant met his future wife while encamped at Greenville, South Carolina, during the Spanish-American War. She is a member of the well-known Lee family of that State.

Another distinguished citizen of South Jersey, still large in public affairs, is Walter E. Edge, who served one term in the Assembly before his election as State Senator from Atlantic County in 1911. He was re-elected to the Upper House and served honorably until his election as Governor on the Republican ticket in 1916. His experience and activities at Trenton fitted him for the larger service as Governor.

While in the Senate he initiated and promoted much of the important constructive legislation of later years. His study of conditions in the labor field led him to frame the Workmen's Compensation Act, one of the first practical working laws in the country, and he pushed it to the statute books. He promoted, too, the enactment of the ten-hour law for working-women and secured legislation safeguarding factory workers against dangerously constructed work shops and occupational diseases. He was also head of the Economy and Efficiency Commission under which the departmental administrative system of the State was reconstructed in 1915. The State Budget System Bill, aimed to systematize New Jersey finances and make the Governor the responsible head of the fiscal system, and the Central Purchasing Bureau legislation, under which supplies for the State and its institutions are purchased on a wholesale scale and by fixed standards, were also of his initiation.

During the first three months of his administration as Governor he was successful in carrying out a most ambitious program. The Legislature adopted his recommendations and authorized the construction and main-

tenance of a \$15,000,000 highway system to give New Jersey a great chain of hard surfaced roads.

Governor Edge advanced three projects of major importance—the construction of a bridge over the Delaware at Camden, a tunnel under the Hudson at New York, and a ship canal across the State from the Delaware to the Raritan. Fulfillment of a platform promise to increase the franchise tax upon public utilities, a law providing for the organization of public school buildings into community centers for the promotion of the industries and agriculture and the education of the immigrant and a home rule statute, designed to give municipalities the fullest measure of self-government, are some of his accomplishments.

Governor Edge was elected United States Senator at the general election in 1918, for a full term, with a plurality of 25,279 over George M. La Monte, Democrat. With his field of opportunity broadened, he is now (1924) rendering effective service for the nation as a staunch supporter of the Coolidge administration.

David Baird, of Camden, has been one of the dominating factors in South Jersey politics for more than a generation. Like William J. Sewell, he is a native of Ireland. His ancestors were sturdy Scotch-Irish Covenanters. Coming to America as a boy, he went to work on a farm in Maryland, husking corn at six dollars a month and his board. This was during the hard times of the Buchanan administration and when the farmer told Baird he was no longer able to pay him for his services, the ambitious and good-hearted boy said he would work for nothing, plus his board, "which was worth something." Next year, while peddling eggs, butter and potatoes, a man then in close touch with a firm of lumbermen in Philadelphia secured for Baird a job to raft lumber on the Susquehanna. Eventually, this two dollar a day job led to better employment in Philadelphia with the same firm of lumbermen. Their extensive plant was afterwards moved to Camden, when the Cramp Ship Building Company took over the lumber yard site. Mr. Baird is now the owner of that lumber business, one of the most extensive of its kind in South Jersey.

His generosity as a friend and his integrity as a business man is illustrated by an incident that happened when he was doing business with the great Alger lumber firm of Michigan, of which General Russell A. Alger was the head—the same man who was afterwards United States Senator and Secretary of War. General Alger arranged to meet Mr. Baird in Philadelphia in relation to an order previously placed with his firm. He suggested to Baird that an advance payment of \$10,000 would be acceptable. Mr. Baird said: "Why not make it \$25,000?" The man from Michigan accepted the larger amount and from that time on he was a great admirer of Mr. Baird, whom he described as one of the most generous, most lovable, and most honorable men with whom he enjoyed acquaintance.

Naturally, the Republicans of Camden County were glad to bestow the mantle of General Sewell upon such a man. David Baird, for many years, has been a wise counsellor in all matters affecting the interests of the Republican party in South Jersey. He has attended all of the national conventions as a delegate since 1892 and was largely instrumental in having a Jerseyman, Garret A. Hobart, placed on the ticket for Vice-President in 1896. On the death of William Hughes, of Paterson, then United States Senator, Governor Edge appointed Mr. Baird as his successor and he served honorably until March 3, 1919. Throughout the State, and especially in Camden,

where he has gone in and out before the people for fifty years, Mr. Baird is regarded as the personification of integrity.

Another "son of the soil," whose activities have been approved by the people of South Jersey, is Edward Casper Stokes, citizen of Millville, but resident of Trenton, where he is now at the head of a banking institution. He served the people of the State as Governor, and in 1902 came within one vote of the necessary caucus majority to ensure his election as United States Senator. Subsequently, Mr. Stokes took an active part in effecting the change whereby United States Senators are now elected by direct vote of the people. His services in the Legislature began in 1890, when he was elected to the Assembly from Cumberland County. During his later service in the Senate he was one of the leaders in the fight against race tracks—a contest that eventuated in the anti-gambling amendment to the State Constitution. During the excitement over an attempt of the so-called "Rump Senate" (the Democratic minority), to exclude Republican senators-elect, particularly Senator Hoffman, of Atlantic City, whom William Riddle, the unsuccessful Democrat, sought to oust, Mr. Stokes, in this memorable contest, stood courageously for justice and it was largely through his efforts that Senator Hoffman was given the seat to which he had been fairly elected.

Mr. Stokes—he is still called "Governor"—was the first to present himself as a candidate for United States Senator in 1910, under the preferential primary law, and led all the other candidates on the Republican side by a pronounced plurality. The Legislature, which had not yet been divested of the function of electing United States Senators, was Democratic in 1911 and the majority vote of the two houses, in obedience to the mandate of Governor Woodrow Wilson, was concentrated on James E. Martine, of Somerset County. Meantime, Governor Stokes has retained his hold on the affections of the people and the gratitude of his party. He is still chairman of the Republican State Committee and is in frequent demand at public gatherings, on account of his oratorical abilities. Briefly, Edward Casper Stokes is the silver-tongued orator of New Jersey.

True greatness is not confined to men who figure prominently in public affairs. If that were so, John Woolman, already named as the greatest of all Americans, would be eliminated from the list of those whose fame will endure—a man who, like Lincoln, "belongs to the ages." A few years ago (1907) there passed out of life a man whose impress was left upon hundreds and thousands of lowly people in the great Pine Belt, reaching from Monmouth County to the tip end of Cape May, and from the sand dunes of old Egg Harbor to the marshy reaches of the Cohansey and the tortuous courses of the Rancocas. His name was Allen H. Brown. For many years he was the synodical missionary of the Presbyterian Church in New Jersey—a man who literally exemplified the teaching of that first Christian missionary, St. Paul, who counselled the Romans: "Let love be without dissimulation; be kindly affectioned one to another, in honor preferring one another; fervent in spirit, serving the Lord; patient in tribulation; distributing to the necessities of the saints; given to hospitality; minding not high things, but condescending to men of low estate; overcoming evil with good," and so on.

Early in life Mr. Brown—he is known in church history as Rev. Allen H. Brown, D.D.—cast aside opportunities for ease and comfort to engage in a life of self-sacrifice; to minister to the creature comforts and spiritual needs of a large number of people whose lines had been cast in unpleasant places, chiefly among the pines of Ocean, Burlington, Atlantic, Cape May,

Cumberland, Gloucester, and Camden counties. No sacrifice was too great for this good man; no service too burdensome. He has been honored with a symbolic memorial window, "The Sower," in the First Presbyterian Church, Atlantic City, extending across one end of the auditorium.

In a special collection of books, in the Atlantic City Public Library, is a volume of two hundred and thirty-three pages, printed in 1901. It is entitled, "A Pioneer of Southern New Jersey: A Tribute to Rev. Allen H. Brown, commending his Eightieth Birthday and Fifty-four Years of Service." This publication discloses the fact that the Presbytery of West Jersey, sitting at Cape May, on September 26, 1900, resolved:

In accepting the resignation of Rev. Allen H. Brown as Presbyterian Missionary, we desire to express our appreciation of his faithful, earnest and self-sacrificing work during the many years that he acted not only as the Missionary of our Presbytery, but also of the adjoining Presbytery of Monmouth. We recognize that the growth of the churches along the shore and in the newly-settled portions of South Jersey has been greatly promoted by his wise and judicious management; that by his large sympathies and kind expressions of interest he brought hope to many of the feeble churches, almost ready to give up, and that they have since grown into strong, self-supporting churches. He has also brought inspiration and encouragement to the self-denying ministers of those feeble churches.

At that meeting, also, an autobiography of Mr. Brown was submitted by Rev. Dr. F. R. Brace, of Blackwood, and ordered published by authority of the Presbytery. In a letter addressed to Hon. Allen Brown Endicott (since deceased), Mr. Brown named (by request) thirty-five churches founded by him, or in the founding of which he had been a co-worker with others. These churches are all in South Jersey, excepting three—Asbury Park, Long Branch, and Perth Amboy.

Dr. Brace, (since deceased) was one of Mr. Brown's co-workers in South Jersey. He pronounced the eulogiam at the funeral of the latter, held at the home of Mr. Brown's son in Montclair on November 7, 1907. Dr. Brace's estimate of the man and his work is epitomized in a few selections from the published "In Memoriam": "The wilderness and the solitary place have been made very glad and the desert has rejoiced and blossomed as the rose"; "We count them happy who endure"; "A workman that needeth not to be ashamed"; "His Heart went out in Deep Sympathy for those who were in Need of Help."

OCEAN COUNTY

CHAPTER I.

TOPOGRAPHY—EARLY VOYAGERS AND DISCOVERERS.

Ocean County, the next to the largest in area, and the most sparsely settled of the twenty-one counties in New Jersey, was formed from the lower end of Monmouth County in 1850. The five townships, Dover, Jackson, Plumsted, Stafford, and Union, were taken from Monmouth County and made to constitute the county of Ocean, by an act of the New Jersey Legislature, approved February 15, 1850. This act, however, created a sixth township in the new county, to be known as the township of Brick, which was formed partly from Dover Township, and partly from a slice of Howell Township, the rest of Howell remaining in Monmouth County.

Roughly, the county of Ocean forms a right angle triangle. The base of the triangle, forming the seacoast, is an almost north and south line. This runs from Manasquan Inlet to New Inlet, a distance of about forty-five miles. The northern boundary, while irregular, runs approximately twenty-five miles to the westward. The hypotenuse of the triangle is formed by the old boundary line between East and West Jersey as run out by George Keith in 1687.

Within this triangle there is some 750.91 square miles, according to the records of the New Jersey Geological Survey, or 480,584 acres. The seacoast is the longest possessed by any county in New Jersey, but it differs from the coast of the rest of the State, in that for almost its entire length the actual coast is a strip of beach sand, from a quarter mile to a mile wide, with a bay, or lagoon, between it and the mainland, from one to five miles wide. These bays, famed as fishing and hunting grounds, under the names of Barnegat Bay and Little Egg Harbor, are for the most part shoal, varying from a few inches to six feet deep. The strip of seabeach from Manasquan Inlet to Barnegat Inlet, a distance of twenty-four miles, is unbroken, and forms a long and narrow peninsula. From Barnegat Inlet to New Inlet, within the memory of most people now living, was formed one island, known as Long Beach. However, on February 4, 1920, during a heavy storm tide, another inlet broke through this beach below Beach Haven. This has been christened Beach Haven Inlet, and is now one of the largest and deepest inlets on the New Jersey coast. It broke through some seventy-five years ago, where Little Egg Harbor Inlet once was.

Ocean County lies in the New Jersey Pine Belt. The northwest corner of the county, part of Plumsted Township, is crossed by the green marl belt, that fertile strip of farmland running from near Sandy Hook southeasterly, through Monmouth, Burlington, Camden, Gloucester and Salem counties, and forming one of the most highly productive areas of farmland in this country. But for the most part the soil of Ocean County is a white sand, or else a clay and gravel loam. In the white sand stretches, the natural growth of woodland is yellow pine, followed, when this is cleared away, with scrub oak bushes, and is apparently capable of producing little else. But there are smaller areas, or pockets, all through this pine belt, where there are oak bottoms, growing white oak from the yellow loam. This makes a fair farm land for vegetables and fruits. In fact, fruits and vegetables, in-

cluding melons and sweet potatoes, form the chief farm produce of this county. In small fruits, berries, and vegetables the county is able to rival the more highly developed farming communities in adjacent counties containing much richer soil.

Along the bay are stretches of salt marsh or meadow, sometimes a few yards wide, sometimes a mile or two in extent. These meadows furnish a salt grass, that is used largely for packing glass and crockery, and also as fodder for horses and cattle when fresh hay cannot be obtained. These meadows are underlaid with deep deposits of black mud, or muck, the vegetable deposits of many centuries, which may some time, when dyked and the salt eliminated, make market gardens like those in Holland, under similar conditions.

Barnegat Bay is fed by a number of fresh water streams, running most of them through cedar swamps. The largest of these is Toms River, heading near Imlaystown, a few miles east of Trenton. The Manasquan, or the northern border of the county, and the Metedeconk, on whose southern branch are the famed lakes of Lakewood, are the next largest. Others are Cedar Creek, Forked River, Oyster Creek, Lochiel Brook, Barnegat River, Cedar Run, and West Creek. The upper part of Barnegat Bay is practically a fresh water lake above the mouth of Toms River. Lower Barnegat Bay, nearer the Inlet, and Little Egg Harbor and Great Bays, into which enter the salt seawater from Beach Haven Inlet and New Inlet respectively, have much greater variation in tides, and are much more salt than upper Barnegat.

Most of the farm land of the county is to be found in the northern tier of townships; but there are outcroppings of good farm land following the bay shore, which is parallel with both the highway and the railroad, and along which most of the villages of the county are strung. Also, back in the pine belt—sometimes in the flats of the stream valleys, but just as likely on the hill-tops—the good land is found.

The surface of Ocean County, low as it is, is not flat, but rolling. In the hilly part of Jackson Township, near the Monmouth County border, it runs back from water level on the bay meadows and the ocean beaches to something over two hundred feet above sea level. It is an interesting fact to note that most of the streams flowing into Barnegat Bay have higher land on their north banks and lower land on their south banks. Toms River has bluffs forty to fifty feet high on its north banks, while the southern shore, for some miles up the river, is mostly a gradual slope.

In considering the physical characteristics of Ocean County, if we begin where civilized man first touched it, and where to this day the visitors from other localities find most to interest them, we would begin at the seashore. The beaches of Ocean County differ from those of the rest of New Jersey. Northward, from Point Pleasant, which is on the shores of Manasquan River, dividing Ocean County from Monmouth, we find the mainland from Manasquan village to Long Branch running directly to the sea. In spots there is but a narrow strip of beach sand, where the higher lands are crumbled down by the action of the seas, as is the case at Long Branch. From Asbury Park south to Manasquan, there is a wider area of beach sands, but there is no bay between these seabeaches and the main land, only a series of ponds, formed by springs or small streams, flowing into the ocean, the inlets being every now and then closed by sandbars.

If we go south from the lower end of Ocean County, beginning at Atlantic City, we find flats, or shoals, extending from one mile to several miles

at sea, and the beach sand so shoal near the shore that the bathers venture out, wading in shallow water, a quarter to a half a mile at low tide. On these southern beaches the sand is finely ground by wave action, and contains more or less vegetable matter, soil and clay. Back of these beaches, instead of bays, we find marshlands, through which wind creeks and thoroughfares, connecting links between the streams flowing to the seas, and the inlets that open into the seas through the beaches. But from Atlantic City south there is little open water, between meadow and beach, except at the mouths of the larger streams, where bays have formed.

The characteristics of the Ocean County beaches have led many observers to believe that they are of more recent formation than those of the south end of the State. As said before, between these strips of sand and the mainland, there is a bay, or lagoon, from one to five miles wide, into which runs the upland streams. The beach itself is comprised first, of the strand, on which the seas break. As a rule, this is fairly sharp in its declivity, so that at low tide, a few yards from the dry sand will bring one into three to five feet of water. This depth, at low tide, will carry to a bar, formed from one to two hundred feet off shore, parallel with the coast, and extending almost the length of this forty-five mile beachline. From the second bar, the bottom of the sea drops off into deeper water. In an ordinary high tide, there may be ten to twelve feet on the outer bar, instead of three to five feet, as at low tide. In a storm tide there may be several feet more.

On a natural beach, before man has interfered, directly back of the strand, which will be a flat stretch of perhaps twenty to forty yards, come the sand dunes, or hills. These rise four to ten feet high, and are covered on the side away from the sea first with strong marine grasses, whose jointed roots extend ten to twenty feet into the sand, and help hold the hill together. After the grasses, come the bayberry and the goldenrod on the slopes to the westward. The seaward faces of these hills are bluff-like, being cut away with every heavy storm tide.

From the sand dunes the beach gradually slopes to the bay. There may be on a wide beach several rows of these dunes, one inside the other, as you travel from the sea front toward the bay. Or there may be swamps or thickets, where grow beach plums, holly, red cedar, wild cherry, bayberry, poison ivy, blackberry vines, and white furze bushes. In the swampy hollows, where the fresh rains collect, and form little fresh water pools, will be found swamp huckleberries, cranberries, cattails, and high marsh grasses. These pools are apt to be in the "glades" or "slashes" surrounded by the sand dunes. Next to the bay itself, as a general thing, is a fringe of salt marsh, identical with that on the mainland shore of the bay, and also identical with the marshes that separate beach and mainland in Atlantic and Cape May counties. Here, beside the salt grasses, bloom a multitude of wild flowers, the most gorgeous of which is the marsh mallow, or marsh hollyhock, which in August flaunts its pink, or white flowers, six or eight inches in diameter.

There are at the present time no swamps of large timber on the Ocean County beaches, such as are found on Sandy Hook, and on some of the Cape May beaches. Traditions, as well as old surveys, still tell, however, of "Great Swamp" which, from the time of the first settlers till after the Revolution, was a landmark on Long Beach. Oldtimers will tell you that, from the traditions of their forebears, most of what was "Great Swamp" is now under the sea, the beach having been cut away. Up till about twenty years ago

there was a large grove of sturdy red cedars, twisted and bent by the storms, to the north and west of Barnegat lighthouse. This grove has also been swallowed up by the changing seas.

This barren strip of beach sand, of so little worth to the early settlers that squatters were allowed to use it at will up to the time of the Civil War, and on which the cattle were allowed to roam at large, has since 1870 been growing into the most highly valued part of this county. Upon it are summer resorts of Point Pleasant, Bay Head, Mantoloking, Lavallette, Seaside Park and Seaside Heights, like a string of pearls on the narrow peninsula of Squan Beach (to be exact, part of Seaside Heights and all of Seaside Park are on Long Beach); and Beach Haven, Barnegat City, Harvey Cedars, Surf City, Beach Arlington, Ships Bottom, and a number of smaller resorts on Long Beach.

Between the beach and the mainland rolls Barnegat Bay and Little Egg Harbor, or Tuckerton Bay. Barnegat Bay begins at Bay Head, where it heads up into Metedeconk River and Beaver Dam Creek, and extends to the Cedar Bonnet, between Manahawkin, on the mainland, and Surf City, on Long Beach. The continuation of this bay from the Cedar Bonnet south is called Little Egg Harbor, or Tuckerton Bay. Divided from Little Egg Harbor by a long point of salt meadow, which reaches from the mainland nearly to the beach, is Great Bay. This latter bay is really the mouth of the Mullica River, which widens out into an oval estuary. Barnegat Bay from Bay Head to Cedar Bonnet is roughly thirty-five miles long; Little Egg Harbor, from Cedar Bonnet to Great Bay, about ten miles long. Great Bay is about five miles wide, at its best, and extends inland about seven or eight miles from the sea.

Today these three bays are connected with the Atlantic by three inlets. Barnegat Inlet, lying directly opposite Waretown village, is the entrance to Barnegat Bay, and through its turbulent channels, and over its foaming shoals, flows the tremendous volume of tidal water into and out of that bay. New Inlet, opposite the conjunction of Great Bay and Little Egg Harbor (Tuckerton Bay), for fifty years was the only outlet for these two bays. This inlet broke through the beach, according to tradition, in the year 1800. At that time, the entrance to these two bays was several miles up the coast, at Little Egg Harbor Inlet. This latter inlet, known as "Old Inlet," to distinguish it from the "New Inlet," continued to be the chief entrance to the bays, and as late as 1848 was said to be a mile or two wide. After that, it gradually closed, though it was used by coasting schooners out of Tuckerton and West Creek, as late as perhaps 1870. In 1874 it closed entirely, by the hook of the north point of beach extending clear across the inlet and encircling the sand dunes of Short Beach, making what for two centuries had been known as Short Beach, a part of Long Beach.

But to show the mutability of the sea, on February 4, 1920, during a heavy snow storm, accompanied with high storm tides and a great gale, an inlet broke through again from Little Egg Harbor to the sea, making Short Beach again an island by itself. This inlet, now known officially as Beach Haven Inlet, is more than a mile wide, and growing wider. Long Beach Township has been compelled to build jetties on its north point, in an effort to stop the erosion of beachlands that are now valuable as building lots for summer homes.

In the inlet to Barnegat Bay there have been no changes for a hundred years or more. The configuration of the beach and the islands in the bay

show that at one time there must have been an inlet opposite the mouth of the Metedeconk River. Records and tradition tell of Cranberry Inlet, opposite the mouth of Toms River, which was open during the Revolutionary War, and which was closed about the year 1812. Previous to this there was an inlet several miles to the south, the channels still showing in the bay to tell its location. These channels are still called by the old baymen, who have the name and the tradition from their fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers,—"The Old Inlet." Cranberry Inlet is supposed to have broken through about 1750. It is marked as the "New Inlet" on a map published in 1755, by one Jeffrey, a cartographer, in England. The Lewis Evan's map of the same year also shows this inlet.

It is the recollection of Cranberry Inlet, still in the vocabulary of the shore, that divides the long narrow peninsula, running from Manasquan River south to Barnegat Inlet, into Island Beach, taking in the part south of the former Cranberry Inlet, and Squan Beach, or all north of the site of Cranberry Inlet.

Both Cranberry Inlet and Little Egg Harbor Inlet during the Revolution were hiding places for privateers, when chased by British ships, and through these inlets were brought many British prizes, to be confiscated, and their cargoes sold and carted across the pine belt to the more considerable cities and towns of the interior.

To return to our progress from the seashore westward, on leaving the bay, for the most part we strike salt marshes or meadows fringing the shore of the mainland. These meadows are the more extensive at the south end of the county, and become of less importance the farther north you may travel. In the township of Little Egg Harbor, on the shores of Mullica River, Great Bay and Little Egg Harbor, the marshes form considerably more than a quarter of the whole township, while in the most northern township of Brick, at the head of Barnegat Bay, they are but a narrow fringe.

While there are places where the uplands run down to the bay itself, as well as knolls that rise here and there in the marshes, for the most part there are dense swamps between the marshes and the uplands. In these swamps are the meeting place of the flora of the north and south Atlantic coasts. Here the poplar, bilsted, and live oak (shedding its leaves in winter) grow beside the holly, gum, maple, and such rarer plants as witch hazel, with now and again stretches of white cedar. The largest of these swamps, and the most celebrated, is the Great 'Hawkin (Manahawkin) Swamp, lying between the village of Manahawkin and the bay meadows. This swamp has been cut over for two hundred years or more, and is still practically primeval forest. In some of these swamps, where the original timber has been logged off, there is now a tangle of holly, acres in extent, growing so close together as to almost smother out other growth. The swamp huckleberry and the wild cranberry are found in these swamps. In some places the swamp land has been cleared and large cranberry plantations set out. This is notably true near Toms River, and from there to the head of the bay.

Back of these swamp lands, the land rises, often abruptly, but mostly with a gradual rise, to the upland. The first comers found the greater part of the upland covered with a growth of pine, nearly two feet through at the butt, and of good height. It was not, however, a valuable timber tree, and was cut off for firewood and charcoal. In the northwestern part of the county where the land lies highest, outcroppings or deposits of better soil bear oak, white oak, red oak, black oak, and chestnut oak.

The upland portion of Ocean County is composed of layers of sand, gravel and clay, deposited without the least regularity, but extending down several hundred feet—the detritus, presumably, brought down by the floods of the glacial period, which deposited their boulder and rocks farther north, but carried the lighter sands and pebbles to form South Jersey. The highest point in these hills is about two miles west of Cassville in Jackson Township, two hundred and twenty-six feet above tide water, according to the New Jersey Geological Survey. Forked River mountains, back of the town of Forked River, rise one hundred and eight-two feet above sea level.

Part of the waters of this county drain into the ocean via Barnegat Bay; part flow westward to the Delaware, and some go to the west, then to the south, and join the Mullica River, flowing into Great Bay and thence through New Inlet to the ocean. The watershed, or height of land, extends toward the southeast, from the northwest corner of the county, strikes west of Lakehurst, thence to Whitings, and then parallels the shores of Barnegat Bay, about ten miles distant. All the streams to the east of this watershed flow to Barnegat Bay, by way of the Metedeconk River, Toms River, Cedar Creek, Forked River, and smaller streams. In the northern part of the county, on the west of this watershed, the drainage is toward the northwest, into Crosswicks Creek, which joins the Delaware at Trenton; a little farther south, the small streams are tributary to Rancocas Creek, which reaches the Delaware, after flowing through Mt. Holly; while still further south, the streams on the west of the watershed join the Oswego River, a tributary of the Mullica River.

Ocean County streams for the most part flow through swamps, or uncleared bottomlands; here are the famed cedar swamps, or what is left of them after two hundred years of the axe and sawmill; here also are found the cranberry and huckleberry, in their wild state, the swamp magnolia, jungles of maple, gum, alders, and sumac, and thickets of briers. Because of these swamps, the streams have a remarkably steady flow, losing little of their volume in dry weather. Along these streams, in the rich bottom lands, are the greater part of the cranberry bogs, so laid out that the water from the streams can be made to cover them quickly with a flood several inches deep, to save them from frosts in the spring and fall. These streams are also dammed here and there to supply power for sawmills, though most of the old water powers are now abandoned. In the early days of the colony and State, they were made to run saw and gristmills, and iron forges.

This county of Ocean, and in fact the Atlantic Seaboard of South Jersey, is an entrancing field for the botanist, and also for the lover of wild flowers who is not a scientist. In the early spring the arbutus (locally called the "May pink") and the pixie dantheria start the season. From then till frost there is a continuous succession of wild flowers, rare in beauty and fragrance. In late May and early June the woods are pink and white with laurel; the orchid moccasin flower, or "Whippoorwill's Shoe," is found among the oak timber; in the swamps come the fragrant white magnolia, and in the marshes the carnivorous pitcher plant, or "rain shoe"; pond lilies cover ponds and streams; blue flags adorn the fresh marshes. In July the golden rod begins and continues until frost—and there are scores and hundreds of rare and as beautiful flowers as these chief varieties we have named.

About ten miles west of Barnegat is one of the most curious natural phenomena to be found in the North Atlantic States—what is locally known as "The Plains," or the big Plains and the little Plains, as there are two sec-

tions, one larger than the other. Here on the same rolling hills as elsewhere in South Jersey, with apparently the same soil, is a stunted growth of pine, laurel, vines and other shrubs such as might be found in Labrador, or above the timber line on a mountain side. What causes it, no scientist has been able to tell. It has been visited by scores of scientific men, and so far no theory advanced for this condition has been able to stand. The tradition is that the first white men found these Plains as they are today, and were told by the Indians that their traditions did not go beyond their presence.

According to the New Jersey Geological Survey, Ocean County contains 750,913 square miles, or 480,584 acres. Of these acres, 72,681 are covered by water, including the bays; and the land surface totals 407,903 acres, with 7,332 acres in beach land, 40,400 acres in tide marsh, and 360,910 in uplands. Of the uplands, in 1895, the survey showed 47,084 acres cleared, and 313,087 in woodland, and there has been no appreciable change in this ratio since. A synopsis of these figures would show less than ten per cent. of the upland cleared, or eight per cent. of the entire area; fifteen per cent. is covered by water, and sixty-five per cent. is in woodland.

We find that the railroads and highways of Ocean County were largely built for the purpose of reaching the great city of New York and its metropolitan district, and the smaller city of Philadelphia, with the second largest metropolitan district. From New York comes the New Jersey Central Railroad, through Lakewood, Lakehurst, and Whitings, on its way to Winslow Junction, and Atlantic City. A branch at Lakehurst runs eastward to Toms River, and southward through Bayville, Forked River and Waretown to Barnegat. The Pennsylvania Railroad line runs from Philadelphia through Whitings and Toms River, crossing Barnegat Bay by a trestle bridge to Seaside Park, and then up to Island Beach and Squan Beach to Point Pleasant, where it connects with the New York and Long Branch Railroad, running trains to and from New York City. There is also a branch line from the Pennsylvania Railroad, at Whitings, running to the southeast to Barnegat, Manahawkin, West Creek, and Tuckerton. This is the Tuckerton Railroad. Still another line branches from the Tuckerton Railroad at Manahawkin, and crosses the bay to Long Beach, running south on the beach to Beach Haven. For thirty years there was also a railroad on Long Beach running north from this bridge to Barnegat Inlet, but that was abandoned in 1923.

The northwestern part of the county is served by the Pemberton and Hightstown line, which connects with the Pennsylvania system at Hightstown, on the old Camden and Amboy Railroad at one end, and with the line from Camden to Toms River, at Birmingham, at the other end.

The only direct highway route north and south through Ocean County is now known as Route No. 4 of the State Highway system. It enters the county by the Manasquan River Bridge on the north at Point Pleasant, runs westward to Lakewood, then south through Toms River, Barnegat, and Tuckerton to the Burlington County line. This is a route used by hundreds of thousands of tourists each summer, as it connects Atlantic City and Asbury Park, as well as Philadelphia and New York. Through routes from West Jersey across the pine belt are at present but two in number—from Camden and Mt. Holly via Browns Mills to Lakehurst and Toms River; and via Camp Dix to New Egypt, Lakewood, and Point Pleasant. Another cross State road is being built from Barnegat toward Mt. Holly and Medford.

Another important thoroughfare is the Inland Waterway, dredged by

the State and maintained at a depth of six feet for pleasure craft, from Bay Head through the bays and thoroughfares to Cape May. From Bay Head to the Manasquan River a canal has been cut and is all but completed.

Early Voyagers and Discoverers—It cannot be told at this day who was the first white man to look upon the beaches of Ocean County. Fancy might place the original discoverer as the half mythical Northmen; there is more reason to believe that John and Sebastian Cabot, the Venetian mariners, who sailed from Bristol under the patronage of Henry the Seventh, in 1498, may have coasted the Jersey shore; or that John Verrazano, another Venetian mariner, sailing on a voyage of exploration for Francis I, of France, in the year 1524, in the ship "Dauphin," may also have sailed along this coast.

We have, however, unmistakable ground for assuming that Hendrick Hudson, in the voyage that opened up the harbor of New York to the Dutch, explored this coast in the "Half Moon" in 1609. The basis for this statement is found in the log of the "Half Moon," written by Alfred Juet, Hudson's mate, which tells of their attempt to enter the Delaware Bay, in which they were frustrated by failure to find the channels. They left what is now Delaware Bay, and put to sea, first standing to the northeast, and then hauling inshore, after which they followed the coast. The log of September 2, 1609, reads:

When the sun arose we steered north again and saw land from the west by north to the northwest, all alike, broken islands, and our soundings were eleven fathoms and ten fathoms. The course along the land we found to be northeast by north. From the land which we first had sight of until we came to a great lake of water, as we could judge it to be, being drowned land, which made it rise like islands, which was in length ten leagues. The mouth of the lake had many shoals, and the sea breaks upon them as it is cast out of the mouth of it. And from the lake or bay, the land lies north by east, and we had a great stream out of the bay; and from thence our soundings was ten fathoms two leagues from land.

As the "Half Moon" entered Sandy Hook on the following day, there can be no question of this description being meant for the shore between what is now Atlantic City and Point Pleasant, or Absecon and Manasquan Inlets.

This coast was again visited in 1614 by Cornelius Jacobsen Mey (May), the Dutch explorer, after whom Cape May, New Jersey, is named. Mey probably explored the coast from the Delaware Capes north toward Barnegat. Tradition says that it was he who gave the names Great Egg Harbor and Little Egg Harbor to the two coastal bays that now bear them, Little Egg Harbor being in Ocean County. On the maps and accounts of his voyages, the name is given as "Eyre Haven," which was readily changed to Egg Harbor by the English colonists. The sand dunes on the beaches are said in those early days to have been the nesting places of myriads of gulls and tern, the marshes teeming with mudhens, black duck, snipe, and other wild waterfowl, so that the name given by the Dutch explorer was at that time fully justified.

The first seagoing craft¹ to be built on the North Atlantic coast so far

¹It might be interesting to note that not only did the first seagoing vessel built on the North Atlantic coast enter Barnegat Bay, but that the first steam vessel ever put to sea also entered that inlet. It was about two hundred years after the visit of the "On Rest" that this occurred. John Stevens, of Hoboken, New Jersey, one of the pioneers in steamboat building, and apparently the first to use the screw propeller on steamboats, had a ferry between Hoboken and New York, and built a ferryboat, steam driven, to ply across the Hudson. Chancellor Livingston had secured a patent for the use of steam on all New York State waters. Stevens thereupon secured a similar monopoly for New Jersey waters. But Stevens' steam ferryboat could not cross the middle of the Hudson River, and he sent the craft to the Delaware, to run between Philadelphia and Bordentown. The ship, we are told (it was the "Phoenix"), was in command of Stevens' son, Robert Livingston Stevens. On the run down the coast, a storm coming up, it put in to Barnegat Inlet for harbor.

as is known, was the sloop "On Rest," which was launched at Nieu Amsterdam in the same year as Mey's voyage, 1614. The records tell that Adrien Block explored Long Island Sound in the "On Rest," sailing eastward as far as Block Island, to which he gave his name. After this voyage, a Captain Hendrickson, another sturdy Dutch navigator, took the same bluff-bowed sloop, and ventured down the coast, including Barnegat Bay in his voyage of exploration. It is stated that a map, published in Holland about the year 1614, gives the streams entering Barnegat Bay about as we know them today, while other maps, up till a half century later, simply gave hit or miss streams as tributaries to this bay. From this circumstance it is thought by some who have studied the history of this part of the shore, that Hendrickson, or perhaps Mey, had sailed around Barnegat Bay. The logical theory, from what evidence we have, would give this voyage to Hendrickson, as it is not included in any of the reports of Mey's voyages.

CHAPTER II.

THE LENNI-LENAPE, AND FIRST SETTLERS.

The white settlers of this locality, who appear to have begun to squat on fertile knolls along the bays and streams between the years 1665 and 1700, found many evidences of previous Indian inhabitants, but no great number of Indians. It is natural to suppose that the Indians, living largely on game, roamed at will over a considerable territory. The New Jersey Indians were of the Delaware tribe, or Lenni-Lenape, immortalized by James Fenimore Cooper in his "Last of the Mohicans." They cultivated native corn (maize) and beans, perhaps tobacco; they caught the clams and oysters, and fish; they chased the deer, and with their arrows brought down the wild-fowl which were in such vast flocks as at times to almost darken the skies; smaller game, such as rabbits, partridge, quail, prairie chicken, were also abundant and easily killed.

There are evidences of Indian villages on both shores, near the mouth, of nearly every considerable stream that empties into Barnegat Bay. Farmers plowing sandy fields, and workmen excavating for buildings, frequently unearth arrowheads of flint or jasper that must have been brought many hundreds of miles to this region; pottery, is also found, though less frequently than the arrow and spear heads, stone axes and kindred implements; graves of the Indian dead are also unearthed now and again. More remarkable still are the great mounds of oyster and clam shells that are occasionally found, there being many small deposits of these shells, but comparatively few large ones. There is such a mound on the meadows below Tuckerton, however, that is incredibly large. For two centuries the whites have carried shells away by the cartload from this mound, for the making of lime for road building, and it is still so large that it seems impossible that it could have been the growth of less than tens of centuries, if deposited there by the comparatively few Indians, such as the white man found in this country.

The whites, living in populous centers, such as New York and Philadelphia, like to make the shore their summer play-ground. The steam railroads and the automobile roads lead from the cities to the resorts on bay and ocean. In this respect they are but following in the footsteps of the Indian, if we trace his habits correctly. The Indian trails led across the State, avoiding so far as possible the necessity of fording streams. Old inhabitants tell, on the strength of traditions from their "gran'daddies" that

the Indian trail from what is now Toms River village to what is now the city of Trenton, on the Delaware, was made all the way so it could be traversed in normal times without getting the Indian traveler's legs wet above his knees. The old traditions also tell that the Indians from the upper Delaware Valley came down these trails in summer and early fall to gather oysters and clams, and to change their diet to salt water fish. The oysters and clams were caught in large numbers, according to these traditions, and were strung on a sharpened withe, or branch, and cured in smoke, so that they could be taken back up the trail for winter food. Others of the Indians undoubtedly remained here the year round.

Unlike some other sections of the country, the South Jersey Indians were at no time in armed conflict with the white settlers. Probably there were not enough of them. They were, however, large enough in number to have given them a reservation at what is still called Indian Mills, in Burlington County, just across from the Ocean County line. This was the Edge-Pillock tribe of the Delawares. In 1802 they ceded their lands to the State of New Jersey, and were removed to the Oneida Reservation in New York State. They reserved the right, however, to hunt, fish, and cut basket wood on unoccupied lands, and tradition says that parties of them would in the summers come down the old trails from New York State to the shore for the salt water dainties which they loved.

Tradition also tells of a number of outstanding Indian characters who made their homes at various places on the coast, long after the white settlers were fairly established. There was Indian Toms, after whom one tradition says the river and the village of Toms River were named. He lived at times in a dugout in the river bluff at what is now Island Heights, and also is said to have had another sandcave, or dugout, in the steep eastern slope of "Indian Hill," on the northeastern edge of Toms River village. Another contemporary with Indian Toms, was Indian Will, who lived at what is now Point Pleasant Beach, on the south shore of the Manasquan River. About him there are many traditions. A deep cove is still called "Will's Hole," and it is alleged that there he flung the corpse of his squaw, whom he knocked on the head with a billet of wood, because she failed to cook his beans to suit his taste; also that he later flung into the same hole her two brothers, Long Island Indians, who came over to avenge the death of their sister, but who were first made drunk and then murdered by the wily Will.

Tuckerton had an Indian resident, Elisha Ashatama, an Edge-Pillock Indian, who stayed on the shore when the tribe went to New York State. He served in the navy on the ill-fated "Chesapeake" during the War of 1812, and was drowned in the Mullica River while "gravelling oyster beds in the mouth of that river in 1833 or 1834, being drunk at the time. His grave is shown in the old Methodist burying ground in Tuckerton.

A few years ago an ethnologist, connected with the Interior Department at Washington, visited the Jersey shore to map old Indian villages. He told the writer that he had recently been in Oklahoma, and there he found a remnant of the Delawares, who said their fathers had lived where the sun came up each morning out of the great salt water—a tradition that they had carefully preserved, and which in their eyes gave them great superiority to the western, or plains, Indians.

The names Manahawkin, Manasquan, Metedeconk, Westeconk (now corrupted to West Creek), are among the few survivals of the Indian tongue. As a curiosity, we might quote from the "History of Little Egg Harbor,"

written by Leah Blackman, of Tuckerton, the numerals used by the Indian: One, cooti; two, nishi; three, nawhaw; four, nayway; five, Plainah; six, hosh; seven, coot-hosh, or one and six; eight, nish-hosh, or two and six; nine, pesh-konk; ten, tellon; eleven, tellon-cooti (ten and one); twelve, tellon-nishi (ten and two), and so on up to tellon-tellon (ten and ten) or twenty.

There are still families of prominence among the old residents, in whose straight black hair, keen black eyes, swarthy skin and high cheek bones, are evidences to back up the family tradition of Indian blood, a tradition that today is a boast, rather than a reproach.

First Settlers on the Shore—Aside from the one township of Little Egg Harbor, there is no records extant of the early settlers in Ocean County. Little Egg Harbor Township of Burlington County, made a part of Ocean County in 1891, was in West Jersey territory, and was settled by Quakers, or Friends, who bought their lands from the Quaker Proprietors, among whom was William Penn. The records of the Little Egg Harbor (Quaker) meeting give us the births, marriages, and deaths in that township, and the records of land transactions in Burlington, tell of the settlers who first took up the land, but in the rest of Ocean County, it is quite plain that the early settlers were squatters. They asked no title to their lands but that of occupation.

There seems to have been three distinct paths or sources from which the early settlers of Ocean County came. The first path was undoubtedly the path of the sea. Tradition tells that some of the early settlers in Barnegat and Manahawkin were sturdy whalers from Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, who followed the huge mammals along the South Shore of Long Island and across the bight of the sea to Barnegat Inlet, and who had their whaling station, or stations, on Long Beach. From a casual whaling station on the beach, to a permanent home on "the main" was not a long step. That others drifted in from the sea is shown by the fact that up to and beyond Revolutionary times there were few if any roads, except the Indian trails, and their counterparts, trails, made by the whites from settlement to settlement or from farmstead to farmstead, and passable only on foot or on horseback. All along the shore of the bays, the fertile knolls in the salt meadows, the spots where the channels touched the upland shores, and the banks of the streams, were the favored homes of the early settlers, and it is equally apparent that their early roads were the waterways.

The second, and probably the most frequent origin of early Ocean County settlers, was from the settlement of Long Island families at Middletown and Shrewsbury, near Sandy Hook, in 1665. In the list of these early Monmouth County settlers, there are scores of names still common in this county. All of Ocean County, except Little Egg Harbor Township, was then part of Shrewsbury Township, Monmouth County.

This first settlement in Monmouth County, was made under what is known as the Monmouth Patent, issued by Governor Richard Nicolls, of New York, who was appointed by the Duke of York, to govern that colony. The British had seized the Dutch Colonies of New Amsterdam and Achter Coll, as the Dutch sometimes called what is now New Jersey, in 1664, and King Charles had given them to his brother the Duke of York. The settlers who came to New Jersey under this patent, also bought their lands from the Indians. They were largely from the east coast of England, Monmouthshire, and brought with them the names of Monmouth County and of Shrewsbury. They were partly Quakers, and came to New Jersey from Long Is-

land and from Rhode Island. Names among these settlers that became prominent in Ocean County, showing that the Shrewsbury and Middletown families sent out pioneer offspring who settled farther down the coast, include: Holmes, Brown Stout, Throckmorton, Cox, Cook, Hance, Wall, Harts-horne, Lawrence, Havens, Applegate, Grover, Shinn, Parker, Wainwright, Gifford, Arnold, Shattuck (Chadwick), Vaughan, Harbert (Herbert), Estell, Layton, Borden, Brinley, Lippencott, Tilton, Wardell, Holeman (Holman), Cottrell, Williams, Rogers, Allen, Jeffrey, Compton, Bowman, Shrieff (Shreeve), Chambers, Coward, Chamberlain, Mott, Worth, and others.

The lower end of the county was presumably peopled by those who came by the front door, from the sea, and those who came by the back door, that is, landing in the Quaker colonies on the Delaware River, and reversing the course of their voyage from Europe, traversing the State eastward to the shore. That was the way in which Hendrick Jacobs Falkinburg (or Falconbre) came to what is now Tuckerton in 1696. Four years afterward, Edward Andrews, whose Quaker ancestors had come to Massachusetts Bay Colony sixty years before, and who had tried successively Rhode Island and Long Island, bought a tract from the Quaker Proprietors of West Jersey and located in Tuckerton. It seems that about that time there were Cranmers at what is now Barnegat, and settlers were soon found, if not already there, at West Creek and Manahawkin.

Beside the Monmouthshire English, many of whom were of Quaker faith, much of the settlement in the lower end of the county that drifted in from West Jersey, was also of the Society of Friends. Mingled with the sturdy strain of the best English yeomanry were occasional families of French Huguenots, Scotch Presbyterians, Welsh Baptists—and history says an occasional retired freebooter, who, on quitting his venturesome career, wanted to hole away in some not too conspicuous spot, yet near the sound and smell of the salt sea. By 1700 there were apparently a few families scattered here and there at the more accessible and choice spots along the bay shores. By 1740-50, there were several fair-sized villages, and numerous hamlets. In Little Egg Harbor Township the original settlers took up land from the Quaker Proprietors, but in the rest of the county the East Jersey Proprietors do not seem to have had much opportunity to pass title on their lands till within the decade of 1740-50.

Little Egg Harbor was the most important of the shore settlements in the early half of the eighteenth century, from 1700 to 1750. Henry Jacobs Falkinburg, "the Swede," as he is called by tradition, though a native of Danish Holstein, was the first settler, and bought eight hundred acres on February 7, 1698. This was not, however, the first land in what is now Little Egg Harbor to be taken up, for in 1689, Daniel Leeds, surveyor-general of West Jersey, mapped out a tract of five hundred and sixty-seven acres, comprising practically all of that part of the present Borough of Tuckerton, on the east side of Tuckerton Creek, for Samuel Jenings, afterward Governor of New Jersey. It was this tract that Jenings sold in 1704 to Edward Andrews. Andrews is said to have first bought this tract from the Indians in 1699. According to tradition both Falkinburg and Edwards first dwelt in caves, or dugouts, on the side of a steep hill. In 1704 Edwards built a gristmill. Old Tuckerton folk say that his milldam he found, already built by a beaver colony, and he but strengthened and raised it to hold a higher head of water. They say, also, that the dam over which the main shore road from Toms River to Atlantic City now runs, is that same beaver

dam. In 1708 Edwards deeded two acres of land for a Friends meeting house, and the next year he built them the house. This building stood till 1863, when it was torn down, and the present Friends meeting house in Tuckerton was built on the same site, and partly from the same lumber. The records of the Little Egg Harbor Friends Meeting date back to 1715, as preserved. The name Tuckerton, for the chief town of Little Egg Harbor, did not arise till a century after founding the town, when in 1798 the village was thus named in honor of its then chief citizen, Ebenezer Tucker. You can see the monument to Tucker in the old Methodist burying ground at Tuckerton, a four-sided pyramidal shaft, and all the four sides are used to commemorate his successful career. He was postmaster at Tuckerton, collector of the port of Tuckerton, member of Congress from New Jersey, a friend and correspondent of Washington, John Adams, and other Revolutionary worthies.

With Edward Andrews came his brother, Mordecai, who also took up a survey of nine hundred acres, and soon after, we find Thomas Ridgway, Richard and Roger Osborn, John Mathis, Joseph Willits, Ive (or Ives) Belangee, William Birdsall, and Robert Allen. These were all at Little Egg Harbor before 1716. Jacob Ong, probably a German, located there and bought land from the Proprietors in 1698.

Edward Andrews, while by birth a Friend, was said to have been a gay and frolicsome chap when he first settled at Tuckerton. He was fond of his fiddle, and in other ways was outside the strict rules of the Friends Society in those days. In the spring of 1704, so the story is told, while plowing his field, he turned up the leg bone of a man, and in cultivating the field, he tossed this bone aside several times. One day the sight of this bone started him thinking, and he afterward became a devout Friend, and a minister of that faith. His two sons, Jacob and Peter, were famed as ministers of this Society. Another fervent apostle of the Friends' faith was Isaac Andrews, either a son or a nephew of Edward Andrews.

Tradition says that for seventy years, or up to the outbreak of the Revolution, Little Egg Harbor remained a distinctively Quaker settlement. No public house, or tavern, was allowed there. Town meetings were held at the Friends meeting house, and the records of the Friends Yearly Meeting were virtually the annals of the settlement.

Edward Andrews' first convert to the Quaker faith, outside of his home hamlet, is reported to have been one William Cranmer, living at Barnegat. The same tradition says that when Edward Andrews wanted to build his Quaker meeting house, he brought John Cranmer from Barnegat to be the boss carpenter.

Edwin Salter, who did more than all other men to preserve the records and traditions of this part of the shore, says that in 1720 Jarvis Pharo (or Gervas—called "Garvey" by his neighbors) lived at Westeconk or Westacunc (now West Creek), three miles north of Tuckerton. Tradition gives to Garvey Pharo the honor of having built the first garvey, the traditional clam and oyster boat of those waters.

Thomas Tow was living at Barnegat in 1720, and in 1729 Timothy Ridgway, of Little Egg Harbor, and Sarah Cranmer of Barnegat, were married. In 1720 Richard Willits and Ruddick Townsend were appointed to enforce the new oyster law, passed that year, making it unlawful for New York oystermen to carry away oysters from New Jersey waters, and closing the oyster beds entirely during the spawning season, from "the tenth day of May

to the first day of September, yearly, and every year, after the publication" of the law. Nicholas Brown died at Manahawkin in 1724.

The isolated farmsteads or settlements began to become hamlets during the years between 1700 and 1740. In the '40s we find lands taken up from the East Jersey Proprietors in various parts of old Shrewsbury Township, now Ocean County. The Indian trails were probably widened and straightened, and rough roads built from hamlet to hamlet, following the shore, far enough back to avoid the meadows and swamps. About this time we hear of milldams being constructed, and saw and gristmills being built.

Trade now began to come in. The settlers could trade by boat with New York, taking there lumber, furs, salt fish, rye and Indian corn, oysters and clams. The sheet-topped wagon, with its ox or mule team, bringing clams, oysters, and fish from Egg Harbor, Barnegat, or other shore towns, to the farms and villages in West Jersey, and even as far as Philadelphia, became a familiar sight on the roads or trails across the State. It was but natural that Little Egg Harbor should start this traffic by wagon, and that the wagons should for a century be known as "Egg Harbor wagons," for many of the settlers in Egg Harbor were Quakers from West Jersey, and all their connections laid that way. From Manahawkin north the trade seems to have been more by sea with New York. About the middle of the eighteenth century shipbuilding sprang into life, more particularly in Little Egg Harbor, and it became a port to which rum, molasses, and other products of the West Indies were brought, being carted from there across the State to Mt. Holly, Trenton, and Philadelphia. It is quite possible, indeed very probably, that this was smuggling, pure and simple, else the ships might as well have gone up the Delaware River to Philadelphia with their West Indian cargoes, and saved the haul over sand-roads through the pines.

Tradition says that in those early days the settlers along shore had come to a land of peace and plenty. Where the Quaker influence dominated, no law was needed—the elders and the meetings settled neighborhood disputes, and crimes were almost unknown. There was no need for anyone to steal, as all had plenty, and all gave to every comer with the open-handed hospitality of the pioneer. The seas and bays teemed with fish at all times of the year, to be had for the taking; wild waterfowl covered the bays in great flocks in winter, and bred on the meadows, ponds and marshes in summer; herds of deer could be found at will in the woods; lesser game such as rabbit, quail, and partridge, were easily shot, trapped or snared; stories are told of killing, with clubs, mud or marsh hens by the garvey load, when the fall tides submerged the meadows; and also of killing, with clubs, wagon loads of prairie chickens when these birds gathered on the plains in the fall.

The virgin soil produced fair crops of Indian corn, rye, beans, potatoes, as well as pumpkins, squashes, turnips, and the vegetables brought from overseas. Fruits, such as apples, peaches, cherries, plums, pears, grapes, and the smaller berries, like the gooseberry, currant, strawberry, blackberry and raspberry, flourished and bore heavily in this new land, which at that time knew neither insect pest or plant disease. In the bays were more oysters and clams than the settlers ever dreamed could be consumed. For clothing, they raised their own sheep, sheared them, washed and carded the wool, spun the yarn, wove the cloth and made their own homespun garments. Flax was raised for its fiber, and linen was made in the same way. Presumably most of the woolen and flaxen yarn was sent away to be woven into cloth, but tradition tells of home hand looms, and every house had its spin-

ning wheel. Furs, from the "varmints" trapped by the boys, helped keep them warm in winter, and could be traded in New York or Philadelphia for necessities. Salt was taken from the bay water, at first, for home use, but later for export to other parts of the country, thus becoming an item of importance in trade. The cattle roamed amid the wood, salt meadow, and upland savanna all summer long, returning in the fall ready to kill into beef with a little fattening off; the herds of swine also roamed in the woods, and fattened on the oak mast in the fall. The cattle when killed furnished hides for home-tanned leather, which in turn went into boots and shoes, made by the traveling shoemaker, who made his trips once a year. Deer skin made the best working clothes, and a coon skin was the right size for a man's cap. To men from England, also from New England, the climate was mild the year round. There being no tax to pay, land could be had for the taking, and timber, both for building and fuel, for the cutting.

Of schools and churches, aside from the Quaker meeting houses, they had none, and the Quaker scorned "the hireling ministry," and their ministers would take no pay for their preaching. Money was scarce; men worked hard, and played hard. There were few refinements, yet a wholesome simplicity.

With the sawmills came more pretentious houses than the log cabins which had succeeded the caves, fashioned after the Indian dugouts. Bricks and window glass were brought from New York, in the trading sloops, for the more wealthy, the settlements beginning to produce more than enough for their own needs, and to have a surplus with which to trade. Crockery, glassware, silverware, house furnishings, and articles of dress came also from the same source, taking the place of the homemade articles, that, roughly fashioned, had to do the first settlers.

For fertilizer, the farmers followed the old Indian customs. When corn-planting time came, and the oak leaves were as big as a squirrel's ear, the fresh water streams were almost blocked with herring, a small cousin to the shad, coming to fresh water to spawn. These were caught by the wagon load, and used to fertilize the cornfields. In the fall, when the west winds laid the bay flats bare, scowloads of mussels were gathered from the bay and spread out on the fields, to be turned under. The oily menhaden, or moss-bunkers, were netted in vast quantities for fertilizer. Lime, when needed, was made by burning great heaps of clam and oyster shells in rude kilns, built under the side of a hill—layers of alternate wood and shells. Thus the settler was almost sufficient to himself—given health and strength, an axe and a gun, a cow, chickens and ox, mule or horse. All else he could fashion with his own hands, and those of his neighbors, for those were the days when neighbors for miles around united in helping a man build his house or barn, or do any work beyond the possibilities of a single pair of hands, well knowing that it would be returned when their individual need arose.

While the Quaker element in the settlers was the most pronounced, especially in the south end of what is now Ocean County, there were other colonies that owed their coming to religion. One of the strangest of these colonies was that of the Rogerine Baptists, who settled at Waretown, opposite Barnegat Inlet, in 1737. This society, also known as Quaker Baptists, was founded by John Rogers in 1674. They had peculiar tenets, and went out of the way to invite persecution—it is told of them—by publicly showing these peculiarities. Massachusetts Bay Colony and Connecticut, those

strictly religious communities in those early days, seem to have been peculiarly attractive to Quaker, Baptist and other denominations, who knew they were antagonizing the laws and the spirit of those colonies, and gloried in the fact that they would be punished, or, as they would call it, persecuted for their belief and the practices founded upon their belief.

Such were these Rogerines. They would not respect the Sabbath, saying that the death of Christ overthrew the Jewish Sabbath, and all days were alike holy. They made it their business to work on Sunday, where they could be seen of men, even taking their work to the meeting house, the women knitting and the men making basket splints during the service. They were practically driven out of both Massachusetts and Connecticut, and in 1734 a colony of them, headed by John Colver (or Culver) with a family of five sons and five daughters, left New London, Connecticut, and settled in Morris County, New Jersey, on the east side of Schooley's Mountain. Three years later they again moved to Waretown. Tradition says they stayed at Waretown eleven years, moving back to Morris County, on the west side of Schooley's Mountain. One of these colonists was Abraham Waier, after whom Waretown was named. He did not go back with the rest of the colony, but continued to stay in Waretown, dying there in 1768. The name Ware is still found around the head of Barnegat Bay, to which district his family moved after his death. The story is told that when an occasional pioneer preacher came along the shore, and word was sent out in all directions that there would be a religious service, these Rogerines would attend, but would bring some work with them to show their belief that Sunday was no better than other days.

An interesting sidelight upon the rough and ready conditions, the lack of refining influences of schools and churches, and the sturdy independence of these early settlers, is shown by the journal of Rev. Thomas Thompson, who was sent to America as a missionary by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and who located in Monmouth County late in 1745. He was fresh from England, apparently a typical Church of England curate, with as little toleration for a "dissenter" as the members of almost any faith had at that time for those who disagreed with them. While his work was chiefly at Middletown, Shrewsbury, Freehold, and Allentown, where the Church of England had established churches, he also made trips through what is now Ocean County. He writes in his journal:

From Manasquan, for twenty miles further on in the country, is all one pine forest. I traveled through this desert four times to a place called Barnegat, and thence to Manahawkin, almost sixty miles from home, and preached at places where no foot of minister had ever come. In this section I had my views of heathenism just as thoroughly as I have ever since beheld it. The inhabitants are thinly scattered in regions of solid wood. Some are decent people who had lived in better places, but those who were born and bred here have neither religion nor manners, and do not know so much as a letter in a book. As Quakerism is the name under which all those in America shade themselves that have been brought up to none, but would be thought to be of some religion, so these poor people call themselves Quakers, but they have no meetings, and many of them make no distinction of days, neither observing Lord's Day nor the Sabbath.

In my journeyings through this part of the country I had many conferences and disputes with the people. Some of them were willing to see their errors, and others were as obstinate in defending theirs. It pleased God that I brought some to a true sense of them, and I gained a few to the communion, and baptized, beside children, seventeen grown persons, of which number was Nicholas Wainright, nearly eighty years of age.

As the good missionary did not publish this journal till after he had spent five years in New Jersey, and was then, in 1751, transferred to the

Guinea coast of Africa, one has some idea of his horror at the heathendom he encountered among the pines of what is now Ocean County. However, we must look at what he writes as nearly as we well can from his viewpoint. When he says no minister had ever been in these parts before, he meant of course, no minister of the Church of England—to him the traveling minister, who preached the doctrines of the Friends, the Baptists, or the Presbyterians, was not a minister. We can gather from another remark, that there must have been a number of families that had reached their second or third generation in this section, for he speaks of those born and bred here, who had not learned to read or write. Again, while calling them heathen, he acknowledges that they were ready to enter the controversial lists with him and defend most stoutly their faith, refusing to be weakened by his arguments. But this journal is one of the few accounts of life at that time in this region, still extant.

It was during the period from 1735 to 1750 that a number of mills are brought into notice in descriptions of survey and in deeds. These deeds were from the East Jersey Board of Proprietors. We have already noted that Edward Andrews built a gristmill at Little Egg Harbor in 1704. The "Success" sawmill is mentioned in 1734, as being probably on a branch of Crosswicks Creek, near New Egypt, built by Anthony Woodward and Edward Beakes.

Ebenezer Applegate, son of Jacob Applegate, had a sawmill on Kettle Creek about 1740; in 1742 Edward Beak is recorded as having a sawmill on Kettle Creek. Benjamin Woolley and Job Cook built a bridge over Kettle Creek between 1740 and 1750. In 1755 Tunise Denise had a sawmill and gristmill on the Metedeconk River; in 1764 John Allen had a sawmill on Kettle Creek. In this section, between Toms River village and the head of Barnegat Bay, among those who early bought land from the Proprietors were John Forman, Richard Stout, William Brinley, Ebenezer Applegate, Thomas Tilton, Joseph Potter, Samuel Hulett, and John Chambers. It is possible that the Tunise Denise, mentioned here, is the one after whom Tunise's Brook, a branch of Kettle Creek, was named.

Mention is made in old records in 1749, of Mat. Van Horne's sawmill on Davenport branch of Toms River, and of Van Hook's sawmill on Dry Cedar Swamp; in 1750 of Everingham's sawmill on the north branch of Toms River; in 1751, that James Hepburn and Stephen Pangborn had a sawmill on Ridgway branch of Toms River. On Cedar Creek, mention is made in 1740, or earlier, of John Eastwood's sawmill. Gabriel and David Woodmansee lived at Cedar Creek in 1749.

Robert Hulett and Moses May lived near Good Luck between 1740 and 1750. Thomas Potter must have been born at Good Luck, where his father, Thomas Potter, Sr., lived. As Potter was impressed into the British Navy, and took part in Sir Peter Warren's expedition against Cape Breton, he must have been born shortly after 1720.

William Chamberlain is written of as living at Forked River in 1739. In 1740 mention is made of a "landing" on the north branch of Forked River, and a cartway running to it from the swamp. Forked River, north branch, was bridged shortly after that year, and a causeway was built across the swamp. In 1748 James Holmes bought seventy acres near Robert Hulett's house; and in 1759-1760, John Holmes, the elder, took up lands near the Upper Mill, at Forked River. About 1750 John Towson, or Tozer, lived between the south branch of Forked River and Oyster Creek; and John Bird

lived between Forked River and Good Luck at that time. The Nicholas Wainright, aged eighty, who joined the Church of England, in the narrative of Rev. Thomas Thompson, may have lived at Toms River, as there have been Wainrights at that place since before the Revolution. A salt works was started by Samuel Warden, or Worden, at Forked River, in 1754; and about that time (between 1750 and 1760) Peter Peshine had his dwelling on the north branch of Forked River.

While Little Egg Harbor Township, then part of Burlington County, was formed in 1741, the first township to be set off from Shrewsbury Township, Monmouth County, was Stafford, in 1749, by royal patent, issued by King George II. It ran from the north point of Long Beach at Barnegat Inlet across the bay to the mouth of Oyster Creek, and thence west eleven miles and seventy chains to the division line between East and West Jersey, run by George Keith, where it crosses "the Southwest Plain"; thence it followed the partition line to the "South Stationary Point of Division between East and West Jersey, at the Main Sea"; and then up the coast to point of beginning. It included what is now Union, Stafford, Eagleswood, and Long Beach townships. The inhabitants were empowered by this charter to "choose annually two Commissioners of the High Ways, one Overseer of the High Ways, one Overseer of the Poor, one Assessor, one Town Collector, and one Constable for the Town aforesaid and to have, hold and Enjoy all other Privileges Rights Liberties and Immunities that any other Township in our said Province do or may of right Enjoy." It was issued to Governor Jonathan Belcher. The name Stafford is supposed to have been chosen through the influence of James Haywood, from Staffordshire, England, who settled at Manahawkin about 1743, when, according to ancient deeds, he bought lands there. Stafford Township, at Manahawkin, had an influx of Baptist families from Middlesex and Essex counties, including the Crane, Pangborn, Pearson, and Randolph families, long prominent in that township. Benjamin Paul came to Manahawkin from Dighton, Massachusetts. Luke Courtenay settled there, coming from England a little before the Revolution.

Edwin Salter, to whose painstaking scrutiny of old deeds and records, and collection of traditions from old men and women in the years of 1870 to 1888, we have about all we know of these early men and women who first ventured to this region, stated that he found it very difficult to learn anything about the early settlers, except here and there a brief glimpse. One reason for this was that so many of the old families kept up the pioneer spirit and moved west and farther west. Right after the Revolution there was an emigration from the Cedar Creek region to Pennsylvania, and another to Ohio, from Manahawkin. From that time on, by families or groups of families, or as individuals, the natives of this shore territory scattered all over the great west. Often times those moving away were the ones who possessed the best records of their ancestors.

CHAPTER III.

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN COLONIAL DAYS.

While schools were practically unknown in the Colonial period in all this section, churches followed the slowly incoming tide of settlement. It already has been shown that the Quaker, or Friend, was among the first settlers. Missionaries of the Church of England were not far behind the

Quaker minister, and the traveling Presbyterian parson was in the footsteps of the Church of England man. But these missionaries came and went, and there were no established churches until just before the Revolution, outside of the Friends Meeting House at Little Egg Harbor. The first churches were built to give the traveling ministers or missionaries, a place in which to preach, and were known as "free churches," being open to the ministers of any denomination. The first of these churches was built at Manahawkin in 1758. In the decade of 1760-1770 a number of Baptists settled at Manahawkin, including James Haywood, who had previously come from Coventry, England; Benjamin, Reuben, and Joseph Randolph, of Piscataway Township, Middlesex County, New Jersey, and others from what was then Essex County (now partly in Union County); they organized a Baptist church in 1770, with nine members, under the leadership of Rev. Benjamin Miller, who followed Rev. Mr. Blackwell, another Baptist missionary. This Baptist Church society is still extant though the church building was rebuilt shortly before the Civil War. The second structure is still standing, surrounded by the graves of these early settlers.

One of the Presbyterian missionaries who traveled along the shore at this period, previous to the Revolution, was Rev. John Brainerd, whose home was at Mt. Holly, in Burlington County. In his papers appear a letter, written in 1861, in which he speaks of preaching in this church at Manahawkin. It is also mentioned in the journal of John Murray, founder of the Universalist Church, as one of the places where he preached. It is suggested by some writers that John Griffith, a Quaker minister, was also speaking of this Manahawkin church building, when, in 1776, he told of holding services in a "new Presbyterian meeting house near Barnegat." It is assumed that as Presbyterian missionaries preached in this church, it may have been called a Presbyterian church, and, in fact, it was so designated in Webster's "History of Presbyterianism."

Probably the second church to be built in Ocean County, was at Good Luck, by Thomas Potter, the church standing on the site that is now recognized as the birthplace of the Universalist Church in America. Potter was a native of the shore. According to some traditions he could neither read nor write, but was a diligent student of the Scriptures, whenever he could find someone to read it to him. His home for years had been the stopping place of traveling preachers, who had held services there. He determined to build a church, at his own cost, and chiefly with his own hands, where services could be held. This was about 1766, as John Griffith, Quaker minister, who preached at Little Egg Harbor and Manahawkin in April of that year, traveled up the coast and preached in Potter's church. In his journal—all traveling preachers wrote all their doings in journals in those days, it would seem—he wrote: "We traveled (from Little Egg Harbor) by the seaside to a place called Good Luck, where we found a large meeting house, not quite finished, erected by one Thomas Potter, intended by him, it seems, for all preachers to make use of, who would preach freely, except Papists, who would not be admitted even on those terms. We had a meeting in it, but notice not coming timely, it was small, and to little satisfaction. We met him (Potter) that afternoon on his return. He seemed sorry he happened to be out at that time; he was beyond hireling ministry."

From the above it would seem that the adjective "free" applied to a church, meant more than that the church was free to any denomination—it meant that the preacher who held services there must do so freely, without charge for his services, and without pay.

John Murray came to America in 1770, when Potter was an aged man. He was a friend of John Wesley and of Whitefield, but was separated from them in doctrine, his beliefs having changed. Despondent over the loss of his wife and child, and sick of the doctrinal disputes among the Christian sects of England, he determined to bury himself in the wilds of the New World, and set sail in the brig "Hand-in-Hand" in the summer of 1770, from Bristol to New York. As they neared the coast, they met another ship, outbound, and were told that New Yorkers were refusing to allow English goods to land, because of the dispute over the tax on tea and other duties imposed by the British parliament, consequently the ship headed for Philadelphia. At that port, they were not allowed to land their goods, and the brig started back to New York. Murray was offered passage by the captain, and stayed by the ship. Going up the coast, in a fog, and thinking they were off Sandy Hook, they ran into Cranberry Inlet, (or possibly, into "Old Inlet," which was off the mouth of Cedar Creek).

While stranded in the inlet, part of the brig's cargo was put on a sloop, and at the captain's request, Murray went aboard the sloop to act as supercargo. Next morning the brig got away to New York, but the sloop was held in the inlet by a shift of wind to the eastward. They were without food, and Murray, taking the boat's crew and a small boat, crossed the bay to look for victuals. He was directed to the house of Thomas Potter, who he was told had a supply of fish. He found Potter, and much fish, and, upon asking if he might buy some, was told no, that the fish were not for sale. Murray was indignant over the fact that a man who had so much should refuse to sell fish to hungry seamen, whereupon Potter explained that he did not refuse the fish, they could have all they wanted, only he would not take pay for them. Potter then insisted that Murray return to spend the night with him, rather than stop at the tavern where the sailors were quartered, and Murray assented to this plan.

After supper, Potter told Murray he was overjoyed at seeing him, having been expecting him a long while. Murray was astonished at this and bewildered also. Then Potter went on to tell of his meeting house, how he had built it, and how his neighbors had laughed at him and asked where he would get a preacher, and his answer to them, that the Lord would send him a preacher. The traveling ministers had preached in his church, and each in turn had asked to make it a church of his particular denomination, but Potter, in his long life, had thought out a theology of his own, and none of these missionaries preached the doctrine that he had vaguely conceived. He told Murray that when he saw the brig in the inlet that morning, a voice had said in his ear, "There Potter, in that vessel is the preacher you have been waiting for"; and later, when Murray came to his house to ask for fish, again the voice said, "Potter, this is the man whom I have sent to preach in your house."

Murray resisted this effort to induce him to preach, and urged that his duty was by his ship. Potter was persistent, and Murray finally agreed that if the weather held the sloop in the inlet till Sunday, he would preach—and though it was Monday when he met Potter, the wind stayed in the east and the sloop was fast in the inlet next Saturday. Murray then consented to allow Potter to send out word that there would be a preaching service next day at his church. People came from all around, and it was a big day, and to his great joy Potter was able to say to his friends that this was the preacher the Lord had sent, and who preached as he had hoped to hear, but

never had heard before. This was the deciding event which made Murray continue to preach instead of going into some other calling, as he had expected to do when he left England. It also made Murray and Potter fast friends for the rest of Potter's life. Potter's will, made May 11, 1777, was probated May 2, 1782, and is recorded in the office of the Secretary of State at Trenton. In it he says: "The house I built for those that God shall cause to meet there, to serve or worship him to the same use still, and I will that my dear friend John Murray, preacher of the Gospel, shall have sole direction and management of said house and one acre of land, where the house now stands, for the use above mentioned."

Later, on November 7, 1809, Nathaniel Cook deeded this church to the trustees of the Methodist congregation at Good Luck. These were: Paul Potter, on whose gravestone in the churchyard, not far from that of Thomas Potter, is recorded that he was a soldier in the Revolution; Samuel Woodmansee, John Cranmer, Caleb Falkinburg, Isaac Rogers, John Tilton, and David Bennett. The price paid was one hundred and twenty-five dollars. The Methodists retained the church till 1841, when it was torn down and rebuilt, though it is said the lumber from the original church was used in the rebuilt structure, which is still standing, and which in its interior design looks as if it must have been built in Colonial times.

A headstone was erected over Potter's grave fifty years after his death, and the plot surrounded by an iron fence. The inscription reads: "In memory of Thomas Potter, friend and patron of John Murray, an early advocate of Universalism in America.—Have we not all one Father?—Erected May 15, 1833."

Over a hundred years after the landing of Murray, the old Potter farm was bought by a Universalist society, and upon it has been built a large summer hotel, and a brick church, where each summer is held a camp meeting, something on the Chautauqua order, to which come prominent Universalists, preachers and laymen, from all parts of the country. At the present time the Murray Grove Association, as it is called, owns the entire old Potter farm, of several hundred acres, running from the Old Main Shore Road (Route four, State Highway system), to Barnegat Bay.

This is the strange story, cut here to the very bone, of the remarkable meeting of Potter and Murray, which to both of them seemed to have been divinely ordered.

The third church in the county was the Friends Meeting House, at Barnegat, which was built in 1770. On June 11 of that year, Timothy Ridgway and Levi Cranmer, of Stafford Township, Monmouth County, deeded "one acre and half quarter," of a five hundred-acre tract, purchased by the grantors from Oliver Delaney and Henry Cuyler, Jr., in 1759, to Stephen Burdsall and Job Ridgway, (son of Timothy) both of Stafford Township, and Daniel Shourds and Joseph Gauntt, of Little Egg Harbor. The deed recites that the church already stood on the tract, and the purchase price was twenty shillings. The grantees named, the same day reconveyed the land to "The people of God, called Quakers, belonging to the monthly meeting held in Little Egg Harbor, in Burlington County." This meeting house stood in a grove along the road from the bay landing to the uplands in the village of Barnegat, then in Stafford Township. It was afterward rebuilt, but still stands there in its utmost simplicity, its graves a tangle of wild flowers and grasses, and the tall trees guarding the plain box-like structure of the "meeting house."

During the Revolution, the Methodist missionaries, or circuit riders, appeared. Rev. Benjamin Abbott is spoken of at Toms River, where he held services in 1778. The fiery spirit of the early Quaker preachers had now been tamed down, and the Methodists, penetrating every hamlet, shortly after the Revolution organized their "classes" in every community of sufficient size.

Thus the outbreak of the Revolution found in what is now Ocean County a few hundred families, scattered for the most part in little hamlets along the bay, each family on its own farm, with now and then a blacksmith, tavern keeper, ship builder, or merchant, but probably without a doctor, and surely without a lawyer or dentist, and just as surely without a pastor for any church in the modern sense. It is also quite probable that there was not a school in the whole territory, unless it may have been in Little Egg Harbor. Little Egg Harbor (Tuckerton) may have had, and probably did at that time, a postoffice, and it is possible that the post visited the shore towns from Toms River to Tuckerton, but we have no record of it. Business with New York was nearly all done by water, though there was some commerce by carters across the State and through the pines from Little Egg Harbor, Manahawkin and Barnegat to Mt. Holly, Camden, and Philadelphia. From Toms River inland commerce seems to have followed the old Indian trails to Allentown and Trenton.

CHAPTER IV.

THE STORY OF THE REVOLUTION.

The shore folk were sturdy pioneers, accustomed to rough life and hard knocks, though there was no lack of necessities of life, when the Revolution changed the whole current of life in the Colonies. It is true that many of the settlers in the present Ocean County territory were Quakers, and thus, by their faith, debarred from fighting. For the most part, those not Quakers were Whigs, or Patriots. The life in the forests, or on the sea, made men upstanding and resourceful, and gave them time to think. The King was far away, and the British Government did nothing for them—in fact they only knew of the government when men or money were wanted.

Thomas Potter, who built the church at Good Luck in his old age, was in his youth impressed on board Admiral Sir Peter Warren's ship, as his fleet lay at New York ready to sail on the Louisburg expedition. It is told by tradition, that as protest against having been "pressed" aboard the ship, young Potter, a giant in size and strength, refused to help work the ship, and when struck for disobedience, by one of the ship's officers, promptly thrashed the officer. Hanging, or, at the very least, the cat-o'-nine-tails, was expected by the rest of the crew to be Potter's fate, but the matter was brought to the attention of Admiral Warren himself, who, being a native of America, and having been miffed many times by the attitude of superiority over him on the part of the British naval officers, his subordinates, because they were in the Royal Navy, and he was but a colonist, listened to Potter's story, and not only gloried in the sturdy "spunk" of the Jersey lad, but kept him from punishment. He let him have his own way, and often sent for him to talk over the ideas that the illiterate, but far from ignorant Potter had thought out in his own mind. Potter ran away from the ship at Cape Breton, and made his way overland, through the Canadas, to New York City, arriving there penniless and almost naked, but finding friends who advanced him means to get home.

Tradition also tells of men from Potter's Creek, now Bayville, enlisting in a Jersey regiment in the French and Indian Wars, on an expedition into Canada, and of their being made prisoners by the Indians. These men afterward escaped and reached home after a long absence, with the hair still in its natural place on their heads, to the delight of their families, who had given them up as dead.

In 1770, Thomas Potter is quoted as saying that there were seven hundred people in a distance of about twenty miles along the shore, while when his father had first settled there, he had to travel twenty miles through the woods to get a bag of corn ground. There were now sawmills and gristmills in nearly every hamlet that happened to be located alongside or near a stream. A few contraband salt works had also sprung up on the bay meadows, salt being one of the articles which the British Government had refused to allow the Colonies to make, but required them to buy in England, to the advantage of the English merchants and English tax collectors. In 1776, the Quaker settlement of Little Egg Harbor, or Tuckerton, was undoubtedly the largest village on the shore; Manahawkin, West Creek, Barnegat, Waretown, Cedar Creek (or Good Luck), and Toms River Bridge were also hamlets of some importance. The war picked upon Toms River and Tuckerton as strategic points which brought them into prominence. This happened because there was a deep inlet opposite Tuckerton, and a fine harbor, opening into Mullica River. Privateers, preying on British ships, were able to run into the Mullica River and transport their booty to Philadelphia or to West Jersey. Cranberry Inlet was also a fair inlet, and was opposite the mouth of Toms River. Not so deep as Little Egg Harbor, it was an outfitting place for privateersmen, and harbor of refuge when chased by British men-o'-war.

Consequently, the British made repeated attempts to burn out what they termed the "piratical banditti" at Toms River, and sent a much larger fleet and force on another occasion against Little Egg Harbor.

The war brought about another situation—the salt works, that we saw springing up as contraband enterprises in remote places, now became necessities, when salt could no longer be imported. Tradition also has it that the privateering, out of Little Egg Harbor Inlet, was based upon a previous contraband or smuggling trade with the West Indies, through that same inlet, by which West India rum and molasses, without paying duty to King George, were exchanged for Jersey grown rye and wheat, or manufactured goods from Philadelphia.

To look at the map, one might have supposed that this rather remote region would be out of the track of war and its bloodshed. But it was not to be! The logic of events were such that what is now Ocean County saw numerous skirmishes, brother arrayed against brother, assassinations, looting and burning.

As has been stated before, most of the residents of this particular section were either themselves dissenters and rebellious against established religion in England or New England, with its Puritan rule; French Huguenots, who had fled for their lives from their churchly enemies; sturdy Dutch, with the traditions of the low country fights against the Spanish oppressor; Baptist and Presbyterian dissenters, who left old England because of religious quarrels. Naturally, they were strong in their beliefs, and they early began to organize in the quarrel against King George the Third and his ministers.

In December, 1774, at the suggestion of the Continental Congress, a Committee of Observation and Inspection was formed in Dover Town-

ship, as in most of the other townships in Monmouth County, to keep an eye on those who were inclined to be too friendly to the Crown, and to encourage the Patriots. On June 6, of that year, Monmouth County men had met in Freehold (then called Monmouth Courthouse), to protest against the closing of the port of Boston by the British Government. They did more than protest, for on October 21, 1774, a letter from Boston was written to thank the "County of Monmouth in the Jersies" for 1,140 bushels of rye and fifty barrels of rye meal, which had been sent to Boston by one Captain Brown.

New Jersey was called the "cockpit of the Revolution," because through her valleys, over her hills, along her roads, surged back and forth the armies of King and Congress, now warily watching each other, and feinting attacks at this outpost or that camp, now retreating to the shelter of the hill country, if it be Washington's men, or hastening to gain the support of the superior forces in and around New York, if it be the Royal army—now coming to death grips, as at Trenton, Princeton, and Monmouth Courthouse. What is now Ocean County was in a back eddy, far from these fierce tides of passion, hate and battle, yet from beginning to the victorious end of the "seven years war" (as the Revolution is still called by the descendants of men in these parts, who played their game as men in those bloody days), the sea-coast of lower Monmouth County had its own turmoil, bloodshed and battle.

Compared with more recent wars, and against the background of the World War, the whole Revolutionary conflict was little more than a skirmish, an episode! The armies were small, supplies scarce, munitions almost unobtainable; roads were few, and these were roads in name only, making transportation of men and stores difficult. Consequently, the number involved seems small to us now, but the issues at stake were great. And, compared to the number of men engaged in the battles of Washington and Gates, the number who took part in the skirmishes in this out of the way part of New Jersey, were still more infinitesimal—but, when it is considered that these numbers made up almost the whole population, it will be seen that to them the events were as important, the disasters as terrifying, the losses as heavy, as were those in the recent great World War to the nations engulfed in that struggle.

There seems, at this distance, to have been three distinct causes for the fights and skirmishes in this section of Monmouth County (now Ocean). The first two that brought about clashes have been before mentioned—the salt works along the bay meadows, and the privateers that harbored at Toms River and Little Egg Harbor; the third was the desire for revenge on the part of the Refugee, driven from home, and burning to square up his losses with his oldtime neighbors. Hopelessly entwined with the Refugee and his eagerness for revenge, is the Pine-Robber, at first claiming to be a Patriot, then passing as either Patriot or Tory, as best served his purpose, and at last, a full fledged Refugee. For the history of those troublesome times seems to show that the lawless element in the Colonies passed through that metamorphosis, and there were plenty of the lawless kind. For more than a century England had been shipping her criminals to the Colonies, selling them as indentured servants for periods of actual servitude; beside broken men, criminals unwhipt of justice, but fearing that scourge, men who brooked no opposition to their willful desires,—such men naturally came to the Colonies. And so, when the news of Lexington and Bunker Hill was flashed over the thirteen colonies, the thought of armed uprising was eagerly wel-

came by all such lawless men. They took the side of the revolution, because it was the revolution. Later, when British emissaries began to scatter gold about with free hand, and offer commissions in the Loyalist regiments—or, if a man was of sufficient importance, in the King's troops even—many of these lawless men left the Patriot cause, and as heartily espoused that of Great Britain. Others among them, using the troubled times as excuse and cloak, robbing and murdering, found that the self-government established by the Patriot party strong enough to bring down on them the firm hand of justice. Those in the Jerseys who were thus in danger from the law as exemplified by the Patriots, naturally fled to New York. The British leaders in that city, while they may have had their own scorn for such men, could and did use them. In fact no matter who or what a man had been, if he was willing and able to contribute as a fighter, or by supplying food or provisions to King George's men, he was welcomed.

And so we have at the outbreak of the war, the troublesome classes largely on the side of the Patriots, while the men of affairs and means were more inclined to regard the old order of things as the better, and to be considered as Tories, because they refused to come out against King and the home country. The same causes that made men of means espouse the Patriot cause as the war continued—the desire for law and order and some authority—was the cause that drove the lawless into the ranks of the King's men. In these preceding paragraphs, please understand that generalities are used, as it is a historic fact that some of the Refugees were men of property and standing, who sacrificed all they had from loyalty to their King; also that some of the turbulent and lawless stuck to the Patriot cause throughout the entire war. But it pretty fairly sets forth conditions as they existed in this part of the State in those parlous times.

Salt Works and Their Importance—The first attack on the salt works at Toms River was made in 1777. Colonel John Morris, of the New Jersey Royal Volunteers, a Tory troop, led this attack. The works were not molested however, because, as the old story goes, one John Williams "had placed the significant letter 'R' on them, by order of General Skinner." This would seem to show that the Patriot and the Tory were not yet clearly defined, and that while these works were being run to make salt for the Colonies, and had the backing of Continental Congress, and of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, yet some of the owners were on sufficiently good terms with the British and Tories in New York, to save the property. General Cortlandt Skinner, a noted Tory partisan, was chiefly known in Westchester County, New York, where, it is said, his troops, "The Skinners," vied with the Patriot "Cowboys" in their depredations.

Salt was a necessity in the Colonies, and the supply of that article, hitherto almost entirely imported, was cut off by the war. The bays of this section, remote from population, yet easy of access to Philadelphia and New York, and the fact that a contraband trade in making and selling salt already existed here, developed the making of salt into a considerable industry.

The salt works were generally located on meadows opposite an inlet, where the water would be at its saltiest, and where there was a considerable rise and fall of tide. It is said that long shallow ditches were dug in the meadows, with a floodgate or sluiceway at the bay end. At high tide the ditches would be filled with water, and the gates closed. The water, exposed to the sun, would gradually evaporate and become brine. This brine was scooped up into big iron kettles and boiled down to salt, which, in turn was

packed in wicker baskets, from which the brine could ooze, leaving marketable and edible salt. One of the largest of these plants was at Coates Point, on the meadows at the north bank of Toms River, where it merges with Barnegat Bay. In Revolutionary times Cranberry Inlet was open just across the bay, giving plenty of salt water. It was here that both Continental Congress and the Pennsylvania Legislature were interested in salt works. The low meadow point is still known by the name of a Pennsylvania man, interested in these salt works, one Coates. These works are said to have had a windmill for pumping water from the bay into the ditches or vats on the meadows, and movable covers were used to keep the rainwater out of the salt water vats.

Another method used, was to locate spots on the meadows where the grass would not grow, showing that the springs were impregnated with salt. Here ditches were dug and the water allowed to fill them as it oozed up, this brine being treated by the same process of sun-evaporation and boiling as told above. Salt works were to be found at various places along the Jersey coast. Tradition says that there were two or three such enterprises at Barnegat; a man named Newlin had one at Waretown, and a man named Brown had another at Forked River. At the head of Barnegat Bay, at Manasquan Inlet, Wreck Pond, and Shark River, in what is now the famed summer resort section of Monmouth County, are said to have been located salt works during the conflict.

The most important of these salt works seem to have been those at Toms River. As early as June 24, 1776, we find the Pennsylvania Council of Safety voted four hundred pounds to Thomas Savadge to build salt works at this place. November 2, 1776, the same body has upon its minutes, "Resolved, that an officer and twenty-five men be sent to the salt works at Toms River (erected by this State in Toms River, New Jersey) as a guard, and twenty-five spare muskets, and two howitzers and a sufficient quantity of ammunition to defend in case of attack." Pennsylvania also sent a sloop to cruise along the Jersey coast and guard these salt works. Continental Congress either became interested with Pennsylvania Commonwealth in these salt works venture, or, as it seems probable, soon after assumed Pennsylvania's interest in them. We find Congress in 1776 requesting Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, through a communication from the President of Congress, "for two companies of militia to guard salt works near Toms River."

Again, on April 8, 1777, Congress passed the following resolution: "Resolved, That it be recommended to the Governor and Council of Safety of New Jersey, not to call into the field such part of their militia, not exceeding forty, as are necessarily employed in the salt works now erecting in their State by the Governor of Pennsylvania; provided it be not inconsistent with the laws of the State."

To this the New Jersey Council of Safety, made reply: "The exemption above recommended is inconsistent with the militia law of the State, but if the Government of Pennsylvania will carry on said works with the inhabitants of their own commonwealth, care shall be taken to have them exempted as above, though they will be liable to be called into the field by the said act as it now stands, as becoming, by their residence here, subjects of this State, to that purpose." The above was signed by Governor William Livingston. It is also stated in an old record that Congress invested six thousand pounds sterling in its salt works at Toms River.

On February 5, 1777, the Pennsylvania Council of Safety ordered a com-

pany of infantry, with two cannon sent to Toms River to protect its property. March of that year the Navy Board of Pennsylvania, in response to an appeal from Thomas Savadge, who had charge of their salt works, sent the armed boat "Delaware," Captain, Richard Eyre, to cruise off Cranberry Inlet, to protect the works. And later that summer, in July, Capt. John Nice, of the Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot, was ordered across New Jersey, with his company, to guard this important property. This probably was the arrangement effected by Congress and Governor Livingston, referred to above.

The State of Pennsylvania advertised in the "Pennsylvania Packet," November 9, 1779, the sale of these salt works. The advertisement reads:

The State Salt Works to be sold. On Monday the fifteenth day of November inst. will be sold by Public Vendue the Salt Works belonging to the State of Pennsylvania situate on Barnegat Bay, in the County of Monmouth, in the State of New Jersey, together with the tract of Land containing about fifty acres on which the same are built, and all the privileges that have been purchased for their accommodation. These Works have been erected on a very extensive plan, calculated to make a great quantity of Salt, and in a situation the most favourable for the purpose. The buildings are large, commodious, and in good order, consisting of a dwelling-house, boiling-house, drying-house, two store-houses, a wind-mill for raising the salt water by pumps, and a Smith's shop, &c. &c.

On the same day will be sold, a great variety of Utensils for Salt-making, Household and Kitchen Furniture, Oxen, Cows, Calves, Hogs, about thirty thousand feet of Pine Boards, a Cart and Geers for four horses, a compleat set of Blacksmiths Tools, Window Glass, &c.

The Sale to begin at Ten o'clock in the forenoon, on the premises.

Frederick Hagner.

Philadelphia, November 4, 1779.

As previously told, there were no less than three attacks by the British upon these salt works, and the first, by Colonel John Morris, failed of its purpose because, according to Sabine, in his "History of Loyalists," they were marked with the "significant letter 'R.'" signifying that they were owned, in part at least, by Royalists. On April 1, 1778, another British force, commanded by Captain Robertson, destroyed the salt works at Toms River, at Squan, and at Shark River. They boasted that they burnt the works of Congress, which had cost six thousand pounds. The expedition came down the coast by boats, and entered Cranberry Inlet. It consisted of about one hundred and thirty-five men, "chiefly Greens, the rest Highlanders." The "Greens" were Refugee or Tory troops, or, as they preferred to call themselves, "Loyalists." At the head of Barnegat Bay and at Manasquan River, they stopped on their way back to New York, and destroyed salt works, burning the homes of the people who lived nearby. The "New Gazette," published by Isaac Collins, at Trenton, tells of this exploit as follows:

About one hundred and thirty-five of the enemy landed on Sunday last about ten o'clock on the south side of Squan Inlet, burnt all the salt works, broke the kettles, etc., stripped the beds, etc., of some people there who I fear wished to serve them; then they crossed the river and burnt all except Derrick Longstreet's. After this mischief, they embarked. The next day they landed at Shark River and set fire to two salt works when they observed fifteen horsemen heave in sight which occasioned them to retreat with greatest haste; indeed they jumped into their flat bottomed boats with such precipitation they sunk two of them. One of the pilots was the noted Thomas Oakerson.

Oakerson was a well known Tory, who had been jailed by Continental Congress, July 1, 1776. Another letter printed in the "Gazette," dated April 1, 1778, says:

The late storm destroyed many of the small salt works along our shore with all the salt in them.

From the above it is readily seen that at this time the making of salt must have been carried on by a good many individuals or firms.

The letter to the "Gazette" also infers that owners of some of the works destroyed were British sympathizers. It is tradition that Garret Rapelje, owner of salt works on upper Barnegat Bay, was suspected of being the person referred to. Rapelje was arrested under a warrant issued by the New Jersey Council of Safety, sitting at Morristown, on August 6, 1778, the minutes reading, "that a warrant do forthwith issue to apprehend Gerrit Rapelje as a person suspected by this Board to be disaffected and dangerous to the State." Summons were also issued to John DeGroff and Jaquish Dennis, living between Toms River and Squan, at Rapelje's salt works, to appear forthwith at Princeton, before Silas Condict, to give evidence against Garret Rapelje, etc. Rapelje was taken to Morristown, and after being jailed awhile, was released on bail, pending trial in Sussex County. The result of the trial seems lost.

However, in November, 1779, one Garret Rapalje advertises for sale at Squire's Point, on the Muskwynecunck River, about eight miles from Hanover Furnace, a valuable forge, with four fires and two hammers, with seventy acres of very good meadow land. If this is the same man, he must have convinced the court that he intended to side against the British.

Thomas Savadge, builder of the Pennsylvania salt works, died in October, 1779, and in December of that year the works were bought by John Thompson, of Burlington County, for fifteen thousand pounds, Continental money. This shows that the salt works must have been rebuilt after their destruction by Captain Robertson. Another proof of the rebuilding, soon after their destruction, is an advertisement in "Collins's Gazette," in July, 1778, three months or so after they were burnt, in which James Parker, President of the Board of Proprietors of East Jersey, notifies owners of salt works who wish to buy wood for fuel for their plants, to be at Freehold in August, when the wood would be sold to them in convenient tracts or parcels, near the various works.

The importance of these works did not decrease as the warring years passed. However, another arrangement, of which we have no record, seems to have been made by the three parties in interest, the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Continental Congress, for later in the war we find the local militia stationed at Toms River, as guards for the salt works. Some of these local militia, according to the best accounts, were twelve months' men, but Edwin Salter surmises that many of them may have served for four months, at the expiration of which term, if not actually engaged in the field against the enemy, they could be relieved. There are records of Captains Ephraim Jenkins, James Mott, John Stout and Joshua Huddy being stationed at Toms River. Mott commanded the Sixth Company of Monmouth Militia; Stout was captain of the Seventh Company. The Fifth Company of Monmouth Militia had its headquarters at Manahawkin, and was commanded by Capt. Reuben F. Randolph of that settlement.

Daring Privateersmen—Salt making may have been a necessary and a profitable undertaking, but there was another, more profitable, more venturesome and therefore more attractive to the men of the shore district at that time—privateering. The British occupied Philadelphia part of the time, and New York practically all of the seven years' war. The British troops in New York, and the citizens of that town, had to be fed. Washington kept the neutral zone harried and swept clean of provisions both in Westchester

County, New York, and in the Jerseys. It was only by raids in force, going beyond the neutral zone, that the British could get supplies from either New York State or the Jerseys, but they commanded the sea. Their frigates, with a base at Sandy Hook, swept the seas clean of any commerce that the Colonies might have enjoyed, and blockaded the ports from Newport to the Virginia Capes. After the evacuation of Philadelphia, the blockade of the Delaware Capes was kept up.

Food and drink—and drink was an important part of the daily regimen in those days—came to New York chiefly on shipboard. The West Indies sent rum and molasses; ale, beer, porter and whiskey was sent from the British Isles. The Loyalists in the southern colonies were looked to for a supply of food, and the high prices paid in gold for food supplies, as the war dragged out its weary length, and Continental paper money became worthless, was a constant temptation to those inclined to the Patriot side of the conflict. And here we have the privateer—preying on the ships and smaller craft, that brought supplies to New York. Toms River and Little Egg Harbor seem to have been the two chief ports for these “pirates” as they were termed by the British—though of course the Patriots looked upon such captures as legitimate acts of war, inasmuch as they were cutting off the needed supplies of the enemy. Into Little Egg Harbor some of the larger privateering brigs and schooners could come, but the water over the Inlet bar would not allow the entrance of the British frigates. Cranberry Inlet was smaller and the water on the bar less than that at Little Egg Harbor, but the smaller privateers could find safety there. It was also the fitting out place and rendezvous of the whaleboatmen. Whaling had for a century and a half been the calling of the hardy coast men, and now they fitted out their whaleboats and lay in wait at the Inlet for small craft that might be creeping up the beach with supplies for New York, from the Virginias, the Carolinas, or the Indies. Given a light wind, they could with their oars run down the slow-sailing craft of those days, and with a larger crew of fighting men than a small sloop, schooner or brig would carry, the prize was often theirs.

To be sure the risks were big, but so were the profits. From the days when first the Saxon and then the Dane sacked the British coast,—and this part of New Jersey was settled by men from the Monmouth coast of Britain—freebooting had been in the blood of the seaman. Privateering had none of the stern discipline of the Jersey Line in Washington’s army, and while tradition and records show that men served in the Line from these settlements, yet it seems that more of them at one time and another were in the whaleboat “trade.” In fact, it is quite likely that with seven years of war, and with short term enlistments, the same man might have been in the army and also in the more engaging business of privateering. The commander of a vessel might at another time or even at the same time be an officer in the militia. Records are scanty and incomplete, but we can see enough to ascertain that men engaged in dual capacity, on land and on sea. Another feature of privateering that made it more attractive than the army, was that the home port was the base of the privateersman, particularly so for the whaleboats crews, who seldom left the protection of the shore far behind, and were seldom away from home more than a few days—barring of course capture in some of their forays. On the other hand Lord Sterling’s Jersey Line was as apt to be in Connecticut or Virginia, or the Carolinas, as anywhere else, and in those days that meant being cut off from all communication with home and family for months at a time.

Old records contain many accounts of prize courts and of sales of cargoes and ships that had been brought into these inlets. The records of Providence, Rhode Island, show that two privateers, presumably from that port, the "Sally" and the "Joseph," commanded by Captain James Maro and Captain John Fish, took their prize, the schooner "Pope's Head," into Cranberry Inlet, where she was taken in charge by James Randolph. The "Pope's Head" was sold at auction as a prize, under the admiralty court, in Providence, February 21, 1777.

In May, 1778, the British sloop "Hazard," laden with Irish beef and pork, for British troops in New York, was captured by an armed boat under Captain Peter Anderson, with sixteen men. The Admiralty Court on this prize sat at the home of Gilbert Barton at Allentown, near Trenton.

On August 5, 1778, Collins's "New Jersey Gazette," prints: "Lately retaken and brought into Little Egg Harbor by two New England privateers, in company with Capt. John Rice, a brig and sloop loaded." In the same issue of the "Gazette" a story is told of how a sloop from Jamaica, with a rich cargo of rum and sugar, was brought into Egg Harbor. A number of Patriot sailors had been captured at sea, were in the Jamaican port at the time this vessel was to sail, and were put aboard as prisoners to be taken to New York. They overpowered the sloop's crew, took possession of her and ran her into this friendly port as a prize.

About August 1, 1778, the British ship "Love and Unity," was beached near Toms River. The old accounts say that she was run on the beach "designedly," but offer no explanation of that statement. The Dover Township militia, who were presumably also whaleboat privateers, floated the craft and brought her inside Cranberry Inlet. This was one of the largest and most valuable prizes taken in this section during the war. She carried eighty hogsheads of loaf sugar, several thousand bottles of London porter, Bristol beer, red and white wine, cider, salt, flour, cheese, queensware, delft, double-flint wine glasses and tumblers, etc. A prize court sat at the courthouse, Trenton, August 28, 1778, to try the claims of Benjamin Pratt and others, who had captured this prize. The ship was advertised to be sold by Marshal John Stokes, at Toms River, August 31, with part of her cargo. September 2, another part of the cargo was sold at Manasquan. The purchasers at the Marshal's sale renamed the ship the "Washington."

But this was too fine a prize to be left without an attempt to retake her on the part of the British in New York. On September 18, two British ships and two brigs moved down from Sandy Hook to Cranberry Inlet, and lay off all night. Next morning, at day-break they sent seven armed boats, which entered the inlet between seven and eight o'clock, retook the "Washington" and also took two Patriot sloops, lying at anchor in the inlet. The crew and captain of the "Washington" escaped to the mainland across the bay, but most of the men on the sloops were taken prisoners. William Dillon, who lived on Dillon's Island (now the borough and summer resort of Island Heights), was the pilot of this expedition. Dillon and Robert McMullin, another Tory suspect, had been condemned to death in Freehold jail a little before this, but both were pardoned. McMullin jumped into a boat and rowed out to the British, hurrahing for them as he went.

All attempts were not so successful. The sloop "Susannah," Captain Stoeker, eight guns and thirty-five men, fitted out at Egg Harbor, on August 29, 1778, met the British man-o'-war tender "Emerald," a sloop of ten guns, convoying two merchantmen. During the fight between the two sloops, the

merchantmen ran up the beach to safety, and the "Emerald" also proved a better sailor than the "Susannah," and followed them. The British captain and several of the crew were killed. The "Susannah" lost one killed and several wounded. About the same time two rich prizes, the "Venus" and "Major Pearson," were captured and taken into Little Egg Harbor. These captures so annoyed the British in New York that they sent a fleet against Little Egg Harbor in October of that year, and destroyed the privateering port at Chestnut Neck. A more detailed account of this affair will be given later.

About six weeks after the attack on Egg Harbor, Captain Stevens, an Egg Harbor privateersman, took as prize the armed schooner "Two Friends," Captain Sion, out of New York, carrying twenty-two men and six guns, besides twelve swivels.

An armed British vessel, richly laden, came ashore near Barnegat Inlet December 9, 1778. The Stafford militia rescued the crew, and took sixty of them as prisoners to Bordentown. Cargo to the value of five thousand pounds was salvaged from this craft.

Also, in December, 1778, a Baltimore sloop, "Elizabeth," was taken by a British ship of war off Cranberry Inlet. They allowed her master, Captain Alexander, to put ashore in a small boat, and he came to Toms River village.

It may seem strange to read of a major in the army as a privateersman, but that was the rank held by John Cook of Toms River, probably in the Monmouth militia. He was also a privateersman, and on March 1, 1779, Marshal Joseph Potts advertised to sell two prizes taken by Major Cook, and John Chadwick, the schooner "Fanny" and the sloop "Hope," with their cargoes of pitch, tar, salt, etc. The prize court sat at Gilbert Barton's, Allentown, to adjudicate the prize money.

Also in March, 1778, a Patriot sloop, the "Success," which had been taken by the British brig "Diligence," and was in charge of a prize crew of four men, came ashore on Island Beach, between Cranberry Inlet and Barnegat Inlet. The Dover militia, under Major John Price, of Cedar Creek, seized vessel and cargo, and sent the crew as prisoners to Princeton. The sloop was laden with rum, molasses, cocoa, coffee, etc. Vessel and cargo were sold as she lay on the beach by Marshal Potts. Later, on April 26, Marshal Potts advertised that all the captors of this vessel should meet him at the house of Daniel Griggs, at Toms River, to get their prize money shares, under order of the Admiralty Court. Also that purchasers at the sale should either pay their money to Mr. Abiel Akins, at Toms River, or to the Marshal, at Cranbury, near Trenton. Abiel Akins was a tavern keeper at Toms River, a man of prominence, as the tavern keepers were in those days. He was also a justice of the peace.

One of the most daring feats of the privateers was that of Captain Taylor, in the schooner "Mars," who in September of 1779, captured and brought to port a British vessel, on which were a Hessian colonel, and two hundred and fourteen private soldiers and lesser officers, bound from Britain to New York. The ship also carried a valued cargo of dry goods. Captain Taylor in August, preceding this venture, had taken the "snow" "Falmouth" and a packet, with some forty-five prisoners, but was chased by British fleets, and was glad to abandon both prizes and escape into Little Egg Harbor Inlet.

Another story of recapture was that of Captain Edward Giles, of Philadelphia, master of the schooner "Shark." He was captured by a British sloop-of-war, of ten guns, and a prize crew of four men were put on his little schooner to sail her and the prisoners to New York. Giles cultivated the

friendship of the prize crew, and showed them where he kept his liquor. The crew got gloriously drunk, and Captain Giles thus regained possession of his craft and sailed her into Little Egg Harbor, with the prize crew as his prisoners. There are many such stories to be told along the coast, handed down from grandfather to grandsons.

Captain Samuel Bigelow, of Toms River, seized the British craft "Betsey," early in 1780, after she had stranded on the beach near Cranberry Inlet. This vessel was owned by British sympathizers in Delaware, and was bound from "Muskmelon Creek," in that Colony, for New York, with supplies. It would seem that the Patriots would much rather take a Tory craft than one that was an out and out Britisher.

On January 24, 1780, Zachariah Rossell, marshal of the Prize Court, sold at the house of James Lippencott, Toms River, a cargo of rum and other supplies, also the hull, spars, sails and cordage of a ship at Cranberry Inlet. This, as was suggested by Edwin Salter, the historian of this county, may have been the same ship seized by Bigelow.

A daring and successful exploit was carried out by Captain William Marriner, of New Brunswick, Middlesex County, in April, 1780. With nine men and a whaleboat, he retook the privateer "Blacksnake," which had been captured by the British fleet. Putting to sea in his prize, he met and took the British vessel "Morning Star," armed with six swivel guns and carrying a crew of thirty-three men, having, in the fight, killed three and wounded five of the British seamen. Marriner brought both prizes successfully into Little Egg Harbor.

That it was hard during these times to tell who was Patriot and who was not, was shown by the arrest as traitors, trading with the enemy, of Captain James Steelman, who had sailed out of Little Egg Harbor. His vessel cleared for Boston, but went to New York instead. He was captured in Philadelphia, with John Shaw, and "one Black." The same report tells us that "one Atkinson" made good his escape. Steelman and his crew, according to this record, secretly carried British passports. Their fate is not told us. This was in November, 1780.

Captain Samuel Bigelow, of Toms River, and his whaleboat crews, took another prize in December of 1780, right at home, the prize coming to them, so to speak, of its own volition. This prize was the British brig "Dove," bound for New York from Tortola, in the West Indies, with a cargo of one hundred and forty puncheons of West India rum, and other tropical supplies. Captain Hannek, of the "Dove," lost his reckoning. Running in close to the beach, he thought he was on the friendly coast of Long Island, where the British held sway, and carelessly sent a boat with four men into the inlet, asking for supplies, as he had run short of water and provisions, during the stormy voyage.

Captain Bigelow seized the British seamen as prisoners, hurriedly got together his men, and manned two whaleboats. They then took possession of the "Dove," and brought her inside Cranberry Inlet. On January 3, 1781, the cargo of the "Dove" was sold at auction by Marshal John Burrows, at Toms River. A prize court, to divide the prize money among the captors, was held at the house (tavern) of Gilbert Barton at Allentown, on January 25, 1781.

At this same Admiralty Court session, Moses Robbins, James Randolph, Jacob Wilcot, and other Toms River men, laid claims against the sloop "Brunswick," Captain Joshua Wooding, which stranded on the beach during a winter storm, and was seized by them as a prize.

Barnegat men that winter went off to a wreck near Barnegat Inlet, when the British brig "Molly" stranded on the beach. Her crew were saved by the Barnegat folk, but were made prisoners of war and taken to Philadelphia.

The luck was not always on the side of the Patriots, as one might think from reading these records. Here is another kind of tale. The privateer "Dart," Captain William Gray, from Salem, Massachusetts, on March 19, 1782, brought into Toms River a British sloop, that he had cut out of a merchant convoy, in charge of the British galley "Black Jack." The next day, with seven men, he sailed out of Cranberry Inlet, in chase of a British merchant brig. It was August of that year before Captain Gray came back to Toms River to look after his prize money from the sloop he had taken. And he had a story to tell, of how he was taken, with his craft, he and the crew made prisoners of war, and landed at Halifax. Another sloop, taken by Gray, was the "Lucy," belonging to William Dillon of Dillon's Island, Toms River. The story is that Dillon, passing himself as a Patriot, was carrying on contraband trade between Little Egg Harbor and New York. Squire Abiel Akins, of Toms River, advertised a prize court to sit at the house of James Green, in Freehold, on March 19, to settle the claims against the "Lucy," and also to sell the negro man, "York," taken with the sloop. Dillon had his revenge a few days later, when he acted as pilot for the British and Tory expedition which burnt Toms River, after first taking the block-house and its garrison, March 24, 1782.

The privateering continued after the taking of Toms River, the schooner "Speedwell" being advertised for sale at Freehold on June 20 of that year. The "Speedwell" was a Patriot craft, taken by the British, and retaken by Captain Adam Hyler, of New Brunswick, a privateersman sailing out of Toms River, and was brought to Toms River as a prize.

Two prizes, selling for 10,200 pounds, were made by Captain Jackson of the Patriot privateer "Greyhound," in December, 1782. He cut out from under the guns of the British fleet and of the British fortifications at Sandy Hook the sloop "Diamond" and the schooner "Dolphin," bound from New York to Halifax, and waiting inside the Hook presumably for convoy. They were brought by him to Little Egg Harbor.

The Manahawkin militiamen seized, early in the year 1783 two British schooners, the "Polly" and the Dillylatta," that stranded on Long Beach. They carried two hundred and two barrels of flour and fifteen kegs of bread. This seizure was made by Captain William Randolph, Adjutant Nathan Crane, and the Stafford Township men. A prize court sat at the house of Benjamin Lawrence, in Allentown, to settle these claims, Joseph Lawrence, presumably the Toms River man of that name, being the judge of this court.

The sloop "Rebecca," captured by the British brig "Renown," and retaken by the armed boat "General Washington," John Wanton, master, was brought into Toms River. She carried a cargo of three hundred and thirty barrels of flour, barreled pork, and other victuals. David Potter, of Dover Township, Marshal, sold this sloop and cargo on March 14, 1783, at the house of Moses Robbins, in Toms River. Robbins was one of the defenders of the Toms River Block House a year before this, and was wounded in that fray.

Joseph Potts, marshal, advertised on November 6, 1779, that he would sell at public vendue "At Chestnut Neck, on Tuesday the 16th inst., the Privateer Schooner Mercury, with eight carriage guns, together with her provisions, stores, etc., compleatly fitted for sea, having been but twelve hours out from New York; a Virginia-built vessel, and remarkable fast sailor."

Marshal Potts at the same time and place advertised the sale of "The Sloop William with her cargo consisting of 112 hogsheads and 8 tierces of St. Kitts Rum." Both these sales were by order of the Court of Admiralty, and Potts adds—"N. B. The money will be expected at the close of the sale. No person must expect indulgence."

In October, 1779, Captain Munns, in the ship "Ambuscade," from Oporto, to New York, was captured off the Banks of Newfoundland by two French frigates, who later took a small British brig. Munns ransomed himself and this brig, and proceeded to New York, but was again captured and carried into Little Egg Harbor. The Loyalist "New York Gazette" laments that this was done in spite of the fact that his "Ransom Bill had 23 days to run."

The "Pennsylvania Journal" of March 22, 1780, tells us that the sloop "Hazard," from Hispaniola for Philadelphia, was taken by the British, and ordered to New York; but was recaptured by the Patriot vessel "Rattlesnake," and sent into Egg Harbor.

On April 22, 1780, Zachariah Rossell, marshal, advertises that he will sell on the 4th of May next, at the Forks of Little Egg Harbor, the sloop "Dispatch," or "Speedwell," together with her tackle, apparel and furniture, and sundry merchandise taken in said sloop, captured by Captain William Treen, in the schooner "Rattlesnake."

On May 29, 1780, Marshal Rossell advertised the sale of the brig "Blacksnake" and the schooner "Morning Star," captured by Captain Wm. Mariner of New Brunswick; also the sloop "Swallow," captured by Captain Nathan Brown, and the schooner "Molly," the prize of the brigantine "Enterprise," Captain Rufus Gardner.

The same marshal advertises that he would sell the schooner "Betsey" and sloop "Revenge" on July 18, 1780. These sales were all at the house of Colonel Richard Wescott, at the Forks of Little Egg Harbor.

There were tragedies as well as successes in those days. The Tory "New York Gazette," of January 25, 1779, reports that two or three whale-boats put out of Egg Harbor after some vessels that were seen in the offing. Most of their crews perished as they could not reach the shore because of the ice in the creeks and bays.

Another tragic story is that of Captain Alexander Bonnett. On December 10, 1777, his armed sloop, "Two Friends," was cast away on Long Beach, near Barnegat, bound from St. Nichola Mole, for Philadelphia, laden with 1,600 bushels of salt, forty hogsheads of molasses, rum and sugar. The people of the shore saved all the crew but one man, who drowned. Ship and cargo were lost. The hands went across the State to Philadelphia, but Captain Bonnett went on board the sloop "Endeavor" at Toms River, to take his passage home to Hispaniola. Unfortunately, as the annals put it, on the 25th of that month, "in the night she parted her cable and was cast away in the bay, and Captain Bonnett, with every soul on board, perished."

Major John Cook, of Toms River, must have made other prizes, as an Admiralty Court sat at Gilbert Barton's tavern, in Allentown, February 24, 1779, to try his claims against the sloop "Fanny," Samuel Bell, master.

These meagre accounts of the happenings in those strenuous days are gathered from the advertisements in the newspapers of New York, Philadelphia and Trenton, and from letters written "to the printer." They could be lengthened out with the names of vessels and men in many more bloody encounters—but these may be enough to show the type of men who frequented the shores during the Revolution.

CHAPTER V.

ATTACKS ON EGG HARBOR AND TOMS RIVER.

The two most important military movements in this section, that against Little Egg Harbor, and that against Toms River, were both the outgrowth of the British desire to punish and stop privateering, aided by the natural lust for revenge on the part of the Refugees, or Loyalists. Of these two expeditions, that against Little Egg Harbor was the larger. This expedition left New York in October, 1778. In the fleet there were two frigates, brigs, schooners, sloops, and three galleys, in all twenty sail. It was in command of Captain Henry Collins, R. N., with the frigate "Zebra" as his flagship. The military arm of the expedition was commanded by Captain Patrick Ferguson, a gallant and resourceful officer of the Seventieth Foot—"Scotch" Ferguson, as he was called, who later met his death at the hands of the Scotch-Irish mountaineer riflemen at the battle of Eutaw Springs, in the Carolinas. Ferguson commanded in this expedition some three hundred British Regulars of the Fifth Foot, beside various detachments of Loyalists, including the Third Jersey Volunteers.

As the water on the bar would not allow the larger vessels to enter Little Egg Harbor, the galleys and small craft were sent into the bay, and up the Mullica River to Chestnut Neck, in what is now Atlantic County. Here the privateersmen had built up a considerable settlement where they stored their prize goods. Word had been sent by Governor Livingston that the expedition had left Sandy Hook, and a few of the privateers had slipped out of the bay before the British fleet reached there. Hurried efforts were made to fortify the landing place at Chestnut Neck, but, according to the official report of Ferguson, they were without artillery. The defenders of Chestnut Neck were driven to the swamps by gun fire from the guns mounted in the British galleys, aided by the infantry fire. The British then landed and destroyed by fire the entire settlement, including the shipping and boats, storehouses, and dwellings.¹

The attempt to go farther up the Mullica, to the Forks of Little Egg Harbor, which was where the most of the prize goods seemed to have been, and from which place these goods were carted overland to Philadelphia, Mt. Holly or Trenton, was given up. It was reported to Ferguson by Tory residents of that locality that troops had been sent from Philadelphia to defend the Forks of Little Egg Harbor, also that he would be compelled to pass high bluffs on the way, whence his galleys and armed row boats would be raked with artillery, and he withdrew, satisfied with the ruin he had wrought. Local tradition says that on returning from this foray, they found the "Zebra" on the bar, just where they had left her, and unable to swing clear. This detained the fleet and they proceeded, with the aid of Tories, familiar with the locality, to burn, loot, and destroy the property of Patriots about what is now New Grenna, on the north shore of the Mullica, sending detachments up the Wading River, Bass River, and other streams to do this. From the time of the expedition to Chestnut Neck, on October 6, it appears they spent about a week in this vengeful work of destruction.

Governor Livingston, alarmed at this invasion, had importuned Congress and General Washington for aid. Congress sent Count Casimir Pulaski, a gallant Polander, and a soldier of fortune, with his Foreign Legation, to the defense of Little Egg Harbor. The Foreign Legation was officered

¹ Portions of this chapter deal with topics treated in the general history of the region, a circumstance that occurs in several other instances. They are repeated in order to preserve the continuity of the local narratives and to give the several viewpoints of their writers.

by Europeans, though the men seem to have been, partly at least, recruited in this country, without regard to nationality. On paper the Legion consisted of some three hundred horse, and about an equal number of infantry, but at this time was said to number three hundred and thirty-three all told. Tradition says that Pulaski, not understanding his directions, took the wrong road through the woods, failed to get to Chestnut Neck at all, and reached the shore of Little Egg Harbor village (now Tuckerton). He reached Tuckerton the night of October 14. Learning that the British were still in the bay, he sent an infantry outpost of from thirty to fifty men, to the farms of John and Jeremiah Ridgway on the upland edge of the salt meadows, at what was then, and still is called around Tuckerton "Down Shore." This is on the west side of Tuckerton Creek, but on a peninsula jutting out between Little Egg Harbor and Great Bay. Separated from the Ridgway farms by a thoroughfare, or creek, is Osborn's Island, extending still farther out into the bay, and nearer the inlet, where the British fleet lay. There was a bridge connecting the Island with the main. Should the British wind up their marauding with an attack up on the Quaker village of Little Egg Harbor, this would have been their most convenient route of attack, owing to the marshes on the bay shore.

There were two houses on these farms; that of Jeremiah Ridgway, nearest to Osborn's Island, was where the main picket was stationed, under command of Lieutenant de la Broderie. The officer in command of the outpost, Baron de Bosen, with a smaller detachment, was located at John Ridgway's house, nearer the road to Tuckerton. In Pulaski's Legion was a Hessian deserter, Lieutenant Gustav Juliet, who now turned double traitor, left the American lines, and with five privates, three of whom were also deserters, and two of whom were forced to go by their comrades, went over to the enemy. They explained the entire location of Pulaski's troops, tired out by their forced march of nearly a hundred miles through the sandy roads of South Jersey, and how the outpost was separated from the main body of troops by an almost impassable road, about four miles long.

"Scotch" Ferguson eagerly seized this chance. Taking two hundred and fifty men, he landed on Osborn's Island, impressed Thomas Osborn, who lived there to act as his guide, at the point of the bayonet, seized the bridge across the creek, and left fifty riflemen to guard it. He then fell upon the outpost at Jeremiah Ridgway's farmhouse with the bayonet, and followed it up with an attack on John Ridgway's house. This attack was made just before daybreak. Baron de Bosen, awakened by the outcries of his men, rushed down stairs, struggling into clothes as he went, and was pinned to the door of the entry at the foot of the stairs by British bayonets, as he defended himself as gallantly as he might with his sword against overwhelming numbers. His troops, unable to make a stand, were either massacred where they slept, or slain as they struggled, or else fled to the swamps, and some toward Tuckerton.

In the elation of his easy victory, Ferguson was for passing on to Tuckerton and engaging the rest of the Foreign Legion. But the noise of the musketry had been heard by Pulaski's men, and their commandant aroused. Placing himself at the head of his troopers he thundered down the four mile road from his camp to the Ridgway farm, the British infantry retreating before them in good order, and taking the planks off the bridge as they crossed over to Osborn's Island. This stopped the pursuit by the horsemen, but Pulaski's riflemen crossed on the bridge timbers and harassed the enemy to their boats.

In reports to their commanding officers, both sides claimed a victory. Pulaski's loss was much the heavier, though he reports that in his charge he scattered the British infantry, cutting off about twenty-five men from their retreat. These men, he reports, took to the swamps, and were harbored by Tories, and he was unable to take them.

The British force were now overdue, and were not sure how many troops were back of Pulaski. A letter had arrived from Admiral Gambier to Captain Collins, recalling the fleet to Sandy Hook, some days before this, but the "Zebra" was still aground. Accordingly, on October 16, they set fire to the flagship, and with the rest of their squadron returned to New York. The Patriots considered that the loss of the "Zebra," burned to keep it from falling into their hands, offset all the loss occasioned to the shipping and stores at Chestnut Neck, and that the "Affair at Egg Harbour" was a draw. The British continued to claim it a victory, and Captain Ferguson's report of his operations, published in the Tory paper, Rivington's "Gazette," of New York, makes no mention of the loss of the "Zebra."

The account printed by Rivington's "Royalist Gazette," of New York, follows:

Report of Captain Ferguson, of the Seventieth Regiment, to his Excellency, Sir Henry Clinton, dated

Little Egg Harbour, October 10th.

Sir—I have the Honour to inform you that the Ships, with the Detachment ordered to this Place, arrived off the Bar on the Evening of the 5th Instant, when Captain Collins sent in the Galleys, but the Ships could not enter before the 7th.

Three Privateers of six or eight guns, with an armed Pilot-boat, had escaped out of the Harbour before our Arrival, in Consequence of Advice received on the second from Mr. Livingston, warning them of our Destination.

As it was from this Evident that Preparations had been made against us for several Days, it was determined to allow no further Time, but to push up with our Galleys and small Craft, with what Soldiers could be crowded into them, without waiting for the coming in of the Ships; accordingly, after a very difficult Navigation of twenty Miles inland, we came opposite to Chestnut-neck, where there were several Vessels and about a dozen of Houses, with Stores for the Reception of prize Goods and Accomodation for their Privateers' Men.

The Rebels had there erected a Work with Embrasures for six Guns, on a Level with the Water, to rake the Channel, and another upon a commanding Eminence, with a Platform for Guns en barbette, in which, however, it afterwards appeared that they had not as yet placed Artillery.

The banks of th River below the Works being swampy, rendered it necessary for the Boats with the Troops to pass within Musquet Shot, in order to land beyond them, previous to which Captain Collins advanced with the Galleys to cover our Landing, and as he came very close to the Works, and the Guns of the Galleys were remarkably well pointed, the Fire from the Rebels was effectually stifled, and the Detachment, landing with Ease, soon drove into the Woods the Skulking Banditti that endeavoured to oppose it.

The Seamen were employed all that Evening and the next Day till Noon in destroying ten capital Vessels, and the Soldiers in demolishing the Village, which was the principal Resort of this nest of Pirates. Had we arrived by Surprize, we meant to have pushed forwards with Celerity to the Forks, within thirty-five Miles of Philadelphia. But as the alarm had been spread throughout the Country, and the Militia there had been reinforced from Philadelphia by a Detachment of foot, five field pieces and a body of light horse, our small Detachment could not pretend to enter twenty miles further into the Country to reach the Stores and small Craft there; and the shallowness of the Navigation rendered it impracticable for the Galleys to co-operate with us; it was, therefore, determined to return without loss of Time and endeavour to employ our Force with Effect elsewhere; but some of our Vessels having run aground, notwithstanding the very great Diligence and Activity of Captain Collins, and the Gentlemen of the Navy, an opportunity offered, without interrupting our Progress, to make two Descents on the north side of the River, to penetrate some Miles into the Country, destroy three Salt Works, and raze to the ground the Stores and Settlements of a Chairman of their Committees, a Captain of Militia, and one or two other virulent Rebels.

who had Shares in the Prizes brought in here, and who had all been remarkably active in fomenting the Rebellion, oppressing the People and forcing them, against their Inclination and better Judgment, to assist in their Crimes.

At the same time, be assured, Sir, no manner of Insult or Injury has been offered to the peaceable Inhabitants, nor even to such, as without taking a Lead, have been made, from the Tyranny or Influence of their Rulers, to forget their Allegiance.

It is my duty to inform you that the Officers and Men have cheerfully undergone much Fatigue, and everywhere shown a Disposition to encounter any Difficulties that might offer.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, etc.

Pat. Ferguson,
Captain Seventieth Reg.

P. S.—One Soldier of the Fifth was wounded through the leg at Chestnut-neck, but we have neither lost a Man by the Enemy nor deserting since we set out.

Little Egg Harbour, October 15, 1778.

Sir—Since the Letter which I did myself the Honour of writing to you on the 10th instant, Captain Collins has received a Letter from Admiral Gambier, signifying that the Admiral and you are both of Opinion, that it is not safe for us to remain here, as the Army is withdrawn from the Jerseys and ordering our immediate Return; but as the Wind still detained us, and we had Information by a Captain and six Men of Pulaski's Legion, who had deserted to us, that Mr. Pulaski had cantoned his Corps, consisting of three Companies of Foot, three Troops of Horse, a Detachment of Artillery, and one brass Field Piece, within a Mile of a Bridge, which appeared to me easy to seize, and from thence to cover our retreat; I prevailed upon Captain Collins to enter into my Design, and employ an idle Day in an Attempt which was to be made with Safety, and with a Probability of Success. Accordingly, at eleven last night two hundred and fifty Men were embarked, and after rowing ten miles landed at four this morning, within a Mile of the Defile, which we happily secured, and leaving fifty men for its Defence, pushed forward upon the Infantry, cantoned in three different Houses, who are almost entirely cut to pieces. We numbered among their Dead about fifty, and several Officers, among whom, we learn, are a Lieutenant-Colonel, a Captain, and an Adjutant. It being a night Attack, little Quarter could, of course, be given, so that there are only five Prisoners; as a Rebel, Colonel Proctor, was within two Miles, with a Corps of Artillery, two brass Twelve Pounders, one Three Pounder, and the Militia of the Country, I thought it hazardous, with two hundred Men, without Artillery or Support, to attempt anything farther, particularly after Admiral Gambier's Letter.

The Rebels attempted to harass us in our Retreat, but with great Modesty, so that we returned at our Leisure, and re-embarked in security.

The Captain who has come over to us is a Frenchman, named Bromville. He and the Deserters inform us that Mr. Pulaski has, in public Orders, lately directed no Quarter to be given; and it was, therefore, with particular satisfaction, that the Detachment marched against a Man capable of issuing an Order so unworthy of a Gentleman and a Soldier.

Pat. Ferguson,
Capt. 70th Regt.

P. S.—The Dispatch Vessel not having got to Sea last Night, I am enabled to inform you, that our Yesterday's Loss consists of two Men of the Fifth, and one of the Provincials missing, and two of the Fifth slightly wounded. Ensign Camp, of the Third Jersey Volunteers, has received a Stab through his Thigh.

We had an Opportunity of destroying part of the Baggage and Equipment of Pulaski's Legion, by burning their Quarters, but as the Houses belonged to some inoffensive Quakers, who, I am afraid, may have sufficiently suffered already in the Confusion of a night's Scramble, I know, Sir, that you will think with us, that the Injury to be thereby done to the Enemy would not have compensated for the Sufferings of those innocent People.—The Royalist Gazette, March 10, 1779.

Burning of Toms River Village—As already stated the attack upon Toms River Block House and the burning of the village Sunday morning, March 24, 1782, was the desire of the British to destroy and punish the privateers, or pirates as they called them, and the lust for revenge against former neighbors, on the part of the Refugees and Tories. The war in the spring of 1782 was in fact over, only the terms of peace were to be considered.

There were no major operations, after the surrender of Cornwallis. In England, Lord North was out of power, and a liberal ministry, favorable to the Colonies, wanted peace. The Tories in New York found this idle time an excellent opportunity to ravage and lay waste their former home towns along the seaboard, where, aided by British ships, they could attack in overwhelming force, and get away before the countryside could be roused. Towns on the Hudson, on Long Island Sound, and in New Jersey were selected for these attacks. One of these towns was Toms River.

It seems that the Pennsylvania garrison had been withdrawn from this place for some time, but the State of New Jersey maintained here a Block House, with a garrison of twelve months' men, commanded by Captain Joshua Huddy, who in the early part of the war was a tavern keeper at Colts Neck, Monmouth County, but who had been an active and daring Patriot partisan, feared and hated alike by Tory and Pine Robber, Refugee and Britisher. The Block House was not really a blockhouse of the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontier type; it was really a palisado, such as the Colonists copied from the Indians—a stockade of logs, set deep in the ground, and braced, their tops sharpened, loopholes notched between the logs, and the only ingress, a ladder. In the corners, it is recorded, there were platforms on which brass swivel guns were mounted.

The post sat on the hill, to command Toms River bridge, the only route of travel up and down the shore. It also commanded the beach where the privateersmen laid up their whaleboats, and probably where the shipyard was. Tradition places it just about where the Town Hall, on Robbins Street, stands today, or else a little to the southwest of that location.

The British force left New York on March 20, but were delayed by contrary winds, so that they did not reach Cranberry Inlet till Saturday, and they presumably came in the inlet in whaleboats, rowing across the bay after dark, as it is recorded that they landed on the mainland at midnight. The expedition consisted of Lieutenant Blanchard, of the armed whaleboats, and eighty men; with thirty or forty other Loyalists, including some from Bucks County, Pennsylvania. The traditions about Toms River connect up the Refugee Davenport, and his picaroons, with this expedition. According to the British report, there were one hundred and twenty-five or more British, and twenty-five Patriots in the fight. Tradition would augment the British force with Davenport's men, who are said to have joined them after they landed.

The roster of Huddy's men, called that Sunday morning, is still on file in Trenton, having been sent to Governor Livingston after the action: Captain Joshua Huddy; Sergeants, David Landon, Luke Storey; matrosses, Daniel Applegate, William Case, David Dodge, James Edsall, John Eldridge, John Farr, James Kennedy, James Kinsley, Cornelius McDonald, James Mitchell, John Morris, John Niverson, George Parker, John Parker, Joseph Parker, John Pellmore, Moses Robbins, Thomas Rostoinder, Jacob Stillwagon, Seth Storey, John Wainright, and John Wilbur. It is evident from the story of the day, that the able-bodied residents of the town joined the garrison in defence of the Block House, except those seized by the Refugees on their night march.

A brief account of the Block House fight, was printed in Howe's Collections, the editor of which visited Toms River in 1842, in search of tradition. In 1842, men who were youths of twenty in 1782 might still have been found to tell the story. This account says:

In the American Revolution, a rude fort or blockhouse was erected a short distance north of the bridge, at the village of Toms River, on a hill about a hundred yards east of the road to Freehold, on land now belonging to the heirs of Elijah Robbins, deceased. In the latter part of the war this blockhouse was attacked by a superior force of the enemy. Its commander, Capt. Joshua Huddy, most gallantly defended it until his ammunition was expended and no alternative but surrender left. After the brave little garrison was in their power, it is said they deliberately murdered five men asking for quarter. From thence Captain Huddy, Justice Randolph, and the remaining prisoners were taken to New York, where, suffering the various progressions of barbarity inflicted upon those destined to a violent death, these two gentlemen with a Mr. Fleming, were put into the hold of a vessel. Captain Huddy was ironed hand and foot, and shortly after barbarously hanged on the shore of the Highlands of Navesink.

The one contemporaneous account of the fight published was in Rivington's "Royal Gazette of New York," on the return of the expedition, an account covering with glory the Loyalist troops engaged:

On Wednesday, the 20th inst. (March, 1782) Lieutenant Blanchard of the armed whale boats, and about eighty men belonging to them, with Captain Thomas and Lieutenant Roberts, both of the late Bucks County Volunteers, and between thirty and forty other Refugee Loyalists, the whole under command of Lieutenant Blanchard, proceeded to Sandy Hook under convoy of Captain Stewart Ross, in the armed brig "Arrogant," where they were detained by unfavorable winds until the 23d. About 12 o'clock on that night the party landed near the mouth of Toms River and marched to the Block House at the town of Dover, and reached it just at daylight. On their way they were challenged and fired upon, and when they came to the works they found the rebels, consisting of twenty-five or twenty-six twelve months' men and militia, apprized of their coming, and prepared for defence.

The post into which the rebels had thrown themselves was six or seven feet high, made with large logs, with loopholes between, and a number of brass swivels on the top, which was entirely open, nor was there any way of entering but by climbing over. They had beside swivels, muskets with bayonets and long pikes for their defence. Lieutenant Blanchard summoned them to surrender, which they not only refused, but bid the party defiance; on which he immediately ordered the place to be stormed, which was accordingly done, and though defended with obstinacy, was soon carried. The rebels had nine men killed in the assault, and twelve made prisoners, two of whom are wounded. The rest made their escape in the confusion. Among the killed was a Major of the militia, two Captains and one Lieutenant. The Captain of the twelve months' men stationed there is among the prisoners, who are all brought safe to town. On our side two were killed—Lieutenant Iredell, of the armed boatmen, and Lieutenant Inslee, of the Loyalist, both very brave officers, who distinguished themselves on the attack, and whose loss is much lamented. Lieutenant Roberts and five others are wounded, but it is thought none of them are in a dangerous way.

The Town, as it is called, consisting of about a dozen houses, in which none but a piratical set of banditti resided, together with a grist and sawmill, were, with the Block House, burned to the ground, and an iron cannon spiked and thrown into the river. A fine large barge (called Hyler's barge) and another boat in which the rebels used to make their excursions on the coast, were brought off. Some other attempts were intended to have been made, but the appearance of bad weather, and the situation of the wounded, being without either surgeon or medicine, induced the party to return to New York, where they arrived on the 25th.

Tradition says that the Loyalist expedition was guided by a notorious Tory, William Dillon, and that they surrounded each house between the bay and the village, taking every man prisoner, in their effort to surprise the post at daybreak. Huddy, however, was a careful commander. He got wind of their landing from Garret Irons, and sent a scouting party, presumably of volunteers from the village, down the river road to give the alarm on their approach. General Stryker says the Tories were joined not only by Dillon, but by the notorious Refugee and Pine Robber, Davenport, with his band of marauders; and that they evaded the scouts, by taking a route to the north, and coming down the Squan Road.

It was at early dawn when they reached the Block House, and being

challenged by a sentry, who fired as they advanced, the hope of a surprise was abandoned. Blanchard called on Huddy to surrender the post. The response was "Come and take it."

A fierce charge was made with over-whelming numbers. Huddy's men were armed, some with muskets, some with pikes. The powder gave out. The Tories swarmed over the palisade, and bayoneted the defenders. John Wainright fell, pierced with six bullets. James Kinsley, working the swivel gun, was mortally wounded. John Farr dropped at the first volley. McDonald, Dodge, and Rostoinder died at their post in the hand to hand struggle, while Kennedy was wounded so that he died during the day. Major John Cook, a resident of the village, was bayoneted to death, so tradition says, after the post had surrendered.

The Block House, the gristmill, sawmill, and all the houses but two were burned to the ground. The two houses spared were those of Aaron Buck, a relative to the Tory Dillon, and of Mrs. Joshua Studson. It is supposed that John Bacon, the Refugee, out of remorse for having killed Captain Studson, saved his widow's home from the torch. They also carried off two whaleboats, and set fire to a new one that was on the stocks, and spiked and threw into the river a large iron cannon.

They then embarked for New York with their prisoners, including besides Huddy and his men, Jacob Fleming, and Esquire Daniel Randolph, who was a man of much prominence in Toms River in those days. Among the wounded was Moses Robbins; and tradition says that James Johnson, who lived at Money Island, and who had fought in the Jersey line was captured by the British during their night march, and bayoneted by a Refugee after the Block House had surrendered, though a prisoner and not a combatant; both recovered. By the British troops report, Lieutenants Iredell and Inslee of the Tory troops were killed and Lieutenant Roberts and five others wounded. Captain Ephraim Jenkins, a Toms River Patriot, was among the killed.

Arriving in New York, Huddy and his men were placed in the Sugar House Prison, but he was moved to the Provost Guard prison on April 1. A week later, April 8, Captain Richard Lippincott, a neighbor of Huddy in Shrewsbury Township, Monmouth County, before the Revolution broke out, with orders from the Board of Associated Loyalists, took Huddy, Fleming and Randolph aboard a sloop, ironed them, and went down the bay to Sandy Hook, where they were placed on the man-o'-war "Britannia." The fiction that Huddy was to be exchanged was carefully kept up in all the written orders though it seems to have been well known among the officers and men that the "exchange" was to be for Phil White, a daring Refugee, captured by the Patriots, and shot while trying to escape his captors, as they took him to Freehold for trial.

On April 12, Lippincott demanded Huddy from Captain Morris of the "Britannia." With a guard of sixteen Loyalists and six sailors, he was rowed to Gravelly Point at the foot of the Highlands. Here three fence rails and a barrel formed a gibbet. Huddy's old neighbors, now his executioners, allowed him to dictate and sign his will, and they also saw that it reached the Freehold courts.

Tradition also says that Huddy shook hands with Lippincott, just as he stepped upon the barrel, saying "I shall die innocent and in a good cause." He stated that he was innocent, because to justify the murder of a prisoner of war, the Tories accused Huddy of having a hand in the death of Phil

White, though White was shot four days after Huddy's capture at Toms River. Lippincott's men were loath to pull the rope on Huddy, and cursing them, Lippincott seized the rope himself, and as others joined in, launched Joshua Huddy off into eternity.

That afternoon at four o'clock the Patriots found Huddy hanging on the gibbet, and pinned to his breast was the Tory's justification of their act. It accused the Patriots of murdering Refugees, and said that they had made an example of Huddy, and would "hang man for man, as long as a Refugee is left existing. Up goes Huddy for Phil White." Huddy's body was taken to Freehold, to the tavern of Captain James Green, and on the fifteenth, his funeral sermon was preached from the tavern steps by Rev. Dr. John Woodhull, pastor of the Presbyterian Church. He was buried with the honors of war in old Tennent burying ground, but the grave was not marked, and is now unknown.

Monmouth County cried for vengeance, cried night and day. There is not space to tell here of Captain Adam Hyler's attempt to kidnap Dick Lippincott at his home in New York, or other plans to trap Huddy's murderer. Governor Livingston appealed to Washington and to Congress. Washington demanded that Sir Henry Clinton, the British commander-in-chief, surrender Lippincott for punishment. While Clinton, and afterwards his successor in command, Sir Guy Carleton, admitted that Huddy's death was murder, Lippincott was not surrendered.

Sir Henry characterized the murder of Huddy as a barbarous outrage against humanity." He put Captain Lippincott on trial, and Lippincott took refuge behind his orders from the Board of Associated Loyalists. The court-martial held that while Huddy was "executed without proper authority," yet Lippincott was only obeying orders. General Skinner, the Refugee chieftain, was one of the court that acquitted Lippincott.

Unable to obtain Lippincott, in response to the demands of the citizens of Monmouth, backed by all the force of New Jersey, Washington convened a council of twenty-five general and field officers. They decided to select by lot from among the prisoners of war of equal rank of Huddy, one to be hanged in reprisal. This order was held back till after Clinton had refused to deliver up Lippincott, and was issued on May 3. Fourteen officers, prisoners of war in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, drew lots. Lieutenant Charles Asgill of the First Regiment of Foot Guards, was the unlucky man. He was the only son of a wealthy, English Baronet, Sir Charles Asgill, in his twentieth year, brave, and much loved by his fellow-officers.

"I knew it would be so," he is reported as saying, "I never won so much as a bet of backgammon in my life." Asgill was taken to Morristown, New Jersey, where he was held prisoner, awaiting response to another demand for Lippincott, or, if Lippincott was obeying orders from a superior, then the man who had ordered Huddy murdered.

Asgill's mother, Lady Theresa Asgill, made a fight for her son's life. She aroused King George, so that he issued an order for the surrender of Lippincott, an order that was not obeyed. She pleaded with the King and Queen of France, and succeeded in having them intercede for her son, and secured the intercession of Holland for his life also.

Washington and his officers revolted at the hanging of Asgill, as they had at the execution of Andre. Finally the pleas of the French King won Asgill's life, and he was released in the latter part of the year. He set sail, reaching Plymouth, England, on December 15, 1782, in the ship "Swallow."

The plight of Asgill interested the whole civilized world. In Paris and London, plays were written about him, and he was the hero of the hour. Later he succeeded to his father's baronetcy, and was also a general in the British Army.

And so, yielding to the dictates of mercy, Huddy's death was unavenged, and doubtless the brave Huddy, could he have spoken, would have had it so. But Huddy's death through the good feeling that the release of Asgill engendered, won for the infant United States valuable concessions in the treaty of Paris signed early the next year, ending the war.

General Stryker says that among those who petitioned for the life of Asgill were Huddy's family. Huddy left two daughters, Elizabeth and Martha Huddy, as named in his will, who were afterward by marriage, Martha Piatt and Elizabeth Green. Huddy's will is in the possession of the New Jersey Historical Society, placed there by Judge Bennington F. Randolph, who found it among the papers of Huddy's executor, Colonel Samuel Forman. All the papers in the Huddy-Asgill matter are recorded in the New Jersey Archives. In 1837 Congress investigated the matter with a view to honoring Huddy, but there is no monument to his memory, and his grave is unknown.

Daniel Randolph and Jacob Fleming, the two other prisoners taken to Sandy Hook with Huddy, were exchanged for Captain Clayton Tilton and Aaron White, two captured Refugees, held by the Monmouth County Patriots.

These are but snapshots of a few of the matters handed down by tradition, or preserved in the few meagre references in newspaper print and in official record, of the seven long years of the Revolutionary War, as it applied to the present district of Ocean County. We might add, however, that when Sir Henry Clinton retreated across the Jerseys from Philadelphia to New York, in June, 1778, resulting in the battle of Monmouth Courthouse, the main track of both the British retreat and the American advance, was the State road, from Mt. Holly to Freehold, which forms the border line of Ocean County on the northwest corner for some miles. The right wing of both armies must have crossed the tip of Plumsted Township of today, and some of them must also have passed through what is today Jackson Township. Old men are still living who have had it told to them by their grandparents that their parents heard the guns at the battle of Monmouth on that terrifically hot 28th of June. It is also of record that the Manahawkin, or Stafford militia, marched all the way to join the American troops, under Captain Reuben F. Randolph. Tradition says they met the Patriot pickets at what is now Adelphia, southeast of Freehold, then known as Shumar's Mills, and were attached to the forces of General Daniel Morgan, the famous Rifleman's Corps. Morgan was left out of the fight, his troops lying all day at Shumar's Mills, waiting for orders that failed to reach them.

Surely, enough in record and tradition has been shown here to make good the assertion in the early paragraphs of these chapters, that, while outside the beaten path of events, and away from all direct connection with the major campaigns of the war, this section of New Jersey had its full share of action and bloodshed in those troublesome times.

CHAPTER VI.

REFUGEES AND PINE ROBBERS.

The story of the Revolution in Monmouth County cannot be written without many references to the Refugees and Pine Robbers. Some of the

Refugees were men of means and of honor, driven from home by their loyalty to King George. Others were plain outlaws, who in the first stages of the war probably masked their maraudings, robberies, and murders, as acts of patriotism, but who later, in the natural drift of affairs, took shelter under the British forces in New York, and from that vantage ground came and went, robbing friend or foe, Tory or Whig alike.

The head of the Loyalists in New Jersey was Sir William Franklin, the illegitimate son of Benjamin Franklin, who had much of his father's ability as an administrator, but little of his love for the Colonies. He was the last Royal Governor of New Jersey, and when driven from New Jersey, and harboring in New York City, he directed the movement of Loyalist troops against their former neighbors.

The Refugee partisans went to him for pay and for arms, also for aid in obtaining their revenge. It also seems as we unravel the meagre details we have of those eventful days, that Tory and Patriot were not always easily distinguished in the earlier part of the war, and for some years these Refugees came and went unhindered, either because they were the stronger, or because the scattered settlers did not care to kill their old neighbors. Toward the end of the war the feeling between Patriot and Loyalist became bitter, and after the massacre on Long Beach and the burning of Toms River, the Patriots seem to have banded together to hunt down and slay the Refugees.

In upper Monmouth County the Refugee partisans were led by Captain Richard Lippincott (Dick Lippincott), who seems to have been a bold and ready fighting man. Captain or Colonel Tye, an escaped Negro slave, also daring and resourceful, Philip White, and others, were also associated with them. Around Toms River and Barnegat Bay, John Bacon, and Davenport, were the Refugee leaders; around Tuckerton and the Mullica River region, William Giberson and Joe Mulliner were among the conspicuous ones. In addition to these men were the more notorious Pine Robbers, Burke, or Emmons, Fagan, Fenton, and others. These last named were hunted down and slain as if they had been wild beasts, by the people of Monmouth County.

John Bacon, the Refugee, killed Captain Joshua Studson of Toms River. Studson lived at Toms River, near the bank of the stream, about where Robbins Park now is. He seems to have been known as Captain Studson, when he was in command of a privateer, and also was a lieutenant in Captain Ephraim Jenkins' company of Monmouth Militia, his commission dating June 14, 1780. During the latter part of 1780, Captain Studson and his privateering crew, seized the schooner "John" and the sloop "Catherine" in Princess Bay, almost under the guns of the British fleet at Sandy Hook, and brought them safely to Middletown. A prize court sat on these claims at the house of Isaac Wood, in Mt. Holly, and the prizes were advertised to be sold at Freehold Court House on January 1, 1781. But a month before that, on December 1, 1780, Studson lost his life.

Tradition tells this story of Studson's death. Three men living along the bay, Asa Woodmansee, Richard Barber, and Thomas Collins, tempted by the high prices paid in British gold in New York for food supplies, loaded a whaleboat with foods from the farms along the bay, and went to New York, via Cranberry Inlet. There they disposed of their cargo, and were about to start for home when John Bacon, a notorious Refugee leader, demanded that they give him passage. They were not themselves out and out Tories, and they tried to escape bringing Bacon, but he entered their boat, and they were afraid to deny him passage. They reached Cranberry Inlet

in the afternoon, and afraid to enter, laid outside till the friendly darkness should let them slip into the bay unnoticed.

Lieutenant Studson, and his militiamen, had learned of the contraband trade, and decided it must be stopped at the very beginning. Studson and a whaleboat crew crossed the bay to the inlet and waited for the other boat to come in, hidden behind a point on the beach, and then rowed out directly in front of the incoming craft. Studson, standing up in the boat, called on the other crew to surrender. Bacon probably thought that the militia were after him, and fired his musket at Studson, killing him almost instantly. It seems that the militiamen had expected no resistance, and by the time they could get their weapons, the other boat had fled in the darkness of the night. The militia rowed back to their homes at Toms River village, and landing at the river bank, roused Mrs. Studson to tell her of the death of her husband. They took a blanket from the house, put the body in it, and carried it to the Studson home, where the widow waited. Tradition further says that the three contraband traders, fearful for their own lives, put about and went back up the beach to the British lines. They were forced into the British army, and stayed there till Washington issued a proclamation offering amnesty to deserters from the British forces. They took advantage of this to get back home. One of them, Collins, is reported to have said that while in the British service "they were sick with smallpox, and suffered everything but death." At least two of them lived long lives along shore. Mrs. Studson's home was one of two houses spared in Toms River village, when it was burned by the British and Tories in March, 1782. After the war, she married a man named Chamberlain.

Bacon is said to have traded up and down the bay from Forked River to West Creek, and he was the commander of the Tories in what is known as the Massacre on Long Beach. He was also the leader of the Tories in the affair at Manahawkin, on December 30, 1781, when the Stafford Militia, under Captain Reuben F. Randolph, were called out to repel one of Bacon's plundering excursions. The Tories were much in the majority, and Lines (Lyons) Pangborn, was killed, while another militiaman, Sylvester Tilton, was wounded. The story is that Captain Randolph "kept tavern," and the militia assembled there, hearing that Bacon and his Tories were marching down the main shore road. After midnight, they concluded it was a false alarm, and put out pickets to watch the road, while they turned in to sleep. At daybreak Bacon's men swarmed down the road toward West Creek, and the militia were again roused, but had to retreat before the superior force. It was in the retreat that Pangborn was slain.

Tradition says that Bacon used to visit the homes of well-known Patriots, with his raiders, and take whatever he wanted—money, food, or clothing, which was taken at the muzzle of the musket, or point of the bayonet. John Holmes, of Forked River, the Prices, at Cedar Creek, the Sopers at Soper's Landing, near Waretown, are among those about whom Edwin Salter found traditions of being plundered by Bacon. Reuben Soper, son of Joseph Soper, was killed by Bacon, or his men, on Long Beach, presumably in the Long Beach massacre. Joseph Soper was plundered a number of times, and when Bacon was finally killed, it is said he was wearing, and was buried in a shirt belonging to Joseph Soper. A story is told of how Soper, on one occasion, outwitted these robbers. Bacon came down in force, and Soper and his son took flight to a hiding place in the swamp, leaving the women and children at the house, as Bacon had not been known to harm

children or women. It seems that, before, Soper had been paid for building a small vessel, and one of his workmen, named Wilson, had told Bacon of it, although he did not know how much it was. A small part of the money Soper had buried in his garden, but the most of it in another place. Bacon threatened the women of the household, saying that he knew that they had money, whereupon they took him to the place where the small amount was buried; and he took that, thinking it was all, and left them.

The massacre on Long Beach took place after a vessel had come ashore about a mile south of Barnegat Inlet. The New York Tory paper tells the story briefly: "A cutter from Ostend, bound to St. Thomas, ran aground on Barnegat Shoals, October 25, 1782. The American galley "Alligator," Captain Steelman, from Cape May, with twenty-five men, plundered her on Saturday night last of a quantity of Hyson tea and other valuable articles, but was attacked the same night by Captain John Bacon, with nine men, in a small boat called "The Hero's Revenge," who killed Steelman and wounded the First Lieutenant, and all the party except four or five, were either killed or wounded."

Local tradition tells the story a little differently. It says that Steelman, and the Stafford Township men, were working all day taking the cargo out of this vessel, and at night, tired out, were sleeping, when they were surrounded by Bacon's men, who poured a volley into the sleepers, killing and wounding a large number of them. This made Bacon still more hated than before.

Bacon, Davenport, and these other Tory leaders, knowing the Indian trails through the pines, would land on the Barnegat Bay shore, across the pine belt in force, fall on isolated farm houses in Burlington County, plunder them, perhaps burn houses and barns, and escape through the pines again. The Governor and Council set a price of fifty pounds upon Bacon's head, and he was declared an outlaw. John Stewart, of Arneyton, Burlington County, succeeded in killing Bacon, after a previous attempt had failed, when a number of Burlington County militia, on the trail of Bacon, were ambushed at Cedar Creek bridge by Bacon and his men, and lost some of their number. This was on December 27, 1782, at night. In this battle William Cooke, Jr., of Captain Thomas' Troop of Light Dragoons, Burlington County, was among the killed. Cooke had a brother, Joel, who swore vengeance on Bacon. He with Captain John Stewart, John Brown, Thomas Smith, John Jones, and another man whose name is forgotten, tracked Bacon to the tavern of William Rose, between West Creek and Clamtown (as Tuckerton was sometimes called in those days). It was a very dark night, and fortunately for the Patriots, Bacon had separated from his gang. Smith, reconnoitring, crept up to a window and saw a man sitting within, a musket between his knees. The posse surrounded the house, and Captain Stewart burst open the door, covered the armed man with his musket, and demanded his surrender. Instead, this man sprang to his feet, cocked his musket, and was aiming at Stewart, when the latter, instead of shooting, dropped his gun, and grappled with the stranger, throwing him to the floor. The stranger then asked for quarter, admitting he was John Bacon. Stewart called in Cooke, who knew Bacon, to identify the prisoner. Cooke, angry at his brother's death, lunged at Bacon with his bayonet, wounding him severely. However, Bacon watched his chance and later in the night tried to escape by the back door. Stewart shoved a table against the door, but in the struggle, Bacon had won the door, when Stewart fired and killed him. The ball



Huddy Park

TOMS RIVER
Waterfront

View of Toms River

went through Bacon's body, through a part of the building and struck the breast of Cooke, who was on guard outside the back door, to prevent just such an attempt at escape on the part of Bacon. This happened on the night of April 3, 1783.

They took the body of Bacon up through the pines to Jacobstown, Burlington County. On the way, as the tradition goes, Cooke told his comrades that he had blooded Bacon with his bayonet in the struggle. The others did not believe it, but they stopped at a tavern at Mt. Misery, and examined Bacon's body, finding the bayonet wound as well as the gunshot wound. The Patriots of Jacobstown were in the act of burying Bacon's body, under the public highway, as an outlaw, according to a custom of ancient Britain, but his brother, who lived in that section, came and begged the privilege of burying the body. "After much entreaty" goes the old story, written by Dr. George F. Fort, of New Egypt, Governor of New Jersey, the brother was allowed to take away and give decent burial to the body of John Bacon.

Next to Bacon, the most dreaded of the Refugee leaders in this section was Davenport. These Refugee leaders and their bands had hiding places in the swamps, difficult of access, and easily defended if attacked. When not raiding the richer farm country of West Jersey, they would, if in sufficient force, plunder the men known to be Patriots in the shore hamlets. Davenport himself took part, with his men, in the attack on Toms River in March, 1782, when the town with its salt works, mills, and shipping, was burnt. Davenport lost his life about two months later, June 1, 1782, when he appeared in the bay with two long barges and eighty men, about half white and half black, the latter being slaves who had escaped from Jersey farms to the British lines, where they were armed and recruited in these marauding gangs. These picaroons, as they were in that day called, landed on the north bank of Forked River and helped themselves to victuals at the homes of Samuel and James Woodmansee, two farmers, living near the bay. They then crossed over to the south branch of Forked River, to the place of Samuel Brown, an active Patriot. They plundered his house, burnt his salt works, and Brown himself barely escaped capture by hiding in the swamp.

Leaving Brown's they went down the river to the bay. Davenport sent one barge up the bay on a similar errand, and started down the bay toward Waretown, where he intended to destroy salt works in that neighborhood. As they neared the mouth of Oyster Creek, they saw another boat coming up the bay. The tradition, as handed down from those days, tells that Davenport's men urged him to turn about, and rejoin the other barge, as the oncoming whaleboat crew undoubtedly meant to attack him, and would not dare attack Davenport, unless they were sure the advantage was on their side. This argument, Davenport laughed at, and pointed out to his men that the boat's crew so steadily approaching was considerably less in number than they were, and they would soon settle the battle. As they neared musket-shot distance, Davenport was standing up in the boat, urging his rowers on, when the Patriot boatmen fired a swivel gun in the bow of their boat. One of the slugs from this discharge killed Davenport; other slugs damaged the barge, probably wounding some of the crew. At any rate, in the confusion his crew capsized the barge, and, finding themselves in about four feet of water, near the mainland, waded ashore and took refuge in the swamps. They then scattered, begging food from Quaker farmers, and traveling at night, till they got out of the country.

The killing of Captain Studson, the burning of Toms River, the massacre on Long Beach, the death of Lines Pangborn at Manahawkin, the attack on the life of Silas Crane at the same place—these with plunderings and burnings, made the Patriots determined to hunt down and kill, as they would have killed so many wild beasts, those notorious Refugees who had been guilty of major crimes. One of these was Dick Bird, of Potter's Creek, now Bayville. Bird was said by tradition to have made himself a hiding-out place in a dugout near the head of Cedar Creek, digging himself a cave in the side of a hill. Toward the end of the war he visited one night a woman near Quail Run, between Toms River and Bayville. Other women along the road saw him go there and told some of the Patriots in the neighborhood. They armed and started after him. Looking in the window, he was seen sitting beside the fireplace, the woman he visited on his lap, and his gun standing in the chimney corner. Bird was alert, and discovering his enemies, leaped for his gun, but the others fired through the window and killed him instantly, just as his hand closed on his weapon.

The story of Silas Crane, of Manahawkin, is one that explains how and why the Patriots, in the latter part of 1782 and early part of 1783, hunted down the notorious Refugees as though they had been rabid dogs, and just as dangerous to society. Crane was a man of substance and standing in his community, a sterling Patriot, and prominent Baptist. One night after attending church, the preacher went home with him to spend the night. It was a warm night, and with door and windows open, they sat talking things over, when Crane glimpsed through the open door several armed men. He sprang through the back window, and as he sprang, they fired. He was badly wounded in the thigh, but escaped to a hiding place.

Sylvester Tilton, another Manahawkin man, wounded in a fray with Bacon's men, afterward had his revenge. He was certain he was shot by a man he knew, named Brewer, a Tory. The ball went clear through his body, so that a silk handkerchief was passed through the wound to clean it out. The ball, according to tradition, "went in one shoulder and came out a little one side of his breast." Some time after the close of hostilities, Tilton learned where Brewer lived. He had threatened if he ever found him he would get square. Brewer had heard this threat and kept a loaded musket in his house. But Tilton entered the house, grappled his man before the latter could reach his weapon, dragged him to the door and beat him thoroughly with his fists. The story goes that his last warning to Brewer was—"You scoundrel, you tried to kill me once, and I mean now to settle with you for it. I want you now to leave here and follow the rest of the Refugees." The Tories had mostly left Monmouth County and had settled in Nova Scotia.

Bill Giberson and Joe Mulliner, also noted Refugees, held forth around Tuckerton about the Mullica River. Giberson's sister was said to be as good a man as he was. She rescued him one time from the Mt. Holly jail. It was told of her that she could, with two hogsheads placed side by side, stand in one and leap out of it into the other, without touching her hands to the staves. It was also said that with a "hop, skip and a jump," Giberson himself could "clear an ordinary Egg Harbor wagon," used in carting stuff from the shore "up country."

Giberson had a fight one night with the Manahawkin militia, and was afterward fond of boasting how he made them run. He and his crew of picaroons were holding high revel in Daniel Falkinburg's tavern at Clam-

town (Tuckerton) when some of the Clamtown folks sent a messenger to the Manahawkin militia. Sylvester Tilton, whose story is told above (boys are still being named Sylvester Tilton in the shore district to this day—so he must have impressed his personality upon the men of his times), got a farm wagon and three or four men, and started for Clamtown. But Giberson, though on a drinking bout, had his scouts out, and a Tory sympathizer, having seen the messenger start for the militia, hurriedly informed Giberson and his men. When the Stafford men got to Clamtown, Giberson had retreated to his boats, was occupying a strong position, and greeted them with a volley. Finding they were outnumbered, the militia jumped into their wagon and started for home. Giberson and his men followed them to West Creek bridge, keeping out of gunshot. At the bridge the wagon tongue dropped down, stopping the team, and here another exchange of volleys took place, then the Refugees retreated to their boats and the Patriots hurried back to Manahawkin. Nobody was hurt, but the Giberson gang long boasted of how they had chased the militia.

Giberson had a hiding place in Oak Swamp, below Tuckerton, generally called "Down Shore," not far from where Pulaski's outposts were bayoneted in a night attack by "Scotch" Ferguson and his men. Here he came to grief. It was learned that he and another notorious Tory, Henry Lane, were hiding at Tuckerton. They were captured early one morning by Benjamin Bates and Richard Howell, of Captain John Davis's Company of Gloucester County men, who had been sent to the shore to clear out the Refugees. Bates was taking Giberson, as a prisoner, along the road, when Giberson, pretending to see something at a distance, got Bates to look the other way from his prisoner—and then made his escape. Bates fired at him and missed. Next day Bates went back to the same house seeking Giberson, and as he opened the door, he heard the click of a musket lock behind him. Giberson had hidden behind a large tree a few feet from the house. Bates flung himself to his knees, and a bullet, intended for his head, went through his hat. Giberson then started to run again, but this time Bates had loaded his musket with buckshot, and fired, breaking Giberson's leg. He was taken, says tradition, to Burlington jail (probably Burlington County jail, at Mt. Holly) and it was from this jail that he was rescued by his sister and escaped to New York. After the war he went to Nova Scotia with other Refugees. Several years after that he came back to what is now Atlantic County, and settled there, leading a peaceful life among the men he had formerly fought against. His sister is said to have gone to Salem County.

Aaron Buck and William Dillon seem to have been Tories of property and prominence around Toms River in the days of the Revolution. When the British and Tories burned Toms River village, Buck's house was one of two left standing, the other being the home of Mrs. Joshua Studson, whose husband was killed by Refugee Bacon. It has been thought that a qualm of conscience on the part of Bacon, saved her home. Buck was known to be a Tory and married the daughter of John Dillon, William Dillon's brother. Dillon carried on a contraband trade with the British in New York, and his sloop "Lucy" was captured by Captain William Gray, sailing out of Toms River, a prize court sitting at the public house of James Green, Freehold, on March 16, 1782, on this capture. Dillon is given the credit of having piloted the British expedition that burnt Toms River the following week into Cranberry Inlet, and across the bay. His home was on Dillon's Island, now Island Heights Borough.

CHAPTER VII.

PINE WOOD AND IRON FORGES—SCHOONER DAYS.

With the close of the Revolution, and the welcome dawn of peace, the shore district dropped back into its former slow and easy conditions of life. Privateering, and the wealth it brought to the hardy and daring, was at an end. The primitive salt works could hardly hold their own against the salt from Turks Island, in the Panamas, and other foreign supplies. Industry again had recourse to the fisheries, farming, trapping, lumbering, etc. During the Revolution, a decided impetus had been given to the iron works in New Jersey, not only among the mountains of Morris County, but the more easily worked deposits of bog iron in the swamps of New Jersey. Now we find that the iron furnace began to flourish, and as long as the supply of easily worked bog ore lasted, with the combination of endless supplies of wood to make charcoal for the furnace, and small waterpowers to drive the trip hammers of the small forges, Ocean County's first and chief manufacturing development was the iron furnace, or forge. This, while a simple industry, as compared with the huge steel plants of today, had many ramifications. Sloops and schooners were needed to carry the pig iron to New York, when finished, and that meant shipbuilders and ship carpenters, as well as sailors; men were needed to mine the iron, and cart it to the forge; the streams must be dammed to raise a head of water, to drive the waterwheel, which in turn would lift the trip hammer of the forge; more men must chop the wood and make up charcoal pits, in which the pinewood was charred, till it became the proper fuel to smelt the iron ore; docks for the schooners had to be built, and roads down which the four-mule teams hauled the pig iron from forge to "landing"; wherever there was a forge, there sprang up also a small village, mostly owned by the proprietor of the mill, for his hands, and also a store owned and operated by the owner, at which the employees bought their necessities, and had the purchases "chalked up" against their wages. Thus the iron business set the axes ringing in both pinewood and swamp, to match the adzes and mallets of the ship builders; it carved roads through the pines, many miles long, straight as a line could be drawn on a map; and it peopled the pines as the never had been peopled before or since.

It is said that Lewis Morris, one of the earliest settlers in the Monmouth Patent, started the first bog iron furnace at Tinton Falls, Monmouth County, before 1676. We learn that a Joseph Salter, said to have been a resident of Toms River during the war, and one of the owners of the salt works at that place, had started an iron furnace at Atsayunk (now shortened into Atsion) in the Mullica River valley, in 1770. Also that in 1776, at Batsto, also located on the Mullica River, Charles Read, a Judge of the New Jersey Supreme Court, built a furnace, and helped to supply the Continental army with cannonballs during the seven years of war. This was one of the objectives of "Scotch" Ferguson and his expedition up the Mullica River, when he destroyed Chestnut Neck, just before his massacre of Count Pulaski's men of the Foreign Legion, but Ferguson did not deem it wise to ascend the Mullica any further than Chestnut Neck.

Early records hand down the names of some of the men who were the "captains of industry" in that day and generation, probably as big and as overweening in their power and wealth, as were the Pittsburgh steel magnates a hundred years later. One of the foremost of these in influence, if not the earliest in time, was General John Lacey, a Pennsylvania soldier in

the Revolution, who built a forge at Ferrago, (since known as Bamber, or Cedar Crest), on the upper reaches of Cedar Creek. A road was built from Forked River Landing to Bamber, and is still called "the Lacey road," just as the name of this early industrial magnate is preserved in the name of Lacey Township. Ferrago is said to have been built in 1809, and to have carried on long years after the iron ore was exhausted, and it was necessary to have schooners bring the ore from the mountains of Orange County, New York, down the Hudson to Forked River, and then cart it in mule-drawn wagons to Ferrago, to smelt it and to forge it into pig iron. The finished product was then sent back to New York by schooner from Forked River. Lacey also built a furnace at New Mills, now Pemberton, in Burlington County, and made his home there until his death in 1814. Dover Forge, not far from Ferrago, was also built in 1809, and it is handed down that W. L. Smith, its owner, was the son-in-law (some say father-in-law) of General Lacey. The Lacey interests also included a furnace between Ferrago and New Mills, known as Hanover Furnace. The Lacey road, which travels from Forked River Landing to Ferrago (Cedar Crest) with but one bend, was laid out in 1810.

While Lacey was one of the most important, he was not the first ironmaster in this section. The present town of Lakehurst, the home of the great Naval hangar, and famed as the place where the ZR-1, the first big American dirigible balloon was built, and is housed, was originally an iron furnace settlement. Here Caleb Ivins and David Wright established what was afterward known as the Federal Furnace in 1789. The name of Wright is preserved to posterity by "Wright's Bridge," a stream crossing Toms River's north, or main branch, just west of Toms River village, on the road from Toms River to Lakehurst. John W. Godfrey, a Philadelphian, was another ironmaster who perhaps enlarged Federal Furnace or forge at what is now Lakehurst prior to the end of the eighteenth century. In 1815 the records show that the Federal furnace was the property of I. Holmes and Griffith Jones. Phoenix Furnace, below Federal Furnace, on a branch of Toms River, was built by Griffith Jones and Mercer Wood, and was at first called the Lower Furnace. Having burnt down and being rebuilt, it was called the Phoenix Forge.

The Winter resort at Lakewood, was also first started as an iron town, by Jesse Richards, in 1814, when it was known as Washington Furnace. It is said that associated with Richards was William Irvin. Years afterward, the property was bought by Joseph W. Brick, and renamed "Bergen Iron Works," because, so tradition says, "Bergen iron had a high reputation for quality."

The forge at Laurelton, on the Metedeconk River, below Lakewood, was built in 1808 by John Lippincott of Mount Holly. After the closing of Cranberry Inlet, in 1812, or thereabouts, this iron had to be shipped out via Barnegat Inlet. Tradition tells us that much of the iron waterpipe in lower New York City was made here, from ore brought from Fishkill, New York, by schooner, after the native bog ore had been exhausted. This furnace was sold to Barzillai Burr and John Butcher, was once known as Butcher's Forge, and later as Burrsville, now Laurelton. The Indian name of this locality was Metedeconk.

Across the line in Burlington County we have: Lisbon Forge, owned by John Earle, at what is now New Lisbon; Mary Anne Forge, built by Benjamin Randolph, of Philadelphia, in 1790; Martha Furnace, by one Potts; Hanover Furnace, by Joseph Ridgway.

The peak of the iron industry seems to have been about 1820, in the years immediately following the War of 1812. Then came its decline, for co-incident with the exhaustion of the bog ore, came the era of railroad development, which allowed the transportation of iron from Pennsylvania. And there were limitless supplies of iron ore in Pennsylvania, so far as the ironmasters of that day could see, and endless wood for fuel. Then came the discovery that coal could be used as well as charcoal in fluxing the iron, and Pennsylvania, with coal, iron, railroads and capital, took its place at the head of the iron industry. The small Jersey forges that had the best management and most capital, like those at Burrsville, Allaire (on the Manasquan River), and Bamber, held on by virtue of their established position in the trade long after the native ore was gone, and the raw material had to be brought from the Hudson River mountains, and because, too, the water transportation was cheaper than the new fledgling railroads. Another tradition, indignantly denied by all those interested in the forges, because their forefathers were among the iron men, is that pirates from the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Windward Passage, and indeed from as far away as Mozambique, were in some mysterious way connected with some of the forges near the coast; and that these pirate craft outfitted and smuggled their contraband prize goods through the channels best known to the ironmasters themselves. But, as I have said before—this is libellous old tradition, and has no records to back it up.

The War of 1812 seems to have forced by its demand for iron, the building of numerous new furnaces and speeded up iron production. It also caused the rebuilding of salt works along the bay. New Jersey in general was untouched by the war, though Ocean County, lying on the ocean front, was more or less open to the forays of the crews of the blockading squadron, which tried its best to shut up New York harbor.

The story goes that during the war the British fleet cruised up and down the Jersey coast, and back and forth across to Long Island, heading off all craft bound either to or from New York, and in fact destroying all Yankee shipping they could find. After a storm, when the British sailing fleet had been forced to run out to sea and thus get off the lee shore, the sloops and schooners of the Barnegat Bay waters would slip out of the inlet and try to make Sandy Hook with the west wind that followed the storm, before the blockading fleet could beat its way back. Sometimes they did, and sometimes they were caught. Tradition says that the flagship of Commodore Hardy's British fleet was the seventy-four gun three-decker line of battleship "Ramillies." Cranberry Inlet closed, it is generally believed, in the year 1812. Thus the trade out of Barnegat Bay was solely by Barnegat Inlet. Commodore Hardy is said to have seized property afloat or ashore, but always paid for what he seized if the owners would sell.

On the last day of March, 1813, the "Ramillies" lay off Barnegat Inlet, and sent in armed barges loaded with seamen, who boarded the schooner "Greyhound," anchored inside the inlet, and belonging to Captain Jesse Rogers of Potter's Creek (now Bayville). They attempted to sail the "Greyhound" out of the inlet, but ran her on the bar, and then set fire to her, so that the vessel and cargo of lumber was destroyed. A sloop, lying nearby, owned by Captain Jonathan Winner and Hezekiah and Timothy Soper, of Waretown, was also fired by the British. About that time signal guns were heard from the flagship, recalling the barge crews; they left hurriedly, and the Waretown men went off to their sloop and put out the flames. While

this had been going on, it is told that one of the barges landed her crew on the beach, where they killed fifteen head of cattle belonging to Jeremiah Spragg and John Allen, and carried the beeves off to the ship. Tradition says that Hardy sent word he would pay for the cattle, but the owners always said that they refused to accept pay, as that would be the same as selling food to the enemy. After the war they tried to collect from the Federal government for loss of their cattle, and Rogers also made a claim for the loss of his schooner and lumber, but their claims were not allowed.

This attack on the "Greyhound" was witnessed from the shore at Waretown, and there was great excitement. Valuables were buried, and the women and children were sent back into the woods for safety, as an attack on the village was expected. At Forked River, also, there was nothing else thought of. At that particular time, Charles Parker, father of Joel Parker, Governor of New Jersey during the Civil War, was building a store and dwelling at the upper landing. The roof timbers were up, but the shingles not on, and the roof trees were filled with people watching the attack.

Captain Amos Birdsall, of Waretown, lost his schooner "President," bound for New York with lumber, and was taken on board the "Ramillies." They were told they could go ashore in their yawl, but because of a heavy sea were kept aboard the flagship two days, when they reached home in a fishing smack. It is presumed that the British fleet needed the lumber for repairs to their vessels, for Captain Birdsall reported they took the deck plank out of his schooner, and sawed up her masts into plank.

Another time British armed barges came into Barnegat Inlet and captured the sloop "Elizabeth," belonging to Captain Thomas Bunnell of Forked River. They towed the craft out to sea, but tradition says she was soon after cast away on the Long Island shore. The schooner was owned by her master, Bunnell, and William Platt. The captain and crew escaped in their yawl. Another time Captain Bunnell was captured by the British, but was later put on board a neutral craft from Spain, and was taken back to New York.

The British set fire to the sloop "Traveler," Captain Asa Grant, presumably from Cedar Creek, or Potter's Creek. This fire was put out after the British boats' crews had gone. Captain John Rogers, of Toms River, lost his vessel, when taken by the blockaders, and was himself prisoner on a British man-o'-war for some time.

The story is told of two Barnegat sloops trying to gain their way up the beach, and being chased by the British, so they ran ashore on the beach near Squan. These sloops were the "Maria," Captain Joshua Warren, and the "Friendship," Captain Thomas Mills. Commodore Hardy sent barges to the beach to plunder the sloops. The first boat pulled up alongside the "Friendship," and her bowsman caught hold of the rail to jump aboard, when Jesse Chadwick, a soldier of the Revolution, fired from the shore and hit this man. As the story is told, the barges then withdrew, and the ship fired two hundred balls at the two sloops.

The War of 1812 was a western war, "West" in those days meaning between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi. In New England and New Jersey it was unpopular, and the New Jersey Legislature, like those of the New England States, protested in a way that would have sent them all to Federal prisons, if the same laws had been in force then as were invoked in the recent World War. It was difficult to get troops to volunteer to fight on the Canadian border, and at one time a draft was ordered, taking every

seventh man. Those who had money and who did not want to go into the army were able to hire substitutes by offering a fifty dollar bonus. Most of the men from this part of New Jersey, who went into the army, were sent to Sandy Hook to do garrison duty. Some saw active service on the Canadian front.

Privateering was not so active as in the Revolution, because the British held no port, and there was a constant stream of supply ships coming and going. There is a tradition at Tuckerton that tells of a Yankee privateer, slipping into Little Egg Harbor, chased by a British frigate. The frigate dared not cross the bar, but sent in her armed boats' crews, under cover of night. Seeing the plight of the privateer, and knowing she would be attacked that night in all likelihood, a number of hardy Tuckerton baymen took down the old Revolutionary swords, pikes, and muskets, and rowed across the bay to help defend the American ship. The British barges carried small cannon, and with an overwhelming force of men, they boarded and took the ship. Some of the Little Egg Harbor men were killed and some wounded in the affray. The privateer was burnt.

Following the War of 1812 and up to and after the Civil War, the industry of the shore may be said to have been based on shipping and ship building. The iron masters must ship their iron to New York by vessel. The one market that could be easily reached, for surplus food raised on the shore farms, and for the fish, clams and oysters, was New York, and that was reached by sloop or schooner. The demand for fuel in New York sent hundreds and thousands of men to cutting off the growth of virgin pine in the sandy soils of the shore region of South Jersey, and this was carried to New York in the schooners, which on their return trips brought in such merchandise as the storekeepers (who frequently were also the vessel owners and the operators who cut and shipped the wood) needed to supply their trade. Along with the pinewood trade grew up that of the charcoal burner, the pine wood being burnt into charcoal before it was shipped to New York. Such trade as did not go to New York by boat, was largely across the pine belt, by sandy roads, to Burlington County farming sections, to Trenton, or to Philadelphia. These carters carried fish, clams and oysters, on their way west, and brought back loads of whatever merchandise they could pick up on the return trip. But the total amount of commerce by means of the wagons was small compared with that by vessel. The height of the pinewood and charcoal trade was just before the Civil War, when it is said that at Toms River alone as many as fifty or sixty small schooners might be found at one time.

During these years vessel building used a great deal of the best timber cut in this region. Schooners were built at Toms River, Forked River, Waretown and Barnegat, and at Tuckerton, beside other places. The foundation of some huge fortunes of the Civil War days in the mercantile business of this country were laid, it is said, in these shipbuilding and shipping ventures.

The little settlements of Revolutionary times grew slowly into hamlets and villages, but the country remained in fact and in flavor a backwoods country till after the Civil War. Habits, customs, language, songs, jokes, riddles, and dances, that had been brought over from England before 1700, could easily have been found after the Civil War in any part of the county. The churches were the first wave that swept over the backwoods and brought the beginnings of the new civilization that we now call American. At an earlier page was mentioned the Baptist Church at Manahawkin, before

the Revolution. This church was lost sight of entirely by the Baptist Association, no reports being made by it from 1775 till 1801, when it was found that there were still left four members faithful to the church. In 1802 the number grew to twenty-seven, twenty people joining the church by letter; and in 1805 forty-four were added by baptism and two by letter, so that the membership grew to seventy-four. The church still exists, and was the mother of the West Creek Baptist Church. The next Baptist church in this section was the "Baptist Church of Squan and Dover," organized in 1805, at which time it had thirty-three members, and sent Samuel Havens as a delegate to the Association. Two years later it had forty-five members. This church was located in Brick Township, near the head of Barnegat Bay, probably near the iron forge at Burrsville. It has been continued to this day in the Laurelton Baptist Church, and was the mother of the Baptist Churches in Lakewood, Point Pleasant, and Toms River.

Methodist Circuit riders began to preach along the shore during the Revolution. Captain Thomas Webb, of the British army, one of the founders of Methodism in this country, lived at New Mills (now Pemberton), just across the line between East and West Jersey, in Burlington County. Circuit riders for years started at Pemberton, made the trip to Toms River, then down the shore to Tuckerton, and back to Pemberton via Bass River and Indian Mills. In 1778 Benjamin Abbott, an early Methodist preacher, visited Toms River, holding meetings in private houses. Tradition says that in 1799, or 1800, a man named Morgan gave a lot at Tuckerton to the Methodists, and on it they built a church. He was a school master. The Circuit rider from New Mills reached Tuckerton once in every four weeks, taking him a month to make his rounds, on horseback, through the pines. In 1803 a Methodist church was formed at Manahawkin, when Reuben Randolph, for the consideration of ten dollars, "well and truly paid," deeded a lot for the church to Benjamin Seaman, Samuel Bennett, Edward Lambson, Benjamin Randolph, Nathan — (the surname being left out of the deed), Levi Camburn, and William Randolph.

The Potter Church at Good Luck, where John ¹⁷³Murphy, founder of Universalism in America, preached his first sermon in this country, and which was left in the will of Thomas Potter to his friend, John Murray, also became a Methodist church in 1809, when, on November 7, that year, it was sold by Nathaniel Cook to Paul Potter, Samuel Woodmansee, John Cranmer, Caleb Falkinburg, Isaac Rogers, John Tilton, and David Bennett, trustees, for use as a church by the Methodists. The purchase price was one hundred and twenty-five dollars. This church was rebuilt in 1841, and the quaint structure still stands in the midst of the old graveyard. When rebuilt, Rev. Noah Edwards was pastor of the circuit, and the trustees were Joseph Holmes, Amos Falkinburg, James Day, Reuben Tilton, Paul Potter, and Joseph Preston. To pay for rebuilding, \$667.20 was collected.

A Methodist Church was built at Toms River in 1828, in the "old burying ground," as it is called in the deed. The church, afterward rebuilt, is now a double dwelling, just in the rear of the present Methodist Episcopal Church, on Hooper Avenue. The land was donated by the Lawrence family, prominent folk in the early days of Toms River, and of the same family which produced Captain James Lawrence, of the "Chesapeake," whose dying words, "Don't give up the ship," became the watchword of the United States Navy. It was a stipulation of the deed that the burying ground should remain free to all.

A Methodist society was organized at Barnegat in 1829, with Rev. Job Edwards as class leader and local preacher. Job Edwards was the grandson of James Edwards, who had fought in the French and Indian wars, and who was one of the first around Barnegat to espouse the new Methodist doctrine. As the result of organizing the Methodist society, a new Free Church was built that same year, 1829, at Barnegat. A subscription amounting to \$408.50 was taken up in amounts ranging from one to twenty dollars.

The Methodists rekindled the fires started by the Quakers, but which in the Friends Meeting had now died out. Beside, the Revolution had turned many from the Quaker faith, and these readily joined the militant Methodists.

While the Church of England, or Protestant Episcopal Church and the Presbyterian Church were the first to send their missionaries into the pines, in Colonial days, neither church was able to secure sufficient adherents to build a church building and establish a church society for many years afterward. The Presbyterians obtained a foothold at Manchester, now Lakehurst, about 1841, and ten years later at Toms River. It was not till after the Civil War that the Episcopal Church established itself, and not till a decade later that the Catholic Church moved into the county.

No account of the first half of the nineteenth century would be complete unless it included the story of the Mormon Church. It was in 1837, in a schoolhouse at New Egypt, that Elder Benjamin Winchester preached the first Mormon sermon in Ocean County. He gained some fifty converts, among them Abraham Burtis, who became a preacher. A church was soon built at Hornerstown, not far from New Egypt. Another society was established at Toms River, where they had a church on the south side of the river, and a small burying ground there. It is said that the Ocean County Courts met in the Mormon Church at Toms River the year the county was set off from Monmouth in 1850, and before the courthouse was built. This is denied by others, who say the Mormons offered their church as a courtroom, but that it was not accepted. The Mormon elders vied with the Methodist circuit rider in indefatigable labors, riding weary miles on horseback, preaching whenever and wherever an opportunity could be found, and preaching with a fire and unction that won converts from the ignorant wood choppers of the pines and from the most cultured of the villages alike. Their services in this county were chiefly at New Egypt, Hornerstown, Toms River, and Forked River. Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and founder of the Church of the Latter Day Saints, preached at New Egypt, Hornerstown, and Toms River in 1849, "sealing" many converts to the new church. William Smith, a brother to Joseph, and John Taylor, who succeeded Brigham Young as head of the Mormon Church, were also among the missionaries in this county at various times. Oldtime residents, who remember them, say their doctrine could hardly be distinguished from the sermons preached by the Methodists, and little was said about the peculiar tenets of the Mormon Church.

In 1852 an emigrant train left Toms River to go overland, with mule teams to Salt Lake City. After the Civil War a similar wagon train made the trip, and there were persons of prominence among them. One Toms River man, Alfred Ivins, lived to become one of the twelve apostles, the supreme governing body of the Mormon hierarchy; another, Theodore McKean, served as sheriff of Salt Lake County, while others occupied prominent places in the city of Salt Lake. After the second emigration, the Mormon Church dwindled till in 1878 the few survivors sold their church at Toms

River to Franklin Harris, who turned it into a store and dwelling. It then stood just across the Main Shore Road from the Central Railroad station, at Toms River. It has been torn down for some years.

Thus the preacher, and then the school teacher, brought a demand for more education, more culture, and more contact with the outside world. The first school houses were mostly log buildings, and these schools were taught by men teachers, the parents of the children subscribing to an agreement to pay for the tuition. Th public school came later.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NEW COUNTY OF OCEAN.

In 1850, with a population of 10,043, the part of Monmouth County from Manasquan River south, thought itself big enough to go alone, and applied to the Legislature to be set off as a separate county, under the name of Ocean. The district at that time was experiencing a boom in the pinewood and charcoal trade and in shipping and ship building. Mariners were also leaving the small schooners to embark in the wider deep sea trade, in greater numbers than ever before. The coasting schooners were also being built larger, and were making longer voyages, to the Virginias, the Carolinas, and Gulf ports, such as Mobile and New Orleans. The roads were still but streaks of white sand through the pines, for the most part, but stages were established from Tuckerton to Toms River, and from Toms River to Freehold, and then on to Middletown Point, or some place where packets sailed to and from New York. There were also stages across the State to Philadelphia, via Mt. Holly. There were in 1850 no railroads in the county. There had been but one sporadic attempt at railroad building, early in the forties, when William Torrey, Sr., having bought a tract of several thousand acres of woodland, and having located at Federal Furnace, changed the name of the town to Manchester, and began to make charcoal on a large scale. Instead of the sand mound common in the pine woods, he built kilns of brick, and he also built a "wooden railroad" from Manchester to a dock on the south side of Toms River, in what is now the Borough of Beachwood. The road was graded, streams bridged, and longitudinal pine timbers, with a strap-iron rail for the wheels of engine and cars, were laid. The engine proved too heavy for the track, and curled up the strap-iron rail ahead of and behind it. So the engine had to be given up, and the "wooden railroad" continued to be operated by mule power as long as the charcoal trade kept up.

Nor was there a lawyer resident in Ocean County at the time the county was established. A few doctors there were, like the great Dr. Hankinson of Manahawkin, famed along the whole shore, and the great Dr. George F. Fort, of New Egypt, who was elected Governor of the State in 1851, and through whose influence very largely the new county was created. But professional men were few, and it was necessary for the newly appointed Surrogate and County Clerk to send to Freehold for men trained in the duties of these offices to get them started.

The first officers of the county, appointed by Governor Daniel Haines, were: Judge, James Gulick; Prosecutor, Jehu Patterson; Sheriff, Joseph Parker; County Clerk, John J. Irons; Surrogate, David I. C. Rogers. The first Board of Freeholders consisted of: Joel Nutt and Edwin Shreeve, from Plumsted Township; William Francis and George W. Bennett, from Jackson Township; William B. Hill and Benjamin Snyder, from Brick Town-

ship; Samuel C. Dunham and Aaron Irons, from Dover Township; Amos Falkinburg and John Pridmore, from Union Township; Samuel M. Oliphant and William G. Hooper, from Stafford Township. Mr. Dunham was chosen Director, and Gilbert Combs, a young man who had come from Freehold to conduct the surrogate's office for Surrogate Rogers, was made Clerk. The board failed to pass a motion to raise two thousand dollars for county expenses that year, deeming it too much, and cutting the budget to eighteen hundred dollars. Several tracts of land in Toms River, were offered to the board on which to build a courthouse, and the one accepted was that of Joseph B. Coward, on Washington Street.

Commissioners were appointed to settle accounts between the mother county of Monmouth, and the new county of Ocean. The Ocean County Commissioners were: John S. Forman, John W. Cox, and Joel Haywood; for Monmouth County they were: Forman Hendrickson, Charles Parker, and Thomas Arrowsmith. Their agreement was that Monmouth County should pay to Ocean \$3,719.15 of the general fund account; and on account of surplus revenue, \$165.07 in cash, and bonds and mortgages amounting to \$13,315.30. The surplus revenue was money loaned to the various States when a surplus accumulated in the Federal treasury during the Jackson administration. New Jersey divided her share among the counties, and made it the basis of a school fund, the counties each agreeing to pay interest on this money, the interest to go into the State school fund.

On May 5, 1850, the Freeholders appointed Messrs. Hill, Shreeve, and Oliphant, a committee to build a courthouse. On June 26, this committee reported in favor of adopting plans that had just been used for a courthouse in another new county, Hudson, except that the courthouse should be smaller, and there should be less ornamentation. This report was adopted by the board, and Messrs. Bennett, Falkinburg, and Dunham were added to the building committee. On June 13, 1851, a year later, the committee reported the courthouse completed, and the contractor, Mr. Aitken, was paid \$9,956.50 for his work. The presumption is that this sum was derived from the sale of the mortgages received from Monmouth County as the new county's share of the surplus revenue.

The new county started a more rapid growth, more especially in Toms River, the county seat. A newspaper was started by Benjamin F. Yard, and termed the "Ocean Signal," still carried on today as the "Courier," at Toms River. With the dignity of being the county seat, new homes were built, and soon a Presbyterian Church was started through the efforts of William Torrey, who had also founded a Presbyterian Church in his home town of Manchester (now Lakehurst). The fifties were boom times. Cranberry culture was first evolved by "Pegleg" John Webb, of Jackson Township, who discovered that he could set out wild cranberry vines in marshy spots, and they would grow and bear. Cranberries were in great demand among the whalers, of which there were many in those days, as kerosene was as yet an unknown luxury, and gas was to be found only in large cities, while whale oil lamps were considered an improvement on candles. Cranberries, gathered in the swamps, were known to sell in Philadelphia and other ports as high as fifty dollars a barrel. And others began to set out vines, copying after Webb. The charcoal and pine timber trade was at its height. Wood was still a common fuel in domestic use, and was used on steamboats and locomotives, and also in the New York gasworks to make illuminating gas. Money was plentiful and land began to take on value. The summer resort

trade, which had been a factor in the shore life since Colonial times, began to grow. Rough hotels were built on Long Beach and on Squan Beach, and Philadelphia especially began to send its summer folk to the beaches in larger numbers, crossing the State by stage. The same houses were frequently the resort of gunners for wildfowl in fall and winter.

When a railroad was built from Amboy to Freehold, Ocean County had its first experience in rapid transportation. On December 20, 1853, a United States Mail stage was advertised to run daily between Manahawkin and Freehold, so that a passenger could leave Manahawkin or other shore towns, and be in New York that night. The stage left Manahawkin at 3:00 A. M., and reached Freehold in time for the Amboy train, connecting at Amboy with the night boat to New York.

In 1850, when Ocean County was made a separate political body, New Jersey was still a rural State. Essex County, which included not only the city of Newark, but also the present county of Union, had but 73,995 people. The then new county of Hudson, including Jersey City, Hoboken, and Bayonne, could boast but 21,874. Burlington, an essentially farming community, with 43,204, was the second largest county of the State for population, and Monmouth and Morris, also farm counties, each with a little more than 30,000 people, came next. Thus the new county of Ocean, with ten thousand population, was not far behind its more prosperous neighbors, and ranked way ahead of Atlantic and Cape May counties. It was not strange therefore that in the decade prior to the Civil War Ocean County should have occupied a wider and more prominent place in State affairs, than it has since the great industrial development of New Jersey, during and following the civil strife. The one Governor, elected from Ocean County, was Dr. George F. Fort, of New Egypt, an uncle, by the way, of a later Governor, John Franklin Fort. Governor George F. Fort was elected in 1850, and served from January 1851 to 1854. He barely missed being followed by another Ocean County Governor, as Joel Haywood, Whig and Temperance candidate, in 1853, was defeated by Rodman M. Price, with the scant majority of 3,782. Joel Haywood was a native and resident of West Creek (corrupted from the Indian name of Westeconck) in the lower part of Ocean County. He was a fiery orator, a Methodist local preacher, and was the first member of Assembly from Ocean County, serving in 1851, 1852, 1853, and running for Governor in the fall of the latter year. He was one of the leaders in the long fight against alcoholic drinks, that resulted in the recent 18th amendment. Governor Fort had also been a prominent man in the State before he was elected Governor. He had been a member of the Assembly from Monmouth in 1845, and Senator from 1846 to 1848. He had also represented Monmouth County in the Constitutional Convention of 1844, which revamped the State Constitution, making it more responsive to the will of the people, than had been the form of State government since the Revolution, which, up till 1844, was modeled on the old lines of the Crown Colony.

Following Governor Price came another Governor from Monmouth County, Dr. William A. Newell, of Allentown, who was almost as much an Ocean County man as he was a Monmouth man. He was a nephew of Dr. Hankinson, of Manahawkin, and as a young man spent much time in that place, studying medicine with his uncle. He was elected in 1856, when the Republican party was in its infancy, and was the first Republican Governor of New Jersey. Before that, he had been a member of Congress and had obtained a small appropriation to build and equip two life-saving stations,

one on Long Beach, and one on Squan Beach, but both in Ocean County, which was done in the year 1849. These stations were the beginning of the life-saving service—now the coast guard service.

In the campaign of 1856, Ocean County arraigned itself on the side of freeing the slaves, and gave a majority vote for John C. Fremont—the only county in the State so doing.

It was also in the decade from 1850 to 1860 that the railroad began to approach Ocean County. William Torrey, of Manchester, owner of some thousands of acres of pineland, had always been a pioneer and tryer out of new things. He had, as told in prior pages, built a wooden railroad from his charcoal kilns at Manchester, to deep water in Toms River, but while that was a failure, he did not give up his faith in railroads. Railroading in the State of New Jersey, up till the middle fifties, was a close monopoly, held by the Camden and Amboy, so far as communication between New York, and Philadelphia, and the south, went. The Camden and Amboy lobby had a strangle hold on the Legislature, which continued, under the Pennsylvania Railroad system, to the end of the century. Torrey had dreams of his own, however, and was a fearless and indomitable fighter. His two sons, William and John, were like him, and the three never knew when they were whipped. Railroads in those days were slow affairs, and uncertain, and were mostly land links between water transportation, the Camden and Amboy originally having been a water and rail system, by which boats carried the passengers from New York to Amboy; the passage from Amboy to Bordentown (later extended to Camden) being by rail; and thence again by steamboat to Philadelphia.

Failing in his efforts to secure a charter for a road to parallel the Camden and Amboy, Torrey applied for a charter for a railroad that should tap the Jersey coast region, and reach the Delaware Bay shore. He had more than one end in view. He purposed running through his own town of Manchester, in Ocean County, and connecting it with New York, by boatlines from Sandy Hook; he figured on crossing the Delaware Bay with steamboats, and carrying his road through Delaware and Maryland to Baltimore and Washington; he also purposed a branch line from his main stem, to Camden, which, though longer than the Camden and Amboy line, would really be a competitor. The efforts of the three Torreys bore fruit in 1856, and the charter for the Raritan and Delaware Bay Railway was obtained from the Legislature of that year. By mortgaging his thousands of acres to the Bank of England, through their New York representatives, Brown Bros. and Co., Torrey obtained funds, and John and William Jr. took the contract to build the road. By 1860 it was in operation.

Up till the opening of the Civil War there was not a bank in Ocean County. In 1859 a charter was obtained from the Federal government for the Ocean County National Bank, but it was not capitalized and in business till the winter of 1862-63. In those days Freehold was the nearest banking town, and banking was transacted there, or in New York. The fifties were the days of the wildcat banks, when it was dangerous to accept a bank bill, and when the country was flooded with spurious bank notes.

Five Years of Civil Strife—When the first guns were fired at Sumter, Ocean County was essentially a seafaring community. It is true there were farmers in Plumsted and Jackson townships, and the old farms along the shore were still cultivated, as well as in the pockets of better land in the pines. It is also true that the wood choppers were cutting off the pine tim-

ber, and the charcoal burners were turning it into fuel for New York City, to be carted in the four-mule teams down the sandy roads to the landings at Toms River, or Forked River, or Waretown or Barnegat—four-mule teams, vicious, and seemingly unmanageable, but guided without reins by the driver on the “charcoal box” by his keen tongue and keener blacksnake whip. It is true that cranberry growing had begun to assume proportions that foreshadowed its present importance. But with it all, the community was essentially one of seafarers. Where sandy beaches bordered on deep water at Tuckerton, Barnegat, Toms River, Waretown, Forked River, the shipbuilders were working on schooners for the pine wood fleet, and larger craft for more venturesome voyages. Out of Barnegat Inlet and out of Little Egg Harbor issued the small schooners with every favorable wind, often in fleets of a score or more. It was the ambition of every boy to sail his own vessel by the time he was twenty-one, if not earlier; and there was hardly a man to be met up with in the shore villages who did not “follow the water” or who had not done so at some period in his life.

Then came the war. It took, during its five bloody years, one man in four. Hardly a family, which in 1861 had a manchild twelve years old, on up to the man of forty or forty-five, but was represented in the army. The navy too called on these watermen, and many of them were in that branch of the service. Others, enlisting in the army, were transferred to the navy, because skilled seamen were in demand. To the ship owners and vessel masters, the war was a money-maker, and to such of those who were business-wise, saved and invested the rich freights they garnered from the government, came wealth and affluence. It was the foundation of a new crop of rich men along the shore, succeeding the wealthy ironmasters who had faded away nearly twenty years before, and the wealthy land-owners and pine wood operators, who had flourished in the two decades before the war. The value of the schooner bottoms doubled, trebled, quadrupled. Men could not be had to build vessels fast enough, and the available timber was exhausted. From New York and Philadelphia to the Virginia Capes, up the York, the Rappahannock, the James, and the Potomac went the fleet of Ocean County schooners. Often the first voyage of a new vessel was her last, if she came within range of a Confederate battery, but one freight was expected to pay for a vessel. The army had to have the supplies, and the government had to pay for the risk. There had been for long years a kinship between the men of the Jersey shore, and those of the Virginias and Carolinas, through trade. The Ocean County mariners were familiar with the inlets and sounds of the old North State, and with the Chesapeake and its rivers; so they were ready to navigate these waters.

Ocean County had voted for “Abe” Lincoln by a big majority in the fall of 1860. When the call for troops came, its men volunteered, as they did everywhere else. As an encouragement to volunteers, the Board of Freeholders, April 25, 1861, voted two thousand dollars to help support the families of men who might go into the army and leave their wives and children in need.

Company D, Ninth New Jersey Volunteers, was recruited at Toms River, from among Ocean County men. It had on its rolls two hundred and sixteen men all told up till the time it was mustered out on July 12, 1865. It lost twenty-nine men from death, thirty-six were transferred, and twenty-three were discharged from disability. Thomas W. Middleton, a Toms River lawyer, was its first captain, but resigned September 11, 1862, after being

wounded in Burnside's New Berne, North Carolina, campaign. He was followed by Edgar Kissam, till April 22, 1865, and Amos H. Evans commanded the company the rest of its life. George G. Irons was First Lieutenant, and was followed in turn by Charles Huffy and Joseph C. Bowker. The Second Lieutenants were Andrew J. Elberson, J. Madison Drake, and Edward H. Green.

In the summer of 1862, Company F, Fourteenth New Jersey Volunteers, was recruited by Ralph B. Gowdy, its first captain. Gowdy was a Connecticut man, who came to Toms River as a real estate speculator, brought by the cranberry land boom, just before the war broke out. The Board of Freeholders paid nine hundred dollars for the expenses incurred in enlisting this company, and some of its members thought that was outrageously high. The company was mustered in August 15, 1862, and mustered out June 18, 1865. It enrolled all told one hundred and thirty-five men, of whom it lost twenty-seven by death, eighteen by transfer, and twelve by discharge. Captain Gowdy resigned September 30, 1863, and was followed as Captain by John C. Patterson, who in turn was made Major January 28, 1865, and brevetted Lieutenant-Colonel and Colonel on March 13, 1865. Vincent R. Marsh was captain the rest of the company's existence.

Samuel C. Bailey, of Toms River, was First Lieutenant from October 5, 1863, till August 9, 1864, when he was made Captain of Company H. He was also brevetted Major on October 19, 1864, and Lieutenant-Colonel on April 2, 1865. Jarvis Wanser, afterward a prominent man in Jersey City, and postmaster in that city, and Barton Applegate, of Toms River, were First Lieutenants, succeeding Bailey. Benjamin F. Patterson, Charles H. White, and William S. Conover were Second Lieutenants.

Company H, Twenty-ninth Volunteers, was recruited in August, 1862, and mustered out June 30, 1863. Albert S. Cloke was Captain; Charles L. Kimball was First Lieutenant; and M. Perrine Gravatt was Second Lieutenant. Its total roll of enlisted men was ninety-nine, losing three by death, eleven by transfer and one by discharge.

Ocean County also had a number of men to enlist in the First and Third New Jersey Cavalry Regiments, and in various other infantry regiments. Little Egg Harbor Township at that time was still in Burlington County, and its men were recruited in organizations leaving that county.

In the navy, Thomas Edwards, of this county, was Acting Master of the U.S.S. "Oneida" in 1861-2-3, and Master of the U.S.S. "Stockdale" in 1864. William Rogers was Acting Master of the U.S.S. "Pembina" in 1861; of the U.S.S. "Mary Sanford," in 1863, and of the "Hetzell," in 1864-5. Jerome B. Rogers was Acting Master of U.S.S. "Restless" in 1862; and of U.S.S. "Sebago," in 1863-4.

These Ocean County men in the Civil War, like their forefathers in the Revolution, were of sturdy, up-standing stock, used to hardship—outdoor men, who had been accustomed to depend upon their own resourcefulness, and had handled firearms from boyhood. They made excellent soldiers—none better, according to the records of the times.

Development and Growth After Civil War—Ocean County, remote as it was and is from the currents of trade and manufacture, felt the impetus given to business by Civil War days, and in the boom times that followed. Land speculation was rife. Swamp bottoms were cut off and set out into cranberry bogs, and sold for many golden eagles. There was apparently no price too high to set on cranberry producing ground, and outside capital

from the big cities invested readily. The boom extended to shipping, and, as the best timber had gone from the Ocean County swamps, and as much larger schooners were demanded for longer voyages, the vessel masters began going to Maine to build their schooners.

Just after the war followed an era of road-building. Turnpike companies were formed and turnpikes, charging toll, were laid out. The old Indian trails that had served for nearly two hundred years of the white man's use, were shortened, and straight roads were laid out to take their place. Bridges were built to make the straight roads possible. Towns were connected up with one another by roads as never before, and transportation was no longer in so great degree, by water. Then, too, the railroad came. The Raritan and Delaware Bay Railroad had been laid to Manchester (now Lakehurst) during the war. The sea captains of Toms River, Forked River, Waretown, and Barnegat, with wealth acquired during the war, had successfully started the Ocean County National Bank at Toms River. They now purposed having railroad communication also. They organized the Toms River and Waretown Railroad, and built a branch from Manchester to Toms River, the first train reaching Toms River on July 3, 1866. The line was then continued to Waretown, and later to Barnegat. Tuckerton and Philadelphia capitalists, interested in the development of that territory including the adjacent lands on Long Beach, built the Tuckerton Railroad, from Whitings to Tuckerton, running through Barnegat, Manahawkin and West Creek, and opened it for travel in 1871. At Whitings it connected with a branch of the Pennsylvania system, which had been extended from Mt. Holly eastward.

A land boom took other forms in the five or six years between Appomattox and the black days of the panic in the early seventies. At Bricksburg (as Lakewood was then known) and at Toms River, real estate men laid out small plots of ten acres each and brought colonies from New England to settle there. The milder climate was a big attraction to the New Englanders. They introduced an entirely new element that all out of proportion to its numbers, influenced the after history of such places as Toms River and Lakewood. Accustomed to more intellectual life, they wakened a demand for better schools, libraries, etc., and quickened the intellectual life of these communities.

Real estate speculators from Jersey City bought a tract of land at Toms River village, and in 1869-70-71 sold off lots, and built a large summer hotel on the river bank. At Forked River, already famed as a resort for fishermen and gunners, new and larger hotels were constructed. Barnegat and Waretown, also Tuckerton, enlarged hotels and built more boarding-houses to take care of the summer folks who came in larger numbers each year.

The panic cut the ground out from under the land speculation. Men who were rich one day, were beggars the next. Cranberry plantations and town lots alike dropped in value from thousands to hundreds. But the hard times did not last very long. In the seventies began another real estate development, this time on the beach, and encouraged by the wonderful success of Atlantic City. Beach Haven began to build up in the midst of the panic days, and in 1878 a number of Methodist clergymen laid out Island Heights on the high bank of Toms River. Just about the same time some Philadelphia Baptists bought a tract opposite the mouth of Toms River, on the beach, and, with the idea of making it a Baptist Ocean Grove, laid it out in lots, building two hotels. Up at the extreme north end of Ocean County's beach front, Captain John Arnold and others began to develop

Point Pleasant as a summer resort, and Trenton and Philadelphia capital was interested. Just below Point Pleasant, in 1879, the Bay Head Land Company started that resort. These were followed up by the buying up of beachland and laying out of lots in a score of places on Squan Beach and Long Beach, but those above named were the successful ones from the start.

In the fifties, sixties, and seventies, the shore towns grew rapidly, and many newcomers added to the population and to the business activities, the new blood bringing new ideas. Churches and schools were built, lodges and fraternal societies formed, cemeteries laid out, building associations organized. This activity increased during the eighties and nineties, in a series of waves, with reactions between them. The hard times of 1892-96, hit the Ocean County summer resorts hard, but no harder than it did the vessel owners, and the business men.

In 1891, an act of the Legislature set off Little Egg Harbor Township from Burlington County, and added it to Ocean. The act was a gerrymander, the Democratic leaders thinking that Ocean County was hopelessly Republican, while they had a fighting chance in Burlington, and as Little Egg Harbor was an overwhelmingly Republican township, putting it in Ocean would help them to control Burlington. The coming of Little Egg Harbor into Ocean County soon raised a new problem and brought about the rapid growth of a new industry—oystering—or perhaps it would be better to say a rebirth of an old industry. The waters of Little Egg Harbor and Great Bays are particularly well fitted for oyster planting. The demand for protection for the oyster planter resulted in the passage of an act in 1902 to lease the ground under the waters to the oyster planters, and thus for the first time put this business on a firm footing. Oyster planting has since been the business mainstay of Tuckerton and West Creek.

The Spanish War of 1898, while it bulked large in popular interest, had little effect on the shore towns, except that it, for that summer, reduced the number of visitors on the beaches. There were a few Ocean County boys in various units of the army and in the navy. While an offer was made to Governor Voorhees of a company, either of infantry, or for naval use, he was unable to accept them, having more volunteers than the United States Army required from this State.

In the early eighties the factory town of Bricksburg, a typical iron forge or furnace town of the early part of the century, was turned into a winter resort. The ironmasters, invariably bought large tracts of land, to get watershed for their millponds, ore for their smelters, and timber for fuel. Thus at Bricksburg was a charming site, surrounded by thousands of acres of pines, with a beautiful lake, a sleepy old village, laid out with wide tree-shaded streets. Samuel D. Davis and Charles H. Kimball, of New York, men of means, saw in this an opportunity, and associating themselves with Captain Albert M. Bradshaw of Bricksburg, they formed the Bricksburg Land Company, bought out the holdings of the Brick family, built a large hotel, and, changing the name of the town, launched Lakewood on its present tide of growth and prosperity.

The first quarter of the present century has also brought many changes. Ocean County can no longer be called a backwoods settlement. The old odor of tar is largely lost in the shore towns. Seafaring is no longer the aim of the growing boy. The woodchopper is almost unknown in the pines, and charcoal burning is a lost art. The little pinewood hookers, two-masters, have bleached their bones this many a year. They were succeeded in the



High School

TOMS RIVER
Presbyterian Church

Catholic Church

eighties by three-masters, built in Maine, and carrying freights to any and all Atlantic and Gulf ports; in the nineties the new schooners were four-, five- and even six-masters. But the steam craft have swept the schooners from the sea, very few of the large fleets being left. The World War, with its demand for tonnage to France, sent most of what was left overseas, and few of them stood the voyage back to this country. Ocean County is no longer a sea-faring community. On the other hand, it may be said to be a resort community, very largely. Lakewood and Lakehurst are the winter resorts. All along the beaches are summer resorts, and this winter has seen the mapping out of a half dozen—or is it a dozen—new developments that will be built up in no long time. In the decade of 1910-20, the neighborhood around Toms River grew rapidly in this way. On the south bank of Toms River sprang up Ocean Gate, Pine Beach and Beachwood. Money Island grew up on the north bank, on the high bluff, at whose foot tradition says Captain Kidd buried his ill-gotten wealth. On the beach adjoining Seaside Park, another borough, Seaside Heights, is flourishing. Farther up the beach, Lavallette is building up, Bay Head and Mantoloking have almost joined, and Point Pleasant is growing rapidly.

Long Beach has also a number of new resorts, mostly between the bridge across the bay and Beach Haven. One reason for the growth of the county in these recent years has been the change in transportation, caused by the automobile. It was in 1880 that the Pennsylvania Railroad extended its line from Whitings to Toms River, and steamboats were put on Toms River to connect with Island Heights and Seaside Park. In 1882 the line was extended again, with a long bridge across Barnegat Bay to Seaside Park, and then up the beach to Point Pleasant, joining the railroad down the Monmouth County Beach from New York. A bridge was built across Toms River, and a spur run to Island Heights. Shortly after, a line was run from the Tuckerton Railroad at Manahawkin, a bridge built across the bay to Long Beach, and a railroad built down the beach to Beach Haven, and another up the beach to Barnegat Inlet. (This last line, to Barnegat Inlet, was discontinued last year and the rails are being taken up). These roads seemed at the time to be the last thing in transportation, and Ocean County felt that it was well taken care of. But with the new century came the automobile, and the demand for good roads.

Now there is more traffic by motor car than by rail, and the demand for good roads is heard louder and louder. One of the big helps to the beaches was the building of toll bridges across Manahawkin Bay to Long Beach, and across Barnegat Bay to Seaside Heights. These have since been taken over by the State and are now parts of the State highway system. The Manahawkin bridge was built by the Long Beach Turnpike Company, composed of men interested in developing Long Beach, and business men in the shore towns.

The Barnegat Bay Bridge was constructed by the Island Heights and Seaside Park Bridge Company, of which George H. Holman, was president; Edwin H. Berry, and J. P. Eversham the other officials—all Toms River residents. Former Judge Maja Leon Berry, of Toms River, promoted both bridges. They became part of the State highway system on March 1, 1921.

Road-building, other than cutting away through the pines, and driving hub-deep in the white sands, began in Ocean County shortly after the Civil War, when a few turnpike companies were formed, notably one to build a pike between Toms River and Forked River. It was about that time dis-

covered that the hills of Ocean County contained deposits, almost exhaustless, of gravel that would harden into excellent roads. A number of townships, Dover and Union being the leaders, built themselves good roads of these gravels, so that in the nineties there were fine examples of the gravel road in various parts of the county. In the first few years of the new century, the Board of Freeholders took over the work of building good gravel roads on the main traveled thoroughfares, the first one built being from Lakewood to Point Pleasant in 1904. The Main Shore Road from the Burlington County line, north through Tuckerton as far as Toms River bridge, took several years to build, and came next. Afterward roads were built the length of Long Beach, from Beach Haven north to Barnegat Inlet; on Squan Beach from Seaside Park north to Manasquan Inlet; from Lakewood to Lakehurst, and from Lakewood to New Egypt, and other lesser roads. The county has also established a policy of giving aid to the townships in building less important roads.

The State has taken over the roads, known as part of Route Four, State Highway System, entering Ocean County via the Manasquan River bridge, at Point Pleasant Beach, on the north, crossing to Lakewood, thence running south to Toms River, and down the Main Shore Road to Tuckerton and the Burlington County line, a distance of fifty nine miles in all. Of this, about fifteen miles is now in concrete—the State having built four and a quarter miles between Point Pleasant and Laurelton. The county has constructed a mile in Point Pleasant Beach Borough; five miles from Laurelton to Lakewood; one mile on River Avenue, Lakewood, toward Toms River; and a mile each in Toms River, Barnegat and Tuckerton villages. Lakewood Township built the concrete road through that resort. The County and Lakewood Township both expect to be reimbursed by State funds for this work.

The State Highway Board in its program for 1924, purposes spending \$500,000 for a new bridge across the Manasquan River, from Brielle to Point Pleasant, and \$375,000 in building a concrete road from Lakewood to Toms River. This will give a concrete road via the Monmouth County shore resorts from North Jersey to Toms River. The State highway program provides for carrying this concrete on down the Main Shore Road the full length of Route Four, connecting Atlantic City with North Jersey in the next three or four years.

Another road that is much talked of just now is that from Camden to Toms River and the shore resorts in this county. At present there is no hard surfaced road reaching the shore between Asbury Park on the north and Atlantic City on the south, and the only cross State road in that distance is the road from Camden to Toms River. A law was passed in 1923, known as the Mathis law, making this a State highway. So far the State has not assumed responsibility for the road. The United States Navy Department, having the Naval Air Station at Lakehurst, and the Naval Air factory at League Island Navy Yard, Philadelphia, is extremely anxious to get a hard surfaced communicating road, and is adding its weight to have the State build with concrete from Pemberton to Lakehurst, or Toms River.

Already the railroad system of the county, and how it was built, has been described, but there has been an interesting and varied experience, in railroading in the northwest part of the county, that well deserves a paragraph. Soon after the Civil War a line was built from Birmingham, a short distance east of Mt. Holly, to Hightstown, connecting what is now a branch

of the Pennsylvania system, running from Camden to Long Branch, with the old Camden and Amboy line. It runs through a farming section exclusively, tapping Cream Ridge and New Egypt in the green marl belt. Early in the nineties of the last century, the Pennsylvania Railroad announced this road did not pay and would be abandoned. Merchants and farmers at New Egypt saw ruin ahead, and organized the Union Transportation Company, subscribing to the stock, leasing the road, and, running it very economically, made it serve their purpose and pay its own way. About fifteen years later the road was making money for its lessees, and the Pennsylvania Railroad was trying to find some way to get it back, especially as Camp Dix was built on this road, and the freights were tremendous. But after the war, came a slump, due to daylight-saving time. Trains on the Pennsylvania Railroad were laid out to suit the commuters traveling to Philadelphia, making the trains on the Pemberton and Hightstown an hour earlier, as these trains carried both passengers and freight. The chief freight was milk, shipped to Philadelphia each morning. The farmers refused to get up an hour earlier to milk, when the railroads started their trains an hour ahead. Instead, the farmers put on trucks to transport the milk, something they had learned during the war. The Pemberton and Hightstown cut its operating expences by substituting gasoline coaches for steam locomotives, but is still in a precarious condition.

Another instance of railroad building in advance of necessity is seen at Barnegat City, where a railroad up Long Beach from the bridge across Manahawkin Bay, was abandoned in 1923, and the rails and ties taken up. As a good gravel road had been built to parallel this railroad, the inhabitants of the beach feel they are better served than when they had a railroad, but no automobile road. The Pennsylvania Railroad which abandoned this road to Barnegat City, has also applied for the privilege of abandoning a spur across Toms River to Island Heights, built forty years ago, and in use all those years. In this case it is not because of lack of patronage, which is larger now than ever before.

But while water transportation is no longer the most important method in Ocean County, as it was for a century and a half, it is by no means abandoned. In the administration of Governor J. Franklin Fort, 1908-1911, an inland waterway, from Cape May to the head of Barnegat Bay, in Ocean County, was planned and has been carried out. This route carries at least six feet of water the whole distance, and is marked so that amateur yachtsmen have little difficulty in navigating it. As an extension to this, the State is this year completing a canal, leading from the head of Barnegat Bay to Manasquan River, with a hundred foot width and at least six feet of water, which has been under construction some ten years past. This canal was proposed nearly a century ago, and a charter granted by the Legislature to build it in 1835—it will become a fact ninety years after that date.

The Federal government has also spent large sums of money in dredging and maintaining Tuckerton Creek, Toms River, Manasquan Inlet, and Barnegat River.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WORLD WAR AND SINCE.

It would by no means be difficult to make a chapter of the happenings during the World War. But these events are still fresh in the public mind. In June, 1917, Sheriff Alfred W. Brown, Jr., and County Clerk John A. Ernst

were constituted a draft board, with Dr. T. J. Buchanan, of Toms River, and Dr. J. L. Lane, of Tuckerton, as physicians. It is a noteworthy fact, that while in area this is the second county in size in the State, and some of the reports had to be brought thirty-five miles by auto and boat, Ocean County was the first to turn into Trenton the results of the first registration day for the draft. It might also be noted that the first man to reach Camp Dix in the draft was an Ocean County boy, William Clarence Brown, of Waretown, on the morning of September 5, 1917. A year later, in France, Brown was wounded and taken prisoner; he escaped from his captors during the night, and after several days made his way back to the American lines.

The total number of Ocean County men in the National Army was four hundred and ninety-three. Nearly double that number enlisted in army or navy, or marine corps—not to mention Young Men's Christian Association and Red Cross workers overseas, and merchant mariners.

In 1918 there were two events that brought the war closer to Ocean County. The first was during the summer, when German U-boats attacked and sunk oil-tank steamers off the Ocean County coast on two different occasions, and the sound of the bombardment, as the U-boat was chased by United States Navy craft, was heard along the shore in many towns. The second instance was the Morgan explosion, in October. Young men (too young for the draft), of Lakewood and Toms River, had organized a militia troop and had been drilling all summer. This Ocean County Militia was summoned the second day of the explosion, and rushed to Morgan, where they were at once put on guard duty, and without food, or rest, except as they could rustle for themselves, were there nearly a week. This coincided with the outbreak of the Spanish influenza, and thus the highest death ratio among Ocean Countians in the war was in this little militia troop, all of whom were ill with the influenza, and six of whom died from it.

Another sea tragedy took place off Seaside Park, on August 27, 1918, when mine sweeper "200," mistaken for a German U-boat, was sunk by a merchant steamer at night. One of the men lost was George F. Randolph, of Tuckerton.

The following Ocean Countians lost their lives in the service:

KILLED IN ACTION

Lieut. Archibald D. Benners, Beach Haven (summer resident), Marine Corps, at Chateau Thierry battle.

C. Ambrose Matthews, Lakewood, ambulance corps, July 26.

Samuel Novoselsky, Toms River, army, September 27.

Charles Miller, Adamston, army, September 28.

Byram B. Bolton, Manahawkin, army, September 29.

Charles H. Boshier, Waretown, army, October 1.

Edward Clarkson Bunnell, army, Bay Head, October 1.

Harry Chapman, Island Heights, army, October 3.

Noah Clayton, Lakewood, army, October 12.

Henry B. Bennett, Lakewood, army, October 18.

Walter Grover, Whitesville, army, October 20.

Charlton Reed, Point Pleasant, army, October 20.

Earnest Preston, Cassville, army, date unknown.

Isador Plentnick, Lakewood, national army, date unknown.

DIED FROM SHELL SHOCK.

George Vanderveer, Bayville, army, at Ft. Porter, N. Y., August 4, from shell shock in France.

DROWNED ON TORPEDOED SHIP.

Chester C. Cubberly, Silverton, naval cadet, lost at sea on tanker Kellogg, August 13.

George F. Randolph, Tuckerton, drowned when mine sweeper 200 was sunk off Seaside Park by guns of merchant steamer, which mistook sweeper for U-boat, August 27.

DIED FROM GAS EXPERIMENT.

David Jamison, Toms River, medical

service of army, in Philadelphia, March 11.

DIED IN FRANCE

Horatio Taylor, Forked River, army, in September.

Reuben Lipmann, Lakewood, army, October 27.

Arthur L. Lockwood, Lakewood, navy, June 24.

Howard Woolley, Lakewood, army, date unknown.

Louis McConnell, Toms River, pneumonia, January 6, 1919.

Russell Hersch, Lakehurst, pneumonia, February 16, 1919.

KILLED IN AIRPLANE ACCIDENT

Ensign Delozier Davidson, Bay Head (summer resident), August 22, in naval seaplane accident on French coast.

Lieut. Crawford Davidson, Bay Head (summer resident, brother to above), 119th Aero Squadron, September 17, in airplane accident at Kingsville, Texas.

DIED FROM ACCIDENT

Leon H. Gifford, Tuckerton, naval reserve, Tuckerton radio station, July 22.

DIED FROM DISEASE

Major Henry S. Clark, Bay Head.

Major Lloyd W. Clarke, Point Pleasant, army, at Camp Pike, October 25.

Reginald Newbury, Point Pleasant, ambulance corps, at Allentown, Pa., January 13.

Augustus Frick, son of Mrs. John B. Valteau of Toms River, army, at Camp Upton, N. Y., February 12.

Irwin H. Hance, Jr., Lakewood, Canadian aviation service, February 16.

Leon Paul Parker, Parkertown, army, at Anniston, Ala., October 13.

Augustus Driscoll, Tuckerton, naval reserve, at radio station, October 20.

John Wesley Taylor, Barnegat, army, at Camp Stewart, Va., October 17.

Corp. Claude C. Shearman, Lakewood, army, at South Amboy, October 15.

Percy Monroe Vautier, Island Heights,

army, at Camp Mills, L. I., October 24.

Afred V. Hurlburt, Lakewood, medical corps, at General hospital No. 9, Lakewood, October 22.

Clarence F. Myers, Lakewood, army, S. A. T. C., at Valparaiso, Ind., October 20.

Harvey Branson, Toms River, army, at Camp Humphrey, Va., October 3.

Gilford Penn, Island Heights, navy, at naval hospital, Philadelphia, October 8.

Lewis Hall, West Mantoloking, army, at Camp Dix, early in October.

Charles L. Crane, Bay Head, army, at Camp Meade, Md., early in October.

Reginald Applegate, Lakewood, army, at Camp Humphreys, Va., October 7.

Leslie J. Flynn, Lakewood, army, at Camp Meade, Md., October 9.

Lester Worden, Forked River, navy, at Pelham Bay naval training station, N. Y., October 15.

Horace J. Ford, Lakewood, army, at Camp Meade, Md., October 12.

James Edward Conor, Jr., Lakewood, army, at Camp Meade, Md., October 14.

Corp. Harold White, Lakewood, army, at Ft. Niagara, N. Y., October 11.

Levi Thomas, (col.), Bay Head, army, Camp Dix, in October.

John Morris, Tuckerton, mine sweeper, navy, at sea.

Olive Schureman, Toms River, nurse, at Camp Meade, Md., October 11.

Keeper Arnold Allen, Beach Haven, died in New York, December 21, while detailed to service in New York harbor.

William Kelly, Harvey Cedars, coast-guard, October 28.

Harry O'Rourke, Lakewood, militia, October 19.

Henry S. Barel, Lakewood, militia, October 19.

Alfred Ginder, Lakewood, militia, October 20.

Donald J. Shaw, Bayville, militia, October 21.

John Brown, Lakewood, militia, October 16.

Joseph Morris, Lakewood, militia, October 20.

The war made Ocean County a location of considerable importance. Just before the outbreak of the war in Europe, a German Company, subsidized by the Imperial Government, had built what was at that time the most powerful radio plant in the world, at Tuckerton, on Osborn's Island, where "Scotch" Ferguson retreated after the massacre of Pulaski's Foreign Legionnaires in the Revolutionary War. This system, with a corresponding plant in Germany, was used to communicate with the United States after the war started and Germany was blockaded by land and sea. Its tower, eight hundred and forty feet high, was at that time the highest radio tower in existence. During the war this was taken over by the American Government and placed in charge of the navy. Marines and bluejackets were located there all through the war.

Camp Dix, just across the line in Burlington County, was so close to Ocean County, that it effected the county in many ways. All the bars in the New Egypt hotels were closed, at one instance, long before wartime prohibition, because of its nearness to Camp Dix. The building of Dix on the ten per cent. plus plan, with the attendant high wages, poured the first war money into Ocean County, hundreds of its men working there.

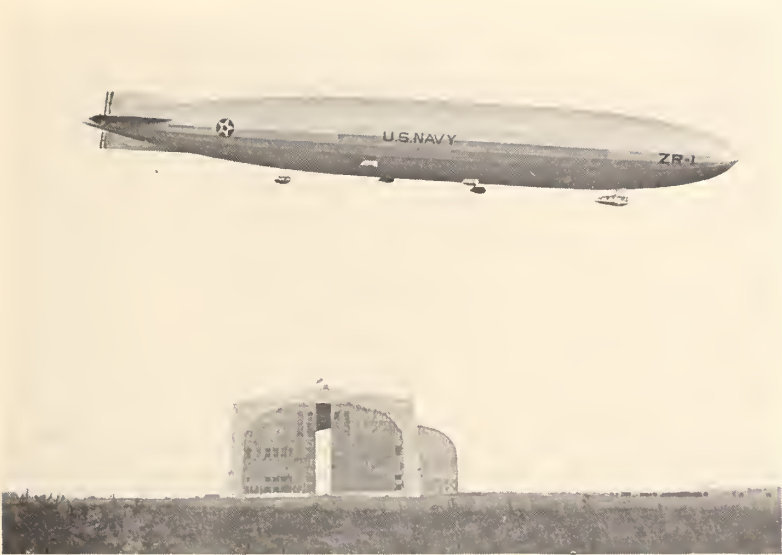
During the spring and summer of 1918, the Lakehurst Proving Ground was established by the Chemical Warfare Branch of the army. Prior to the entrance of the United States in the war, this was known as the Edgewood proving range and had been established on a large tract of pineland belonging to the Manchester Land Company, by a combination of munitions manufacturers, who had a contract to supply shells to the Russian Government. Sample shells were brought there and fired, the explosions being photographed and otherwise recorded. This range was taken over for the trying out of gas as a weapon, both in shells and otherwise, and large herds of goats were brought from New Mexico to be experimented upon with gas, in order to estimate the effect upon soldiers. A school in gas warfare was also established at this camp for officers. In the fall of 1918, in order to train men in gas warfare, before sending them to France, Camp Kendrick was also established at Lakehurst, on the road to Lakewood. After the Armistice, the First Gas Regiment, which had been formed from picked men in France, was brought to Camp Kendrick and demobilized.

As the army began to assume its part in the fighting in France, and as hospitals began to be needed, the War Department took over the Lakewood hotel, at Lakewood, and it was known as General Hospital No. Nine. Wounded men were brought there and kept till able to get home. As a general hospital, all kinds of wounded were sent to it. At times several hundred wounded men were there. At this hospital the first attempts at what was called rehabilitation of wounded soldiers was worked out.

The coastguard stations on the Ocean County coast were important factors during the war. Most of the keepers, or warrant officers, were detailed for detached service in New York Harbor, being put in charge of loading explosives and ammunition on ships bound for France. The men were armed when on patrol of the beach, and patrol was kept up day and night, instead of at night only, as in times of peace. Crews were enlarged. At Mantoloking Station a radio compass outfit was installed, by means of which, together with a similar station at Fire Island, ships coming into New York could lay their course for their entrance to the harbor, no matter what the weather.

New Jersey, being near to the port of New York, whence most of the munitions were shipped, was a vast munition factory during the latter part of the war. Ocean County folk were employed, to a large degree, in building the loading plant at Elwood, Atlantic County. Others were working at Camp Dix, and at the two Lakehurst camps. All the Ocean County boat-builders were recruited, if outside the draft, for the naval seaplane works at League Island Navy Yard, Philadelphia, Mayor William T. Rote, of Island Heights, being put at the head of the work of building pontoons for these seaplanes. Hog Island, and other war work, took many from this county, so that during the time from the fall of 1917 till after the Armistice, the county was almost swept clean of men able to fight or work; many women were also away from home, employed in war work.

Ocean County did its fair share in the various war activities. The First



THE SHENANDOAH (ZR-1) OVER THE HANGAR AT LAKEHURST

Liberty Loan was put over by Henry A. Low, president of the First National Bank, at Toms River, as chairman. In the second, Stephen R. Applegate, of Toms River, was chairman for the county. Later, Arthur R. Smock, of Lakewood, was made county chairman, and a permanent committee was formed, covering the county. William A. Nowlan, of Lakewood, and J. Horace Sprague, of Barnegat, were successively secretaries of this committee, working with Mr. Smock. The county had a record of maintaining its quota.

The Ocean County Chapter of the Red Cross was organized at Toms River in August of 1917, and branches were formed in every considerable town. Mrs. Edward Crabbe, was chosen president; Judge William H. Jeffrey, vice-president; Henry A. Low, treasurer. Miss Etheleen A. Sculthorp was the first secretary, but on her entering the Red Cross nursing work, she was succeeded by Mrs. Dorothy A. Jameson. All these officers were Toms River people. The largest branch, at Lakewood, which is the largest town in Ocean County, contributed the most in work and money. Rev. Joseph A. Linane, of St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, Rev. W. J. Sayre, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and later, Wm. H. Fischer, were in charge of the relief work for service men and their families.

In the War Savings Stamp campaign, Ocean County stood second in the State in its per capita of stamps bought. Wm. H. Fischer of Toms River, served as chairman of this work, with a committee in all parts of the county. These and other war activities, such as the Young Men's Christian Association, and other drives, were put over cheerfully by volunteer workers.

While for the first one hundred and fifty years of Ocean County history, practically every family grew its own food from the soil, after the Civil War, when the rich lands of the Mississippi Valley began to ship their cheap grains and meats eastward, the light soils of this county could not compete with the rich lands of the middle west. Consequently, farming died out in the latter part of the last century to a very great degree, and farm owners depended upon trades, fishing, or oystering, for their cash, and farmed in their spare time. Farming was thus at a low ebb, when the intensive drive for food production was started in the spring of 1917. Ocean County secured a county farm agent, or demonstrator, for the first time that spring. The first man in this office was L. A. Cooley, of Trenton, and he was followed by E. H. Waite. These men have done much to point the way toward better farming methods, and the development of possibilities in this soil. Closely connected with this work has been that of the county club agent, organizing and encouraging farm and home work among the boys and girls of the public school. This was started with Miss Lydia Garnar, of Toms River, as agent, a place now filled by Miss Emily R. Horne.

The close of the war and the boom that followed greatly increased the population of the county, especially in the neighborhood of Lakewood and Toms River, and in the summer resorts. Building has been going on at a greater pace than ever before had been thought possible, not only in the towns but the countryside also. During and since the war, the Toms River district of Ocean County has become looked upon as the most progressive and wide-awake poultry center in the east, and poultry men have come from all over the nation to study methods in production, in buildings, and in marketing, in vogue in this locality. It is a white leghorn section, and has built up a big reputation for its breeding stock and for its eggs. Co-operative buying of poultrymen's supplies, and co-operative selling of eggs, and other

poultry problems have been worked out here, and taken up by this and other States.

One of the outstanding factors in the prosperity of the county since the war, has been the transfer of Camp Kendrick, the gas training camp, at Lakehurst, to the navy, and the establishment there of the Naval Air Station, where is housed the "Shenandoah," the navy's big rigid airship, and to which station the ZR-3, now being tried out in Germany, is expected to come early this summer (1924). At this station has been built a plant costing about six million dollars. The largest hangar in the country, if not in the world, is here located, over eight hundred feet long, two hundred and forty feet wide and over two hundred feet high. It is the "largest room in the world," all being in one huge room, with doors at each end, opening almost the full height and width of the room. It is on a huge flying field, arranged for working the big "Shenandoah" (ZR-1 in and out the hangar. At one end of the flying field is a mooring mast, one hundred and seventy-two feet high, to which the airship can be fastened, and equipped to supply the ship with gas, oil, water ballast, and gasoline for fuel. There is also an elevator to carry the crew up and down. This summer (1924), when the two big airships are at this station, Lakehurst will be visited by thousands of tourists, as during the past winter, when from five to ten thousand visitors were there every clear Sunday.

From all appearances Ocean County is now becoming one of the progressive and prosperous counties of this progressive and prosperous State. It is true that the rapid influx of foreign born is taking away its old Anglo-Saxon flavor, and modifying the type of resident in a great degree, but the county still maintains the proud boast, as shown by the census, that it has a smaller proportion of illiterates than any other county in New Jersey. The 1920 census give it but 1.4 per cent. of illiterates; of native born whites but nine-tenths of one per cent., and of foreign born, 5.1 per cent. The percentage of illiterates in New Jersey in the same census is as much for the total population as for foreign-born in this country, 5.1 per cent.

From the one bank, started at Toms River in 1862-63, there are now ten banks in the county: First National and Ocean County Trust Company at Toms River; Lakewood Trust Company and Peoples National at Lakewood; Ocean County National Bank at Point Pleasant; Tuckerton State Bank at Tuckerton; First National Bank at Barnegat; First National Bank at New Egypt; Beach Haven National at Beach Haven; Coast National at Seaside Heights. A charter has been granted for a national bank at Lakehurst, and one has been applied for at New Egypt, which would make a second bank in that town. The bank resources on December 31, 1923, were \$13,639,681.13, and the deposits were \$11,149,426.96. The county also has a branch of the Federal Land Bank.

Instead of one newspaper, started in 1850, there are now nine: "New Jersey Courier," at Toms River; "Times and Journal," "Citizen," and "Free Press," at Lakewood; "Beacon," at Tuckerton; "Leader," at Point Pleasant; "Press," at New Egypt; "Review," at Seaside Heights; "Times," at Beach Haven.

In Ocean County are twelve thriving building and loan associations, as follows: Toms River and Lakewood, each two; and one each at Point Pleasant, New Egypt, Seaside Heights, Barnegat, Tuckerton, Beach Haven, Seaside Park, and Beach Haven Crest.

At Lakewood there is a fine hospital, called the Paul Kimball Memorial

Hospital, which serves the county well. The American Legion of the five counties of Ocean, Monmouth, Mercer, Hunterdon, and Middlesex, maintain a home for disabled service men of the late war at Toms River, on a fifteen-acre farm.

Ocean County consists of fifteen townships and sixteen boroughs. The earliest township in what is today Ocean County, was Little Egg Harbor, created in 1741, but a part of Burlington County till 1891. All the rest of what is now Ocean County was a part of Shrewsbury Township, Monmouth County, originally. Stafford Township was formed by royal patent of King George II, in 1749. It then included what is now Stafford, Eagleswood, and Ocean townships, running from Oyster Creek to the line between East and West Jerseys. Another Colonial township is Dover, established June 24, 1767, while William Franklin was Governor of the Crown Colony of New Jersey. It covered the present townships of Dover, Manchester, Berkeley, Lacey, and parts of Brick, Lakewood, Jackson and Plumsted townships.

The next township was formed in 1844, when Jackson Township was set off. One tradition says it was called after "Andy" Jackson; another that it took its name from the same early settler remembered in Jackson's Mills, a hamlet in that township.

Plumsted Township was named after Clement Plumsted, one of the early proprietors of East Jersey, and was established in 1845. February 6, 1846, Union Township was carved from Dover and Stafford, taking what is now Union, Ocean, and Lacey Brick Township, named after Joseph W. Brick, owner of Bergen Iron Works, now Lakewood, was established by the same act that set off Ocean County from Monmouth, in 1850. It took slices of land from Dover Township, and from Howell Township, Monmouth County.

Dover was again divided, April 6, 1865, when Manchester Township was created from its west end, and named by William Torrey, its most prominent resident, after the factory town of Manchester, England.

On March 23, 1871, Lacey Township was established. It is named after General John Lacey, a Revolutionary War officer, who was an ironmaster in that section more than a hundred years ago.

Eagleswood Township was cut off from the lower end of Stafford Township March 17, 1874. Dover was again divided, and Berkeley Township, named after Lord Berkeley, one of the two original proprietors of New Jersey, was created on March 13, 1875.

Ocean Township was formed from parts of Lacey and Union Townships April 13, 1876. In 1891, Little Egg Harbor was transferred from Burlington County to Ocean, by a gerrymander deal. Lakewood Township was created from the west end of Brick Township, when the winter resort of Lakewood began to be the most important town in the county, in 1892. The last township formed covered the territory of Long Beach island, and was created in 1889.

Of the sixteen boroughs, most of them are on the seacoast, and are summer resorts. On Long Beach are Beach Haven, Barnegat City, Harvey Cedars, and Surf City. On Squan and Island Beaches are Point Pleasant Beach, Bay Head, Mantoloking, Lavallette, Seaside Heights and Seaside Park. On the banks of Toms River are Island Heights, Ocean Gate, and Beachwood. Point Pleasant lies directly back of Point Pleasant Beach, between the head of Barnegat Bay and Manasquan River; Lakehurst Borough is the former village of Manchester in Manchester Township; Tuckerton,

in Little Egg Harbor Township, is also a borough. All these boroughs have the mayor and council of six, except two—Beachwood and Harvey Cedars—which have the commission form.

The census shows that Ocean County has little more than doubled in population in the past seventy years. In 1850, it stood 10,043; in 1860—11,176; in 1870—12,658; in 1880—14,455; in 1890—15,974; in 1900, with Little Egg Harbor added in the decade just past, 19,747; in 1920, it was 22,155.

This is the story of Ocean County—a pleasant land to live in, as the first settlers said. The sun shines as brightly, the salt sea is as green, and the bay as blue, the cedar swamp streams as black as in that day. Still the schools of migratory fish nose up the beaches each summer; still the wild fowl come down the wind in fall and winter; still the deer are shot in the pine woods. But the railroad train and the automobile have penetrated the pines in every direction; the newspaper and the telephone, the phonograph and the radio set have changed life and habits; the school bus goes to the remotest corners to bring the farmers' children to the central school; there are churches in every hamlet; thousands of city people come each summer to bask on beach or sail on bay. It is still a goodly and a pleasant land.

CAMDEN COUNTY

CHAPTER I. ERECTION OF CAMDEN COUNTY.

The political history of the territory now comprising Camden County had its beginning in the arrival of a little band of Quakers under the leadership of Thomas Sharp in 1681. That part of the story has already been told, and it now remains to pick up the thread of events which led to the second partition of Gloucester County, in which Camden County had its birth as an independent governmental unit.

The strenuous, but unsuccessful fight which the residents around Cooper's Ferries had waged, in 1825, to secure the removal of the county seat from Woodbury to Camden left in its wake a spirit of antagonism among the losers, which time failed to mollify. This contest had been particularly bitter, and all manner of arguments were put forth by the people from the lower end of the county opposed to the change. The most effective of these was that the cost of erecting new county buildings in Camden would prove excessive. To offset this statement Gideon V. Stivers, Benjamin Wiltse, and Daniel Ireland offered to erect a brick court house, a stone jail and two brick buildings for the offices of the county clerk and surrogate for \$18,500—the structure to conform substantially to similar ones at Mt. Holly in Burlington County.

In this struggle the inhabitants of the townships of Waterford and Gloucester were closely allied with those of Newton, the vote in these precincts being nine hundred and twenty-eight in favor of Camden to three hundred and twenty-two for Woodbury. Their views were thus expressed at a meeting held at White Horse:

It is resolved—That the roads of all parts of the county and the business of citizens generally have of late become centered at Camden; and that the interest of Gloucester County would be promoted by having the seat of justice located at Camden—and that a large majority of the said county would be better accommodated at Camden than at Woodbury.

The strength of this presentment of the situation was lost on the inhabitants of the other townships, and Camden failed by a majority of eight hundred and seventy-six in the entire county.

The next manifestation of discontent came in 1837, when a public meeting was held at John M. Johnson's house (Vauxhall Gardens), in Camden, to consider making application to the Legislature to unite the townships of Waterford Camden, Newton, Union, and Gloucester into a new county to be known as Delaware. Apparently, however, the move was more in the nature of a protest against the setting off of the eastern townships as Atlantic County than a serious proposal for another division. At any rate, it was not pressed and nothing further was heard of a new county until 1843, when an active campaign with that end in view was inaugurated.

The motive behind this agitation was entirely political. Of the five new counties created between 1820 and 1840,¹ the majority had exhibited Whig sympathies, the Democratic party had lost influence in State affairs, and its

¹ Warren County was erected in 1821; Passaic and Atlantic in 1837; Mercer in 1838, and Hudson in 1840.

leaders, therefore, readily agreed to the formation of Camden County in the hope that it would elect Democratic representatives in the Legislature.

Notice of intention to apply to the Legislature of 1844 for the erection of a new county was signed by John Mickle, Benjamin S. Hamell, John Sands, Richard Fetters, Joseph C. Delacour, John K. Cowperthwait, Dr. Isaac Mulford, and Isaac Cole. Its publication immediately stirred up opposition in the townships which it proposed to take, as well as in the remaining portions of Gloucester County, but all protests went for naught; the act creating the county of Camden by taking Waterford, Gloucester, Newton, Camden, Union, Delaware and Washington² townships from Old Gloucester was passed by the Legislature and signed by the Governor on March 13, 1844.

As indicating the prevailing sentiment, the resolutions adopted at the annual meeting of Newton Township, held at Haddonfield on March 13th, is of peculiar interest, a majority of the same people having, twenty years before, strenuously favored the transfer of the county seat to Camden. The preamble recites that the act "was carried through the Legislature by a strict party vote, for the sole purpose of gratifying a few reckless individuals, to the great injury and prejudice of far the largest part of the good citizens of the county, and contrary to the rights of men, as freemen." Persons elected as chosen freeholders were also required "not to appropriate any money towards repairing or erecting any new buildings at Camden, until the seat of justice shall be settled, or a county town legally located."

This resentment, deep-seated and lasting, reacted against the Democratic party; instead of becoming a stronghold of the Jacksonian faith, the new county steadily cast its votes for the opposition, and it was long before John W. Mickle, who led the fight for the partition, heard the last of his Democratic county.

With the establishment of the new county, another bitter struggle was precipitated over the location of the county seat. Those active in the movement cherished the idea of having the buildings erected in Camden, but the opposition, following the note sounded at the Newton meeting, joined forces and endeavored to secure them for either Mt. Ephraim, Long-a-coming (Berlin), White Horse or Haddonfield. It was a fight between Camden, led by Abraham Browning and John W. Mickle, and the rest of the county, and before it was settled it required four elections, a Supreme Court writ, two amendments to the original Act—one directing that two additional elections should be held and the other providing that if, at the next election, no place received a majority of all the votes polled, Long-a-coming should be the seat of justice; and finally, a positive order from the Supreme Court, directing the Board of Freeholders to proceed with the erection of a court house at Camden.

At the first election Camden received 1,062 votes, and Gloucester, its nearest competitor, 822, with 1,190 necessary to a choice. The second poll gave Camden 963 votes and Mt. Ephraim 527, but it required 1,003 votes to decide the issue. At the third test, all the outlying districts having polled their strength, the tally was 1,498 for Long-a-coming and 1,440 for Camden. This was a clear majority, but the Camdenites would not acknowledge defeat and, despite the action of the Board of Freeholders in purchasing ground and in awarding a contract for the court house, secured an order for a new election from the Legislature on the ground that the choice of Long-a-coming

² All the territory of the original Washington Township, except that portion within the Camden County Almshouse Farm, was returned to Gloucester County by Act of February 28, 1851.



ONE MILE STONE, CAMDEN



WALT WHITMAN'S TOMB,
HARLEIGH CEMETERY

had been brought about through fraud. The crucial moment was now at hand, and at the fourth trial, on April 11, 1848, the partisans of Camden did heroic work and surprised themselves by rolling up an unprecedented vote of 2,444 to 795 for Haddonfield, and 704 for Long-a-coming.

Notwithstanding this overwhelming verdict, the county authorities refused to go ahead with construction. As often as Abraham Browning and John W. Mickle offered the motion to appoint a committee to select a site in Camden, it was voted down. Finally the Board of Freeholders was served with a mandamus from the Supreme Court requiring it to provide buildings for the use of the county, and further resistance became useless.

Even then another difficulty intervened, though from another source, before the choice of a site was accomplished. The two principals who had carried the colors of Camden to triumph, John W. Mickle and Abraham Browning, were closely connected with rival ferry companies. Each desired that the county buildings should be placed upon a direct road leading to their respective ferry landings. The adopted location was the result of a compromise between these conflicting interests, and the building was erected midway between Federal and Market streets and equi-distant from the ferries located at the foot of either street. The plot of ground from Market to Federal Street, east of Sixth, was purchased from Abigail Cooper for five thousand dollars. At the time, the tract was virtually in the country; to the eastward, save for the Friends' Meeting House and a cluster of houses at Twelfth and Federal streets, were woodlands and farms; to the north was a dense grove in the midst of which was set The Diamond Cottage Garden; in the block to the west were only a few houses, including the Academy and the Columbian Garden, while along Federal Street, directly opposite, stood the frame house occupied by William Carman. Broadway, then known as the "Road to Woodbury," ran diagonally across the lot to the intersection of Market and Sixth streets. Such was the setting of the new court house.

The original structure, which was completed in 1855 at a cost of about \$40,000, was of brick, rough cast, measuring 50 by 100 feet. Located midway between Market and Federal streets, it extended from Sixth Street to the new line of Broadway. To the north and south were large courtyards enclosed by high iron fences.

Previous to 1875, the county clerk, surrogate, and register of deeds occupied rented quarters of their own choice, but in that year a one-story brick building, to which was subsequently added a second story, was erected in the Market Street courtyard, bringing all the county offices within the court house grounds. The Soldiers' Monument, now located north of the City Hall, originally stood in the courtyard facing Federal Street, having been erected in 1873, partly by private subscription and partly through an appropriation by the Board of Freeholders. In 1882, in anticipation of the erection of a new jail, it was removed to its present site.

Protest against the unsanitary condition of the jail, in the basement of the court house, became general from about 1876, but the agitation bore no fruit until, in May, 1879, Judge Woodhull presented the matter to a Grand Jury less complaisant than its predecessors. That body arraigned the Board of Freeholders in scathing terms, charging that they persisted in maintaining a jail "so badly located, so ill constructed and so inefficient for the demands of the community, that for want of requisite room, proper ventilation and suitable accommodations the same hath been and yet is unwholesome, ill governed, overcrowded, unfitted and inadequate." This shaft prodded

the Freeholders into action and, after much discussion, plans were prepared and work started on a structure in the Federal Street courtyard. But before its completion, owing to frequent changes in the political complexion of the Board, the building was changed from a jail to a court house, and then back to a jail. Indeed court sessions were actually held in the edifice in 1885.

After nearly fifty years' service, the old county buildings became inadequate for the rapidly expanding business of the county. A new structure, to include all of the county offices, the courts and the jail—the latter located on the top floor—was decided upon, but the old site was retained after a careful survey emphasized its availability. The old court house was torn down in 1904, and the other buildings on the grounds followed two years later. The ceremonies incident to the opening of the new court house were held on Tuesday, April 24, 1906, and the building turned over to the county authorities on February 13, 1907. The cost was about \$800,000, and to the honor of the building committee be it said that no suspicion of unseemly or unbusinesslike conduct attended its construction.

When Camden County was created out of Gloucester County, the Legislature directed that commissioners be appointed to apportion the public property equitably. After some delay, the commissioners recommended that the court house, jail, clerk's and surrogate's offices situated in Woodbury remain absolutely the property of Gloucester County, while the poor house and farm lands situated in Washington Township, Camden County, be vested in the Boards of Chosen Freeholders of the two counties in equal moieties as tenants in common. The steward of the poor house was elected at a joint meeting of the two Boards. This joint tenure continued until 1860, when, by an act of the Legislature, commissioners were appointed to sell the property. At the sale, held August 7, 1860, Camden County purchased the almshouse and other buildings, together with two hundred and sixty-four acres of land, for about \$19,800, the other tracts going to sundry purchasers.

CHAPTER II.

COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION.

Indian Trails and Early Roads—Streams formed the principal avenues of communication of the pioneers; hence it is that all of the earliest locations were along the Delaware and its navigable tributaries. As the settlers increased in number and gradually lost their fear of the "red men," land in the interior was taken up, usually in the neighborhood of the existing Indian trails, which were thus drafted into service as primitive arteries of travel.

Notwithstanding all the twists and turns incurred in following every rise of ground and avoiding a marsh or securing an easy ford over streams, these trails soon became accepted routes and were ordered improved. Indeed, many of the roads laid out in later years were no more direct, for a tender consideration for property owners actuated the local surveyors, who usually followed the boundary lines of recorded plats, a practice which, of necessity, resulted in sharp angles and frequent changes in direction.

The most important and well beaten of the old trails were those traversed by the aborigines in reaching the fishing grounds on the coast and the bay, as well as the intervening hunting grounds. One of these, known as the "Old Egg Harbor Road," laid between the Haddonfield Road and the highway to Blackwoodtown, and crossed the main, or middle branch at a

ford east of the present Beetlewood, where Atmore's Dam was afterwards erected. It then followed substantially the present "Brick Kiln Road" to the road running from Haddonfield to Mt. Ephraim, which it crossed a little to the east of St. Rose Catholic Church at Haddon Heights, the ridge at this point being known as Hinchman's Hill. Running on, south of Haddonfield, to the vicinity of Snow Hill, it there followed the course of the "old Warwick Road" towards the headwaters of the south branch of Cooper's Creek about Kirkwood. At this place the path forked, one branch, the old "Salem Trail," going on to Timber Creek and Salem, while the other ran considerably to the northward, following the lower side of the south branch of Cooper's Creek and crossing the headwaters of Great Egg Harbor River where Berlin (Long-a-coming) now stands. It then continued about midway between the headwaters of Big and Little Egg Harbor rivers through the present Atlantic County to the bay at about Somers Point. Another branch left the main trail just below Winslow and ran towards the Little Egg Harbor River at Batsto.

The "Old Cape Trail," "Tuckahoe Road," or "Forks Road" branched off at Blue Anchor, passing over the Innskeep Ford to Cole's Mill, crossing the upper waters of Hospitality Creek and to the south of the numerous branches of Great Egg Harbor River, over the head of the Tuckahoe near the village of Doughty, and on to the lower coast.

The Great Road leading from Perth Amboy to Burlington, and thence to Salem, formed the principal avenue of communication between the early settlements of East and West Jersey. Its lower section, commonly known as the Burlington-Salem trail, entered the present Camden County to the north of Haddonfield; in a winding course it ran through that village to a bridge over Timber Creek and thence it ran in a nearly direct line to Woodbury without touching Gloucester. The old highway was considered of such importance that its course could not be changed without the specific authorization of the Legislature, a restriction which remained in force until 1809. Some portions of it, about Haddonfield, lie in the present bed of the King's Highway, which was laid out substantially on its existing lines in 1798.

Of the present main arteries of travel within Camden County, the oldest is undoubtedly that leading from the Delaware River to Haddonfield. It is mentioned as an old provincial road as early as 1721, from which we must infer it was established some years before and probably followed an Indian trail. Officially, the road was laid out on December 8, 1761, to begin "about three rods from the Corner of William Griscome's shop, also by the Edge of the Great Road leading from Burlington to Salem" and to terminate "one rod below Cooper's wharf on the Delaware," a stretch of six miles and twenty-six perches. Aside from the abandonment of the portion which formerly ran northwestward from Fifth and Cooper streets to Cooper's Point and the straightening of the section north of Haddon Avenue and Federal Street, the highway today follows substantially the original location.

Along this old road the contending forces frequently passed during the Revolution, particularly during the British occupation of Philadelphia. It was the route taken by the Hessians on their way to Red Bank in October, 1777, and along it their decimated ranks retreated a few days later, minus their commander, Count Donop, and a number of their comrades.

Four months later, it was the scene of another encounter, when "Mad Anthony" Wayne, who was in South Jersey collecting provisions for the patriots at Valley Forge, sent Colonel Joseph Ellis and Count Pulaski to

cut off a British foraging party reported at Haddonfield. Apprised of the trap, the enemy beat a hasty retreat and, returning the next morning to recover their abandoned booty, met the advancing Americans and were forced to take refuge behind the intrenchments before "The Ferries." These works ran from the intersection of the road with Market Street, northeasterly through the woods in which the Hicksite Meeting House was subsequently built, and thence towards Cooper's Creek. Owing to the delayed arrival of the main body of Continentals, no general encounter took place, for the enemy, conceding discretion to be the better part of valor, escaped to the Philadelphia shore under cover of darkness. An interesting incident of this skirmish, the only military encounter recorded within the present limits of Camden, was the fact that Pulaski, reconnoitering the British position at close range, had his horse shot from under him, though himself suffering no harm.

The last time the old road witnessed the presence of an enemy in force was on June 18-19, 1778, when the British and Hessian soldiers under General Knyphausen was detailed to guard the baggage train on the march to New York—a scene graphically depicted by James Lane Pennypacker in "The Story of an Old Road" in the following picture:

Again let your imagination play upon the scene. From Cooper's Ferry, guarded by five or six regiments, see the baggage train of the whole British army moving along the old road to Haddonfield! What a panorama it presents to the observers by the wayside! Mounted officers in command, disciplined regiments in front to meet a possible opposing enemy, horses straining, teamsters shouting and swearing, whips cracking, aides riding up and down the line, "Close up, close up"; wagons, wagons, wagons lumbering along the way—its brilliant head approaching Haddonfield, while still the tail, with its sting, is uncoiling near the ferry.

In the early days travel between "The Ferries" and Burlington was by way of Haddonfield, thence northward along the "Burlington-Salem Trail." But in 1748 there arose a demand for a more direct route, and the General Assembly authorized a road (the present Burlington Pike) entering the county by a bridge over Pensauken Creek and continuing to Spicer's Landing on Cooper's Creek, where a drawbridge, to be built by subscription, was contemplated. It appears, however, that this bridge was not constructed until 1762, travel over Cooper's Creek being accommodated, in the meantime, by a flat-boat ferry, drawn back and forth by ropes, which had been established for the convenience of the vicinage about 1736. Unlike most other ferries in West Jersey, which were strictly regulated from the earliest days, service here was at the whim of the ferryman and was often dependent upon the size of the fee proffered. The original bridge was replaced by a covered wooden truss structure in 1833, without a draw; this in turn by an iron drawbridge in 1869, and by the present lift bridge in 1908.

During the Revolution, by Washington's order, the bridges over Pensauken and Cooper's creeks were made impassable in order to impede the movements of enemy troops. This action greatly displeased the inhabitants, and the manner in which the Pennsylvania troops carried out their instructions was roundly condemned by Governor Livingston as a piece of "wanton destruction" in sacrificing private as well as public property.

From the bridge at Spicer's Landing (Federal Street) the commissioners were directed to lay out roads to the upper and lower ferries. That leading to Cooper's Point at once became known as "Benjamin Cooper's Lane"—that worthy then operating the ferries there,—while the roadway to the middle ferry was called Cooper Street, as is evidenced by an old deed dated 1764.

But as no town had been laid out in the vicinity at that time, the use of the term "street" is unexplainable.

Need for better communication with the southern portions of the province having arisen, the Assembly in October, 1763, provided for the opening of a more direct road from Little Timber Creek crossing Newton Creek over a bridge near its mouth. This, however, was not an entirely new route, but followed an earlier road whose origin is obscured in uncertainty, but of whose existence there is no doubt. This was the old Camden and Salem Road, which branched from the highway leading to Haddonfield at Line Street, Camden, and thence through the woods covering the land east of the present Broadway to a point in the vicinity of the Benjamin W. Mickle house, still standing east of Broadway and south of Morgan Street. After crossing Newton Creek, it continued toward the old court house at Gloucester, thence easterly to a log school house on a site east of the present West Jersey Railroad tracks, where it turned south over Little Timber Creek and ran along the eastern end of what is now Brooklawn to Big Timber Creek, which it crossed about seven hundred feet upstream from the present bridge.

The bridge over Newton Creek was built by private subscription and completed in 1765. Operated as a toll bridge, we find title to it vested in William Gerard two years later. Afterwards it fell into the hands of Daniel Couzens, whose activity as a Tory caused its seizure and sale by the provincial authorities at the outbreak of the Revolution. Shortly after 1815 the structure was purchased by the County Board of Freeholders and operated under lease for several years, but with the laying out of the straighter route on the line of the present Broadway, the old bridge and road were abandoned.

Just when the Mount Holly Road was first opened is unknown, though there is frequent mention in early records which seem to refer to a road between Cooper's Ferries and that point. In 1794, however, the Assembly directed that certain roads should be straightened and improved, and the present highway dates from the work of the commissioners appointed under this act.

Marlton Pike, originally known as the Cooper's Creek Road, was laid out in 1767 from the Mount Holly Road to the lands of Thomas Ellis at Ellisburg, its course following closely the northern bank of the creek. From Ellisburg and its vicinity, several roads ran to the Burlington County line. In 1796, the present road, known as the Ellisburg-Marlton Road, was laid out by the surveyors of Burlington and Gloucester county. It began at the Evesham Road near lands of John Inskeep and Joseph Eves and ended in "the Mount Holly road that leads to the lower bridge over Cooper's Creek."

As early as 1712, the settlers along the headwaters of Timber Creek had a road surveyed to Gloucester-Town, using portions of the old Burlington-Salem Road which had been abandoned after the course of the latter had been altered to run into Gloucester. Its course was a little to the east of the present Mt. Ephraim Pike. About 1793, a more direct route was laid out from Chew's Landing to Cooper's Ferries, but popular objection, backed by the courts, nullified this and a subsequent survey to the same end. In 1795, however, the "Newton Road" was projected and adopted as the official route, its course being from Chew's Landing Bridge over Beaver Brook and William Eldridge's mill pond to the north branch of Newton Creek and ending in the old Camden-Salem Road near the intersection of the present Chestnut Street and Haddon Avenue in Camden. The next year the road was extended northeasterly to the forks leading to the ferries of Samuel and Daniel Cooper, continuing thence to a junction, at about Seventh Street, with

the road from Cooper's Creek bridge to Cooper's Point. From Line Street north, the roadbed was taken for the tracks of the Camden and Atlantic Railroad in 1854. To the south, the road was soon extended to Blackwoodtown, and later to Cross Keys and to the shore region at Tuckahoe.

River Road had its beginnings in 1848, when the stretch northward to Twenty-seventh Street was surveyed. Later it was extended to Red Mill, then a hair-cloth factory, and was called the Pea Shore Road. About 1860 the lane leading northward to Pensauken Creek was converted into a highway. To accommodate the residents of Riverton and Palmyra, Burlington County then constructed a highway to the opposite bank of Pensauken Creek, when it was found that no authority rested with the county authorities to build a connecting bridge, a difficulty that was overcome through a special act of the Legislature in 1860.

White Horse Pike was laid out in 1806, following in part an old road whose history is unknown. Beginning at a stake in the Old Egg Harbor Road, opposite White Horse tavern, it ran partly through the townships of Gloucester, Gloucester-town and Newton to an intersection with the road leading from Haddonfield to Cooper's Ferry at what is now Harleigh Cemetery. Below White Horse Tavern, the road had several names. As far as Berlin, it was known as the Long-a-coming road; between Berlin and Waterford, the Waterford Works Road, and below that point the Egg Harbor or Absecon Road. In 1857, its course between White Horse and Berlin was altered to conform to the present line through Laurel Springs.

The turnpike era made its advent in Camden County in 1847. During the next seven years turnpike companies sprang up on every hand, their charters specifying the nature of the improved roadbed to be laid, whether of gravel, stone or plank. Of these, the first was the Camden and Haddonfield Turnpike Company, incorporated March 2, 1847, and the desire for better highways was such that nothing was thought of giving it absolute title to the existing public road. Finished in 1848, its immediate success inspired others, and the following year saw the field enlarged by the appearance of the Moorestown and Camden, Camden, Ellisburg and Marlton, Westfield and Camden, Woodbury and Camden, and Williamstown and Camden companies.

In 1853 Camden saw its first wooden highway, when the Gloucester Plank Road Company planked Broadway from Newton Creek to the toll-gate at Ferry Road. Fifteen years later that portion of the way north of Newton Creek was abandoned to the city, but the southern section, from Pine Grove at the far end of Gloucester to Woodbury had the distinction of outlasting all other toll roads in the county, not being freed until May 16, 1921.

The policy of reclaiming roads from private ownership had been initiated in 1893, when tolls were lifted from the White Horse Pike, but its progress was slow, and it was ten years before the next highway, the Mount Ephraim Pike, was freed. Then followed, at intervals, the Marlton Pike (1907), Haddon Avenue (1909) and the Moorestown Pike (1909).

The Ferry as a Means of Transportation—Philadelphia, though founded several years after the first settlers came to West Jersey, soon took the place that had been thought to be Burlington's, as the focal point of the Delaware valley. To meet the needs of travel to and from the infant metropolis, established facilities for crossing the river that separated the two Provinces were soon found to be essential, and as early as 1688 the County Court of

Gloucester authorized the opening of a public ferry between New Jersey and Philadelphia "in some convenient and proper place between ye mouths or entrances of Cooper's creek and Newton creek." The management of this ferry was committed to William Roydon, who, while he was protected against competition, was obligated to provide good and sufficient boats "to be in readiness at all times to accomodate people's actions." The rates, too, were fixed by the Court, being six cents for each passenger, twelve pence for a man and horse, and six pence per head for cattle, swine or sheep—an early assertion of the public right to regulate public utilities, though the legal schedule was not always adhered to.

For many years, and well into the nineteenth century, the ferries were operated in connection with hotels of the river bank, of which they were considered a profitable adjunct—the more so since the slips were primitive affairs without coverings of any kind for the protection of the waiting passengers. Midway between the slips and the hotels were large stables and sheds for the accommodation of the farmers bringing their produce to the Philadelphia markets. The ferry facilities for horses and wagons were long crude, uncertain and expensive, and market supplies were usually carried across the river in baskets. At each ferry, too, there was a large piece of ground covered with shade trees and fitted up with various sorts of amusements and the indispensable bar.

Trans-river travel in those early days was carried on in long wherries, holding twelve to fifteen persons, manned by a crew of three or four men and propelled by oars and sails. The boats had sharp prows, decked over for a few feet back from the stem, and were provided with iron-shod "skids" or runners on either side of the keel, of service in dragging the craft over ice floes, an operation often necessary in severe winters and which sometimes resulted fatally to passengers or boatmen.

Of a larger class were the "horse boats," somewhat akin to modern scows, which were intended for the transportation of horses, carriages, and cattle. But it was only under favorable circumstances that these could be navigated, since they were unwieldy and unmanageable in the face of contrary winds.

The next advance was the "team boat," much larger in size, and in which horses or mules furnished the motive power, through tread wheels geared to paddle shafts. These boats were very popular and survived for some years the advent of steamboats, partly because of their reputed economy of operation, but principally because of the monopoly on steam navigation claimed, and maintained for a time, under the Fulton-Livingston patents.

The first ferryboat to be propelled by steam across the Delaware was the Camden, built in 1810. Her engine, a horizontal one, was built by Daniel Large, of Philadelphia, who, with Joseph Bispham and several others, operated the boat from the Middle Ferry at the foot of Cooper Street to Market Street, Philadelphia. A small, undecked boat—it was not until 1835 that any of the ferry boats were provided with cabins—she was used for passengers only. Like her predecessors, and many of her successors, she came to the landing place "sidewise," instead of "end to," as is now the case.

In the early days there were ferry landings on the New Jersey shore at Cooper's Point, at Camden and at Kaighnton, those at Camden being located at Cooper Street. The numerous changes which have taken place have all clustered around these points to the present day.

The crossing at Cooper's Point was established prior to 1708, for in that

year William Cooper, the emigrant, conveyed to his son, Joseph, a certain tract of land "including the ferry at Cooper's Point." By the latter it was conveyed, twenty years later, to his son, Benjamin, who operated it until July 1, 1769, when it came into the possession of Samuel Cooper, who built the ferry house, afterwards known as Cooper's Point Hotel. A bid for country trade was made in 1762 in laying out a road to the bridge over Cooper's Creek at Spicer's Ferry, a highway which afterwards became Main Street on the Camden City plan. About 1790, the ferry was conveyed to William Cooper, familiarly known as "Uncle Billy," by whom it was operated, or owned, until 1849. Among those who conducted it under lease at various times was William Ridgway, who in 1828 was elected to represent Cooper's Point in the first City Council of Camden.

In 1849, "Uncle Billy" transferred the ferry to his son, Joseph W. Cooper, who in the following year incorporated the Cooper's Point Ferry Company with himself, William F. Reeve, Emmor Reeve, Isaac H. Wood, William Cooper, Benjamin W. Cooper, and William C. Champion—all closely connected with the family—as directors. During 1854, it was operated by the Camden and Atlantic Railroad Company, but soon reverted to its former owners, though it still functioned as "Philadelphia's Front Door to Atlantic City." The ferry was again purchased by the Camden and Atlantic on January 24, 1872, and was operated in connection with its train service until the merger with the Pennsylvania Railroad on February 22, 1883. In 1880, the old ferry house at the foot of Vine Street was replaced by another at Wood Street and additional slips provided for the recently acquired Shackamaxton Street boats, of the Kensington and New Jersey Ferry Company, which had been organized in 1866 by William Cramp and his associates to operate on a route to North Point Street, Camden.

The Philadelphia landing of the Cooper's Point Ferry was originally at some point in Kensington, but this was changed to Arch Street, and later, alternate trips were made to Poplar Street. From about 1855, all landings were made at Vine Street, save for a time during 1857, when a boat was also operated to the upper side of Market Street.

The ferry at Cooper Street, the oldest on the river, was apparently abandoned by William Roydon prior to 1695. In that year the Gloucester County Court granted the privilege to Daniel Cooper, and it remained in the hands of the Cooper family continuously until the landing passed out of use about 1850, successively under the management of Daniel Cooper, William Cooper, Richard M. Cooper, James Bispham, James Springer, Benjamin Reeves, Ebenezer Toole, and Joseph and Israel English. Its relative status in its early days is indicated by the fact that, in 1739, a tax of ten shillings was levied against it as compared to one of six shillings for the ferry at Cooper's Point, and its importance was further increased in 1748, when a license was granted to Daniel Cooper for a public house. Its Philadelphia terminus was at the foot of High or Market Street, variously known as Thorne's, Fish's, Burr's, Scattergood's and Stockton's Ferry. The first steam ferryboat, as already noted, ran on this line.

For a time, William Hope, a man of Herculean proportions and the possessor of a powerful voice, operated a wherry from Cooper Street, but whether as an independent ferrymaster or as a boatman for English is not known. It is related of him that such was the power of his lungs he could be heard distinctly while standing on the Camden shore, by prospective "fares" on the Philadelphia slip, who would respond by signal if his services were required.

About 1800, Abraham Browning, Sr., established a ferry at the foot of Market Street which he operated for about a year and then leased to others. Of these, James Springer, who had been conducting the Cooper Street Ferry, appears to have been the first, followed by Peter Farrow, Benjamin Reeve, Benjamin Springer (1820-29), Daniel Browning (1829-30), William S. Paul (1830-39), Thomas P. Clement (1839-41), John Knisell (1841-43), Joshua Hollingshead and Edward Browning, the latter managing the property for the heirs of the founder until they incorporated the West Jersey Ferry Company in 1849. A service to Market Street, Philadelphia, was continuously maintained, and also, for a time, a line to Callowhill Street. During Hollingshead's incumbency, too, it was the proud boast of the management that their boats all landed "end to" instead of "side to," as had previously been the universal custom.

The incorporation of the West Jersey Ferry Company was vigorously, though unsuccessfully, opposed by the City Council and a large body of citizens, who objected to a clause in the charter giving the new company authority to construct slips and a ferry house at the foot of Market Street, which up to that time had been public property. The ferry house then in use was in the old stone building which formerly stood on the east side of Front Street, below Market, and the landing was midway between Front Street and the present Delaware Avenue. The proprietors at once began an aggressive campaign of improvement. The flats, which then extended to within one hundred and fifty feet of Front Street, were filled in, Market Street was cut through to the river's edge, better slips were provided, and the West Jersey Hotel built. In August, 1850, they announced, too, that they would, during the summer and autumn, run an all-night boat, the first service of that kind on the Delaware. Another innovation which soon followed was the sub-division of the ferry seats by iron arms, to forestall inconsiderate patrons who made a habit of stretching out on the seats for a nap. But while this move was intended for the comfort of those who formerly were often compelled to stand, it had quite the opposite effect when hoop-skirts became the fashion and the presence of these "iron bars" was inveighed against by many an ante-bellum belle.

About 1860, the marginal lands had been filled up to such an extent that a new ferry house and landing was erected further westward. It was the first ferry terminal on this side of the river to have a landing entirely covered by a roof, and was used until 1876, when the new ferry house, familiar to all the older residents, was rushed to completion to accommodate the Centennial traffic. Here there was another innovation—a large clock in the cupola, the first clock tower of any size in Camden. Still another example of enterprise—and one which was effective in attracting the patronage of the farmers—was the opening of a hay and straw market, on the south side of Market Street, west of Delaware Avenue, on January 2, 1871. Indeed the West Jersey Ferry Company was in every sense a going concern, when, in 1883, the Pennsylvania Railroad, fearing that the Reading interests might secure the franchise as a feeder for its recently acquired Atlantic City Railroad, gained control through the purchase of the stock of the Brownings, Edward B. Roberts, and James B. Dayton, who was then president of the company.

The ferry at Federal Street was begun by Daniel Cooper about 1764, who soon thereafter built the brick inn later known as "Toy's," "Cake's," or "Parson's" Hotel and which was for many years used as a ferry house. Its

original proprietor, being a strict Quaker, refused to sell liquor on the premises, an unheard of innovation, which brought upon his head the maledictions of many a traveler. From him the property passed to his son, Joshua, who operated it from about 1770 to 1803; then came an eight-year lease to Richard Thorne, after which it was placed in the hands of William Cooper, son of the owner, becoming known as "Lower Billy's Ferry" to distinguish it from "Upper Billy's" at Cooper's Point. About 1820, John Wessel bought the property; a few years later it was conveyed to his son, and in 1832 title was passed to Jacob Ridgway, the lessees in the interval including Joseph Wilde, Benjamin Reeves, English and Wessel and Isaiah Toy. The last joint operator of the hotel and ferry was John Knisell (1838-40), though even after the acquisition of the ferry by the Camden & Philadelphia Steamboat Company it was known as "Cake's," after R. C. Cake, who took over the management of the hotel.

The Camden and Philadelphia Steamboat Ferry Company, whose incorporators were Joseph Kaighn, Samuel Laning, Gideon V. Stivers, John W. Mickle, Richard Fetters, Samuel Harris, Isaac Vansciver, Isaac Cole and William Carman, was chartered on March 8, 1836, to operate a ferry line that should be kept running all the year at a five-cent fare, save in winter when the rate might be doubled, the franchise to be void, unless renewed by the Legislature at the expiration of thirty years. Another stipulation was that the city of Camden should have the right to subscribe to one hundred shares of the capital stock, a proposal which was negatived at a special town meeting held on August 4, 1836. A year later, however, the Camden and Amboy Railroad subscribed to 1,271 shares (par value fifty dollars), making payment by transferring its boats, the "John Fitch" and "States Rights," the tavern known as the "Railroad Hotel" and later as "Elwell's," together with the slips and a number of lots adjoining the ferry. The railroad also contracted to pay five cents for every train passenger carried across the river in summer and ten cents in winter, as well as six cents for every hundred pounds of freight handled by the ferry.

With its termini at Bridge Avenue, Camden, and just below Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, the new concern began operations in May, 1838. Two years later it purchased the Lafayette block at the foot of Walnut Street and, reserving enough land for a ferry building and hotel, transferred the remainder to the Camden and Amboy for a Philadelphia freight station. The presence of Windmill Island in the Delaware, necessitating a long detour in ferrying, was a serious handicap in the expeditious transportation of train passengers, and the Pennsylvania Legislature was successfully petitioned for the right to cut a canal across it. Work on this project was begun in 1838 and completed in March, 1840, though some of the boats had used it the previous October. The enabling act stipulated that the canal should be a public way, subject to tolls fixed by the county commissioners of Philadelphia, the company being required to file with these officials a detailed account of the cost of construction within sixty days after it was opened to navigation. Formal announcement of the opening was withheld, with the object of preventing its use by rivals. Indeed it was not until 1852 that the West Jersey Ferry Company, on the advice of Abraham Browning, took "the bull by the horns" and operated its boats through the cut, leaving the question of toll charges to be fought out in the courts, the suit being compromised by the transfer of a one-half interest in the canal to the West Jersey Company upon payment of a like portion of the cost.



CAMDEN

Armory and Soldiers' Monument
Pennsylvania Railroad Ferry
Victor Plant from Water Front

With the advent of the Philadelphia and Camden Ferry Company an aggressive fight for the ferry business was launched. The new concern announced that it had commenced operation at the "Reduced rates of Fare contained in their Charter"; the reduction was met by the old ferry masters, and a "rate war" was on. In April, 1840, the Federal, Market and Cooper Street ferries cut the fare to two cents for each passenger and twelve and a half cents for carriages, later carrying wagons, loaded or unloaded for five cents. Another blow at the new competitor was the refusal of the older ferries to honor its "quarterly tickets," a long established custom against the breach of which the new company bitterly complained. As a step toward ending this ruinous competition, the Philadelphia and Camden company, in August, 1840, bought up the Federal Street ferries, controlled by Jacob Ridgway, a purchase involving over \$300,000 and putting such a drain upon the resources of the company that no dividends were paid until about 1849. The landing at Bridge Avenue was then abandoned, save for boats connecting directly with trains, and in 1863 the company began making an extensive "fill" at the foot of Federal Street by which the street was carried four hundred feet westward. Upon the land so reclaimed, a new ferry house and slips were built, which served until the present terminal was erected and put into use on June 24, 1901.

Among the notable boats on this line was the "Camden," fifth of the name, built in the Camden shops of Jesse W. Starr in 1844 or 1845, and distinguished as the second iron boat launched on the Delaware. Indeed there were many who said that her hull could not float, and some of those daring to remain aboard when she took the water tempered their valor with discretion by donning life preservers. Among her sister ships, too, was the ill-fated "New Jersey," whose destruction by fire with a loss of over sixty lives on the night of Saturday, March 15, 1856, led to a prolonged controversy and seriously retarded the growth of Camden. Of those now in use the "Beverly" and "Wenonah" were built in 1882; the "Camden" in 1896, the "Hammonton" in 1906, the "Wildwood" in 1911, the "Salem" and "Bridgeton" in 1913, and the "Haddonfield" and "Millville" in 1921.

Under an agreement filed on April 1, 1899, the Camden and Philadelphia Steamboat Ferry Company and the West Jersey Ferry Company were merged into the Philadelphia and Camden Ferry Company, but the lines were operated separately until January 23, 1901.

Before passing on to the more southern ferries, it will be interesting to note another landing at Federal Street established by Joseph Wright, of Philadelphia, in 1786. The peculiarity of this enterprise, which landed its "fares" in Philadelphia at Robert Waln's wharf, below the drawbridge over Dock Creek, was that it broke the journey at Windmill Island, on which its promoter had erected a half-way house, where "passengers would always meet with a hearty welcome and a hospitable fire in the cold season to warm and refresh themselves while waiting for an opportunity of evading those large fields of ice which generally float up and down with the tide and obstruct the passage during the winter."

In 1765, Arthur Donaldson, brother-in-law of Joseph Kaighn, announced that he had opened a ferry from "Point Pleasant" (Kaighn's Point) to the District of Southwark on the opposite shore. But this venture was probably abandoned about the beginning of the Revolution, if not before, and the first regular line to be continuously operated from that section of the present Camden was not established until 1809, when Joseph Kaighn put a passenger

boat into service. About the same time he leased the old house at the southeast corner of Front Street and Kaighn Avenue to Christopher Madera, who there opened the "South Ferry Hotel." The landing on this side was at what afterwards became known as Ferry Street, while that on the Philadelphia shore was at Queen Street.

In 1815, the Pennsylvania and New Jersey Steamboat Company, which had secured from Fulton and Livingston the exclusive privilege of operating steamboats on the Delaware within five miles of Kaighn's Point, leased the ferry from Joseph Kaighn for a term of ninety-nine years. The Philadelphia landing was shifted to Washington Street, and later to South Street, but the company soon got into financial difficulties and, in 1821, the widow of Clement Reeves, who had purchased the hotel property, claimed the ferry privileges, and was upheld by the courts on the ground that the ferry had been practically abandoned. Both the ferry and the hotel passed into the hands of Ebenezer Toole by purchase in 1828, and were conducted by him until his death in 1851, and by his heirs until their transfer, a year later, to the South Camden Ferry Company, which had been organized by Charles Kaighn, William Griffith, and Joseph M. Kaighn.

The new company used the old landing at Ferry Street for a time, but soon reached an agreement for the use of the foot of Kaighn's Avenue, conditioned upon a rental of one dollar per annum. In 1853 a new wharf was built on this site, which with its filling extended five hundred feet into the river. But the expense of this improvement and the cost of a new boat, the "Stephen Girard," proved too great a financial strain, and in 1858 Henry B. Wilson and Joseph M. Kaighn were appointed receivers. After operating the line for the stockholders and creditors for several years, they were largely instrumental in organizing the Kaighn's Point and Philadelphia Ferry Company, which took formal possession of the property in June, 1861, the consideration being \$30,000.

In the summer of 1873, The Reading Railway Company purchased a controlling interest in the ferry company, placing the stock in the name of J. S. Schultz, president of the Manchester and Camden Railroad Company. After making extensive improvements, the new owners reorganized the company and later formed the Delaware River Ferry Company, which passed into the control of the Philadelphia and Reading Railway Company on March 12, 1888.

Until its acquisition of the Kaighn's Point Ferry, and of the Camden, Gloucester and Mt. Ephraim Railroad which gave it trackage rights to that point, the Reading interests had used a landing at the foot of Bulson Street to transfer passengers of the Philadelphia and Atlantic City Railroad to and from Pier 8, below Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. This ferry, started in 1877, has since been abandoned, save as a car-ferry.

The ferry house at Kaighn's Point was rebuilt in 1879-80, and was used until burned down in 1891. On January 3, 1914, after having been rebuilt, it was again consumed by fire, and the temporary rough structure which succeeded it, popularly known as "the cattle shed," was replaced by the splendid modern terminal at the foot of Mechanic Street, dedicated on May 14, 1924.

Of the boats familiar to present-day travelers on the Kaighn's Point route, the "City of Reading" was built in 1889, the "Philadelphia" in 1896, the "Cape May" in 1901, the "Ocean City" in 1903, the "Mauch Chunk" (brought from New York and since renamed "Margate") in 1906, the "Dela-

ware" (the present "Atlantic City") in 1914, the "Ventnor" in 1922, the "Haddon Heights" in 1922, and the "Chelsea" and the second "Ocean City" during the summer of 1923.

Passing again to the north, a ferry was started from the foot of Cooper Avenue (now Twenty-seventh Street) to Otis Street, Philadelphia, in May, 1889, for the accommodation of those residents of the North Cramer Hill section employed in the manufactories of Kensington, its originator being Alfred Cramer. A few years later the North Cramer Hill Ferry Company was organized and Peter Hagen, Patrick Handbury and John Morgan became associated in the project. For a quarter of a century the little steamer "Riverside" carried passengers on this line—no facilities for vehicles were provided—but declining patronage led to the abandonment of the ferry during the World War, though regular service to Otis Street and Allegheny Avenue, Philadelphia, has since been resumed.

Outside of the present city limits, it is interesting to note that as early as 1859 an unsuccessful attempt was made to operate a ferry from Pea Shore Cove (Fish House) to Philadelphia. This project, which was never realized, was to be known as the Pea Shore Company. The ferry from Gloucester City to Philadelphia will be noted under the chapter devoted to the former place.

Stage Coaches of the Early Days—The old stage coaches that used to rumble through the villages and along the country roads in the days when railroads, trolley cars, and auto-buses were unknown, are no longer with us, but they have left many legends and stories of social life and business activities of our forefathers. The position of Camden, opposite Philadelphia, gave it a place of considerable importance in early transportation. Over the highways radiating fan-wise from the ferries, stages maintained communication with the interior, their service doubly valuable in the winter when the closing of navigation on the Delaware would otherwise have cut off Salem, Burlington, Bordentown, and other river towns, from contact with the Colonial metropolis. At this season, the New York stages, which ordinarily transferred their passengers to boats at Burlington to complete the journey to Philadelphia, shifted their terminus to Cooper's Ferry. Thus, in 1751, Fretwell Wright and John Predmore, who conducted a line to Amboy, announced that "if the ice or anything else should at any time prevent the passage-boat from going from Burlington to Philadelphia, the stage-waggon will, if required, proceed from Burlington to Cooper's Ferry."

In 1759 a weekly service to New York from Cooper's Ferry was established over a route which passed through Moorestown and Mount Holly, thence through Monmouth County to Middletown, and to the bay near Sandy Hook, where a boat attended the passengers. As a "through line" it did not last long, but the several stages which went to make up the connecting links continued until the advent of the railroads, and were always well patronized.

After the close of the Revolution, a bi-weekly service from Samuel Cooper's Ferry, alternately through Bordentown and Burlington, was placed in operation by the proprietors of the New York stages from those points during the winter, the through fare being £1, goods being carried at eight shillings per hundredweight. In 1794, the rates were quoted in American currency as \$2.50 for passengers and \$1.25 per hundredweight of freight. The construction of the bridge over the Delaware at Trenton, in 1798, decreased the importance of this route, but it was doubtless in seasonal use until the

inauguration of regular train service on the Camden & Amboy Railroad, in 1834, caused the withdrawal of the New York stage.

The first public notice of a stage line to Salem is found in 1767, though no doubt land communication had supplemented the customary water route long before that time. In December of that year Aaron Silver announced he would drive a "stage waggon" from Salem to William Cooper's Ferry on the Third Day (Tuesday), stay there until the Fifth Day, when the return trip to Salem would be made, continuing to do the same every week. The fare was three half-pence a mile, baggage being carried at four shillings and three pence per hundredweight for the whole distance, with proportionate charges to intermediate points. Two years later the fare was advanced to five shillings "up or down," with way passengers paying two pence per mile.

Travel to and from Salem apparently increased, for in 1772 Samuel Brick set up an opposition stage. Thereafter, until the middle of the nineteenth century, the record of this route is rather vague, though it is known that mail stages were successively operated by William Harvey, Atkinson Anrow, John Tonkins, Adam H. Sickler, George Loudenslager, and Bryan Reeve. These vehicles also carried passengers and light baggage, and it was customary for their drivers to make purchases "in town" for their patrons, charging a nominal commission for the service.

In 1843 T. B. Parke inaugurated "The U. S. Mail Line," which left Cake's Hotel every morning at eight-thirty, and arrived at Salem in the late afternoon, the route running through Woodbury, Clarksboro, Swedesboro, and Woodstown. The through fare at this time was one dollar and twenty-five cents. After the opening of the railroad to Woodbury, many passengers preferred to use the trains to that point, there boarding the stage, but that advantage did not last long, the railway being abandoned about 1850.

In 1771, Cooper's Ferry became the terminus of a weekly stage to Pilesgrove, Salem County, jointly operated by William Shute and Jacob Paullin, and of another to Roadstown, conducted by Michael Lee. Three years before, a route had been established from the Cross-Roads in Stow-creek township, Cumberland County, about five miles from both Greenwich and Bridgeton, but was abandoned in 1771 and replaced by another line serving both Bridgeton and Greenwich directly, conducted by Richard Cayford and Daniel Stretch, tavern keepers at those points. In 1772, a rival line to Bridgeton was set up by Azel Pierson, also weekly in its service; indeed, a daily schedule does not seem to have been established until 1821, when John and William C. Tonkin successfully undertook to render such service, passing through Woodbury, Carpenter's Bridge, Mullica Hill, Pole Tavern, and Deerfield. In 1860, the Bridgeton stages, owned and driven by Jeremiah Hann and William S. Lowder, shortened their haul by connection with the Woodbury Railroad.

As early as 1771, direct connection between Cooper's Ferry and Cape May was established, when Daniel Taylor "erected a New Stage to Cape May; to set off from Bridgeton every Friday and return every Monday following." In 1821, the Cape Island stage, owned by Dr. Roger Wale, made connection with the Tonkin line at Bridgeton twice a week, while two years later Joseph C. Murphy appears as the operator of an alternative route to the Cape, running by way of Tuckahoe Bridge, and called "The Pilot Line." In the Civil War era, the time consumed was materially shortened by taking the West Jersey Railroad as far as Millville, whence a mail stage conducted by Westcott and Whitaker ran through Tuckahoe, Petersburg, Seaville, and Town-

send's Inlet to Cape May Court House, the starting place of another stage which made tri-weekly trips to Cape Island.

The first regular stage service of record between Camden and the present Atlantic City region was inaugurated on March 24, 1773, when William M'Carrell announced that he had "fitted a Stage Waggon, to go from Great-Egg-Harbour to Philadelphia once every week; to set off from Ann Risley's at Abseekam on Monday morning, to go by Thomas Clark's mill and the Forks to Blue Anchor; from thence to Long-a-coming and Haddonfield, to arrive at Samuel Cooper's Ferry on Tuesday in the afternoon." The fare was one and a half pennies per mile and "for laying out cash for drygoods and other articles, one penny per shilling." In 1778, Samuel Marryotte advertised a like service, possibly supplanting its predecessor, and from that time stage lines were in constant operation between Cooper's Ferry and the seacoast, until the Camden and Atlantic Railroad drove them out of business in 1854. John Brock & Company, about 1830, operated a mail stage "through in one day, twice a week, by way of Haddonfield, Long-a-coming, Blue Anchor, Weymouth Furnace, May's Landing and Bargaintown to Somers Point. The fare was two dollars and fifty cents, baggage being carried at the owner's risk. A few years later William Norcross & Company announced that their stages were using the road through Mt. Ephraim, Chew's Landing, Blackwoodtown, Cross Keys, Squankum (now Williamstown). Freewill, New Brooklyn Glass Works, and Blue Anchor, thence traversing the "old road" to Weymouth and May's Landing. Later they reverted to the route formerly used by Brock and continued through Somer's Point to Smith's Landing and Absecon. It is interesting to note that "Sea Bathing" was featured as an attraction in the advertising of the Absecon stages as early as 1835.

The Tuckerton stage was established about the year 1816 by Isaac Jenkins, the journey at that time taking two days, leaving Tuckerton on Mondays and starting on the return trip from English's Ferry on Fridays. On July 3, 1820, the coaches began running over the route in one day, making two trips a week, landing their passengers about sundown, Wednesdays and Saturdays, at Tuckerton, where "safe ferry boats" conveyed them to the beaches. The fare was two dollars and fifty cents.

English's Ferry was also the Camden terminus of the Tuckahoe stage, conducted by Lawrence Cake in 1825, which twice a week covered the following route: "Mount Ephraim, Chew's Landing, Blackwoodtown, Cross Keys, Chew's, Campbell's, Doughty's, Major Lee's to Tuckey Hoe Bridge." Michael Garoutte, of Pleasant Mills, in the same year announced that he would run a stage from English's Hotel in Camden to "Leed's Point, opposite Bearmore's Beach, which is the most convenient place at all times to pass to Long Beach, Tucker's Beach and Brigantine." This line passed through Haddonfield and Long-a-coming, breaking the journey at Pleasant Mills at nightfall.

Travelers from Camden to Moorestown and Mt. Holly in the early days were accommodated by the New York stage, as already noted, but, with the growth of population, the service of the "through lines" was supplemented by local or accommodation coaches. In 1820, for example, Peter Vanable, set up a stage from Springer's Ferry to Moorestown—a line which passed successively into the hands of John Keen, David McCoy and John West—and in 1831 William Doughten became a competitor for the business. Mt. Holly after 1819, could also be reached by a joint water and land route via Burlington.

In 1830, John Keen was the proprietor of the "Philadelphia and New Egypt Stage," which left Toy's Hotel, Camden, every Wednesday and Saturday morning, passing through Moorestown, Mt. Holly, Jobestown, Wrightstown, and Cookstown, the fare for the whole distance being one dollar and twenty-five cents.

The first record of a local stage to Woodbury is contained in a notice in a Philadelphia newspaper, August 20, 1818, that coaches would leave the Sorrel Horse Hotel, North Second Street, daily at 4 P. M. Early in 1821 Andrew Ware announced that he had "lately purchased of Mr. Benjamin Murphy the Woodbury and Camden Stages" and that thereafter they would leave Woodbury at 8.30 A. M. and, returning, depart from Reeve's Ferry at 3.30 P. M.—fare, thirty-seven cents.

Probably the first daily service to Haddonfield was inaugurated by Thomas Pearce in May, 1826, who set out for English's Hotel at 7 A. M. and began the return trip at 5 P. M. On summer Sundays, two round trips were made, leaving Haddonfield at 6 A. M. and 4 P. M., and Camden at 8 A. M. and 6 P. M. In 1843, this line was operated on a bi-daily schedule by Joseph C. Shivers, who kept the upper hotel in Haddonfield.

The stage line between Blackwoodtown, Good Intent, and Camden was operated jointly by Norcross, Reeves, and Toy, who advertised that "in addition to their old established stage, they intended to commence a new accommodation stage" from Good Intent to Reeves' and Toy's ferries. In 1860, the route was changed, and connection was made with the railroad at Woodbury. This territory was likewise served by the line of stages operated by James C. Plummer, in 1837, between Squankum, or the Washington Glass Works (now Williamstown), which, setting out from Toy's Ferry on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, traversed the towns on the present Mt. Ephraim Pike, returning on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.

The stage coach saw its best days in Camden County between the second and fourth decades of the nineteenth century. In 1818 there were "waggons" leaving Cooper's Ferry for Bridgeton daily except Sunday; Cape May, via Bridgeton, twice a week, and by way of Tuckahoe once a week; Great Egg Harbor once a week; Mount Holly and Woodbury daily; Salem three times a week; and Tuckerton twice a week.

Travel increased rapidly during the next few years and many new routes came into being. A list, compiled by Thomas Porter, gives the reader some idea of contemporary travel facilities and the relative importance of South Jersey towns:

- From Reeves' Ferry, upper side of Market Street, Philadelphia;
 - For Blackwoodtown, daily at 3 P. M.
 - For Haddonfield, daily (except Saturday) at 4 P. M.
 - For Leeds' Point, Wednesday and Saturday at sunrise.
 - For New Egypt, Wednesday and Saturday at 7 A. M.
 - For Port Elizabeth (Mail Stage) Wednesday and Saturday at sunrise.
 - For Woodbury, daily at 3 P. M.
 - For Cape Island, via Blackwoodtown and Tuckahoe, daily at 4 A. M.
 - For Pemberton, or New Mills, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday at 11 A. M.
- From Champion's Arch Street Ferry, Philadelphia;
 - For Bridgeton (Mail Stage) daily at sunrise.
 - For Cape Island, via Bridgeton and Port Elizabeth, daily at sunrise.
 - For Mount Holly, via Moorestown, daily at 2 P. M.
 - For Salem (Mail Stage) via Moorestown, daily at sunrise.
- From lower side of Market Street, Philadelphia;
 - For Tuckerton and Little Egg Harbor, Wednesday and Saturday at sunrise.

As late as 1860 stage lines still played an important part in transporting



FIRST COURT AND CITY HALL, CAMDEN

passengers and freight to interior points in West Jersey. From the hotel of Parson and Smith, at the foot of Federal Street, coaches then ran daily to Blackwoodtown, Williamstown, Mount Holly, Marlton, and Millville, stopping at intermediate points, and to Tansboro three times weekly. The West Jersey Hotel, too, at the foot of Market Street, was the terminus of lines giving daily service to Mount Holly, Medford, Mount Laurel, Haddonfield, and Moorestown.

The Railroad is Introduced in Camden County—As early as 1827 efforts were made to awaken the inhabitants of West Jersey to the need and advantages of a railway between Camden and Amboy. The first meeting in advocacy of the project was held in Camden on October 22nd of that year, resulting in the appointment of Joseph Kaighn, John Clement, and Jeremiah Sloane as a committee to engage William Strickland, "an able and eminent engineer," to go over the ground and make a preliminary survey of a suitable route. The report of the engineer, which was read at a public meeting held in the Camden Academy on November 5th, advocated a route from Camden to Mount Holly, running north of Moorestown, thence via Hightstown, Cranberry and Spottswood to South Amboy (Prince's Bay). Upon this statement the meeting adopted a memorial to the Legislature to charter a railroad to connect the terminal points, beginning an agitation of which the outcome was the incorporation of the Camden and Amboy Railroad at the session of 1830 "to perfect an expeditious and complete line of communication from Philadelphia to New York."

The actual survey of the road, however, demonstrated the impracticability of the route originally proposed. To avoid heavy "fills," recourse was had to a line running along the east bank of the Delaware to Bordentown, and thence across the State to Amboy, a distance of slightly more than sixty-one miles. That change retarded the development of Camden as a railroad center, for the road from Raritan Bay to Bordentown was the first to be undertaken and completed, and the company found it expedient to adopt the practice of the stage coach proprietors, making connection with Philadelphia by steamboats on the Delaware. Indeed, when tracks were laid into Camden, almost two years after the water and rail route to New York had been opened, that portion of the road was constructed of wooden rails faced with iron bars, since it was supposed that it would be used only during the two or three months of the year when the river was frozen over. As late as 1852, the route via boat to Bordentown was featured in all the railroad advertising.

The first train drawn by a locomotive came into Camden in January, 1834, and the trip was thus described in after years by Robert C. Buzby, who handled the throttle:

I left Bordentown at 9 A. M. with the mail and ran as far as Cooper's Creek bridge, Camden, which was not completed, so I was compelled to take the engine back to the temporary engine-house near Pensauken creek. There the engine was laid up for the night. It was bitter cold, so I remained with the engine all night to keep it from freezing up. Next morning early, Edwin A. Stevens drove out in a sleigh and reported that the bridge was ready for travel, so we took the engine down to bring out the mail train in the afternoon. Edwin Stevens rode with me on the engine. He insisted on my running fast over what is now the Haddon avenue crossing, which I did, but owing to the frozen mud the *snow plow and pilot* were thrown off the rails, and I had to get off and put them back on the track before we could go on.

The road entered Camden over substantially the same right of way

used at present, and came down Bridge Avenue to the depot, below Second Street, which was connected with the ferry landing by a platform. The City Council was not slow in demanding compensation for the privilege of passing through the town, and in November, 1834, for an annual rental of one hundred dollars, it was agreed "That the said railway be laid in the middle of so much of the present highway leading from Federal Street to Cooper's Creek bridge, as is between a range of the present eastern line of William Carman's woods and a point westerly therefrom, where the course of the said railway shall be altered for the purpose of leveling said street or highway and running into Bridge Avenue." Later, when Federal Street ceased to be encumbered, the price for the use of Bridge Avenue was fixed at sixty dollars per annum.

Agitation over the killing of trespassers, both biped and quadruped, led to the adoption of a city ordinance, dated January 31, 1839, "Regulating the traveling on Railroads within the limits of the City of Camden." The speed limit of locomotives was set at four miles an hour, with a penalty of fifty dollars for every violation, and it was required that a bell weighing not less than thirty-five pounds should be rung on every engine while under way. It seems, however, that this ordinance was either not sufficiently drastic, or impossible of enforcement, for in 1855 every railroad operating in the city was required to place a man ahead of each locomotive, at a distance of not less than fifty or more than one hundred yards, whose duty it was to walk ahead, carrying a lantern by night or a white flag by day, and the speed of the train was limited to the pace set by this advance agent.

During the Civil War the Camden and Amboy played an important part in the transportation of troops and supplies, and to expedite traffic a through route was established between New York and Baltimore in May, 1862. At the foot of Bridge Avenue, cars were loaded on the car-ferry "John Nielson" and conveyed to the foot of Washington Avenue, Philadelphia, where they were transferred to the tracks of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad and continued to the seat of war. Direct all-rail connection with the West and South did not come to Camden until the completion of the Delair Bridge, over which the first train was run on April 1, 1896.

Prior to the elevation of the tracks along Bridge Avenue, begun in 1906, there had been, for more than forty years, a station at the junction of the West Jersey Railroad and the Camden and Amboy, known as Haddon Avenue Station. Its abandonment on July 20, 1907, by the Pennsylvania Railroad, lessee of the original companies, brought forth a storm of protest from citizens and business interests, and finally, after a hearing before the State Railroad Commission, the present station at Broadway was erected as a compromise, and was opened on October 8, 1908.

The Camden and Woodbury Transportation Company was chartered on March 1, 1836, to build a railroad between those points, the incorporators being James Matlack, Joseph Saunders, Jesse Smith, Joseph Ogden, Robert L. Armstrong, Joseph Fithian, Joseph Franklin, John M. Watson, Charles E. Clark, John C. Smallwood, Samuel Webster, and associates. Subscription books were opened at Jesse Smith's hotel in Woodbury, Isaiah Toy's hotel in Camden, and at the Exchange in Philadelphia, on April 25th, 26th and 27th respectively; the stock was eagerly subscribed and the organization meeting was held at Woodbury on June 18th. The road began operating on January 28, 1838, the cars being drawn by horses until 1840, when it passed under the control of Henry R. Campbell and his brother, John D. Campbell,

who immediately introduced steam as the motive power. At first, four trains were run each way daily, connecting with the stage lines to South Jersey points. In 1848, the concern was re-chartered as the Camden and Woodbury Railroad and the road was partly reconstructed, but the new company conducted the business for but a short time, when it fell into the hands of Amos Campbell, who again installed horses on the line. About 1850 the road was abandoned and the rails taken up.

The Camden and Atlantic Railroad was organized in March, 1852, as the result of years of agitation on the part of Dr. Jonathan Pitney and Samuel Richards, the assent of the Legislature having been obtained, as one member put it, only "because a proposed railroad with but one end would never be built." At that time Atlantic City had a resident population of but ten or fifteen families and was merely a collection of sand dunes, while there was no town of any size along the entire route. But at the organization meeting, held at the Arch Street Hotel, Philadelphia, ten thousand shares of stock were taken within a few hours by thirty-eight persons.

The members of the first board of directors were largely interested in land, or in the few industries located along the route. Thomas H. Richards owned the Jackson Glass Works, near Hammonton; Joseph Porter was engaged in the same line at Waterford, William Coffin and Andrew K. Hay made glass at Winslow; General Enoch Doughty was a large land owner and lumberman, Dr. Pitney was a practicing physician at Absecon and owned land near Elwood, then called "Sailor Boy"; William V. Fleming held 30,000 acres at Atsion, and Stephen Colwell owned extensive tracts in Atlantic County and operated a forge at Weymouth.

The construction of the railroad was begun on September 7, 1852, and by August, 1853, the rails had been laid to Haddonfield and trains were regularly operated to that point. After surmounting many unlooked for difficulties, the project was finally completed and the first train ran through to Atlantic City on July 1, 1854. In Camden, the tracks began at a point south of the present Cooper's Point Ferry and ran into Main Street near its junction with Vine Street; thence along Main Street to about Sixth, there beginning a curve which crossed Market and Federal streets between Ninth and Tenth, and the Haddonfield road at Line Street. There was a platform station at Market Street called "Tenth Street Station," or "Camden and Atlantic Crossing," and another at Haddon Avenue called "Starr's Crossing." For its use of public highways the railroad was obligated to widen and pave Main Street to a width of one hundred and six feet and to pay the city sixty dollars annually for the use of the street.

In 1862 the Camden and Atlantic Railroad, in connection with the Raritan and Delaware Bay Railroad, opened a route between New York and Philadelphia via Winslow Junction. The immediate purpose was to expedite military transportation, but the ultimate object was to break the monopoly enjoyed by the Camden and Amboy, under its charter, in the freight and passenger business between the two cities. The "old company," however, was influential enough not only to have the new line declared unlawful, but to prevent Congress from designating it a "post road." Thus confined to an unremunerative field, the Raritan and Delaware Bay Company went on the rocks, and was eventually reorganized as the New Jersey Southern Railroad Company. Had the project been realized, Camden would have gained considerable importance as a railroad center.

The agitation for a railroad southward to Cape May was begun during

the latter part of 1851 and was favored by a severe winter which virtually cut off the farmer from his markets in the larger communities. Throughout the succeeding spring, meetings were held in various parts of South Jersey, followed by a convention at Elwell's Hotel, Camden, in May, and a mass meeting at the Camden County Court House on November 16. As a result, the Legislature, on February 5, 1853, chartered the West Jersey Railroad Company, authorized to construct a railroad from Camden to Bridgeton. Commodore R. F. Stockton was the principal individual stockholder and through his influence the Camden and Amboy furnished the larger part of the necessary funds. The work of construction began in June, 1855, and the road was opened for travel as far as Woodbury on April 15, 1857, and to Glassboro in April, 1861. Between Glassboro and Millville the line was built under a separate charter by the Millville and Glassboro Railroad Company and opened on April 1, 1861, while the last link was completed by the Cape May and Millville Railroad Company in August, 1864.

Though through trains were run between Camden and Cape May, each company maintained its separate organization—the West Jersey Railroad, however, held a large stock and bond interest in all of them. Combination into one operating unit was soon found to be desirable, and in 1868 and 1869 this was accomplished, either by merger or lease, the Salem and the Swedesboro Railroads being added at the same time. All these lines were included in the lease of the United Railroads of New Jersey to the Pennsylvania Railroad in 1871, since the former owned over eighty per cent. of the stock of the West Jersey Railroad. On May 2, 1896, the West Jersey Railroad and its subsidiaries were taken over by the West Jersey and Seashore Railroad Company.

The Camden, Gloucester, and Mount Ephraim Railroad, nicknamed the "Peanut Line," was built as far as Gloucester in 1873, and completed to Mt. Ephraim in 1878. The Camden terminus was at the foot of Ferry Street, running thence along Ferry Street to Front, to Atlantic Avenue, to Third Street, continuing southward along that thoroughfare. These street rights were granted only after a lively contest in City Council, and the ordinance was then coupled with another granting similar rights to the Manchester and Camden Railroad Company, providing for the joint use of tracks between the ferry and Third and Atlantic avenues. The leading spirit of the enterprise was David S. Brown, the owner of extensive cotton mills at Gloucester. Indeed, the road has always been purely a local one, deriving its principal business from the industries in and about Gloucester, and serving a portion of lower Camden County as yet untouched by electric lines. Originally a narrow gauge road, it was changed to standard gauge soon after its purchase by the Reading Railroad Company in 1884.

Heavy travel to Atlantic City over the Camden and Atlantic Railroad during the centennial year convinced many that another line would prove profitable, especially if built as a narrow gauge, thereby cutting the initial cost materially. The project was vigorously pushed by Edward V. Massey, a wealthy Philadelphia brewer, Samuel Richards, and Charles R. Colwell, and work on the Philadelphia and Atlantic City Railroad Company, chartered on March 26, 1876, was begun in April of the following year. Within ninety days the road was ready for a trial trip, made on July 7, though the public opening did not take place until July 25th. So great was the crowd on this occasion that two sections were necessary. When near Tansboro, one of the cars jumped the track, killing one man and injuring a number of others,

creating a distrust of "the Narrow Gauge" in the popular mind, from which it never recovered. After a prolonged receivership, the road was sold, on September 20, 1883, under foreclosure proceedings and finally came under the control of the Reading interests. By the latter it was changed to standard gauge in 1884, and double-tracked in 1890.

By the terms of its agreement with the Camden City Council, this road was obligated to maintain a ferry at the foot of Bulson Street, where its trackage originally terminated. But when the Reading secured control of the Mt. Ephraim road, with its right of way to Kaighn's Point Ferry, the Bulson Street Ferry was abandoned for passenger transportation. Now, with the erection of the new terminal at Mechanic Street, the pendulum swings again to the south. It is interesting to note that the freight depot at Bulson Street was originally the Finance Building at the Centennial Exposition, while the original depot in Atlantic City also came from that great fair. On March 26, 1889, the various lines in South Jersey operated by the Reading Railway were merged under the name Atlantic City Railroad, a consolidation to which several other subsidiaries were added on May 24, 1901.

Several other railroad projects, having a Camden terminus, failed to materialize. The earliest of these was the "Mount Holly and Camden Railroad," which had its inception at a public meeting held in Mount Holly on January 23, 1836. Failing to interest the Camden and Amboy in the proposal, a separate charter was secured and subscription books opened at Joseph Kirkbride's inn at Cooper's Ferry, at John West's hotel in Moorestown, and at Stacy B. Campion's hotel in Mt. Holly. Notwithstanding extraordinary efforts, the necessary capital was not forthcoming, and the project was abandoned.

A like fate met the Camden and Egg Harbor Company, chartered on March 10, 1836, to construct a line to Tuckerton by way of Quaker Bridge and Wading River, as well as the South Camden Railroad Company, incorporated in 1853 by citizens closely affiliated with the South Camden Ferry Company, which contemplated a road eight miles long and to "the nearest point where land may be advantageously purchased on which earth in large quantities can be obtained for filling wharves and low ground."

Another attempt to break the monopoly of the Camden and Amboy on traffic between New York and Philadelphia was the purpose of the Manchester & Camden and the Medford & Camden Railroad companies chartered in 1868, John Torrey, a large land owner in Ocean County, being the prime mover. Extensive shops and terminal facilities were constructed at Manchester (now Lakehurst) with a view to the development of the surrounding land, and heavy loans upon this real estate were secured through Brown Brothers & Company. General J. S. Schultz, as the agent of this house, was president of both railroads and of the Manchester Land Company. Starting from a connection with the Raritan & Delaware Bay Railroad at Manchester, the route was to pass through Hanover Mills, Brown's Mills, New Lisbon, Vincentown, Medford, Marlton, and Ellisburg. In Camden the first survey crossed the city at about Line or Pine Street, with a depot near the present property of the American Dredging Company. As finally adopted, however, the route ran south of, and parallel to, Atlantic Avenue, to the Kaighn's Point Ferry. With the filing of maps in 1873, the stranglehold of the Camden & Amboy seemed about to be broken, but the failure of property owners along the route to give it adequate support and the financial stringency following the Jay Cooke panic nipped the promise in the bud.

Street Railways—The earliest street railway charter in Camden County was that granted to the Camden and Haddonfield Passenger Railroad Company on March 4, 1859, contemplating the use of Market and Federal streets as part of a route to Haddonfield. The projectors of this road were Richard Fetters, William Coffin, William M. Collins, William Folwell, Samuel Andrews, Genge Browning, Josiah B. Evans, Joseph B. Tatem, Jesse E. Payton, Samuel S. Willits, and Edward Bettle.

The next project was much more comprehensive, including facilities which it actually took more than twenty years to attain. Besides connecting the points named in its title, the Camden, Moorestown, Hainesport, and Mt. Holly Horse Railroad Company, chartered on March 15, 1859, was empowered to lay tracks from Cooper's Creek to the foot of Federal Street, with branch lines on Market Street, Kaighn Avenue, Newton Avenue, and from the foot of State Street to the State Street bridge over Cooper's Creek, which had been built two years before. After the stock was subscribed for this enterprise, differences arose and it took several elections before a board of directors acceptable to all interests was secured. The first officers were: Barclay Haines, president; Samuel Allen, secretary, and P. V. Coppuck, treasurer. Nothing was done with the franchise, but eventually the railroad was built in connection with the Camden & Amboy, using its tracks to reach the ferry.

To supply transit facilities for the section between Fourth Street and the Delaware, and from Cooper's Point to Kaighn's Point, the North and South Camden Passenger Railroad Company was chartered in 1859. Lapsing into inactivity, it was revived seven years later, but again failed to materialize.

What proved to be an actual beginning of the present system came out of the Camden Horse Railroad Company, chartered on March 23, 1866, with A. W. Markley, James M. Scovel, John Hood, Jesse Smith, Abraham Nash, A. B. Frazee, Isaac Nicholson, William S. Scull, William Brice, John S. Read, and Henry Fredericks as incorporators. Subscription books were opened on July 24, 1867, but after perfecting its organization at a meeting of the stockholders on August 18th, the company went to slumber, save for a series of surveys upon which to base a remunerative route. In September, 1871, a temporary office was opened in the Democrat Building, Federal Street, below Front, and subsequently moved to No. 1125 Newton Avenue. Finally, on October 16, 1871, Thomas A. Wilson began to lay the tracks on Federal Street, from the ferry to Fifth Street, down Fifth to Newton Avenue, and along the latter street to its intersection with Fourth Street at Kaighn's Point Avenue, where the car barn and stables were to be located. A one-horse "dinky"—one of the three small cars that comprised the original equipment—was operated over a portion of this line on Saturday, November 25, 1871.

In September of the following year, the company began the extension on Kaighn's Point Avenue, from Fourth to Second streets, and thence north to Federal Street. The further extension to Kaighn's Point Ferry was made in 1877.

The car line on Market Street, as far as Tenth Street (Camden and Atlantic Crossing) was opened on February 26, 1872, and in the following April extended to Twelfth and Federal streets (Camden and Amboy Crossing).

In 1872, on North Second Street, tracks were laid as far as State Street, and later were continued to the Shakamaxon Street Ferry at Cooper's Point.

Five years later the line from Federal Street Ferry, via Federal Street, Second, Stevens, Broadway, Clinton and Sixth streets, to Walnut was built.

On February 3, 1889, the old Camden Horse Railroad Company was sold to a syndicate composed of William S. Scull, E. A. Armstrong, Alexander G. Cattell, William J. Sewell, Edward C. Knight, Joseph E. Roberts, E. N. Cohn, G. Genge Browning, Benjamin C. Reeve and F. Wayland Ayer. Improvements and extensions were at once undertaken, the new company being one of the first in the country to adopt electricity as its motive power. City Council, by ordinance of September 26, 1889, authorized the erection of poles and stringing of wires along Market and Federal streets east of Tenth to Twenty-sixth Street (then called Wrightsville), and the first electrically propelled cars were operated over this route in the succeeding June. The line was extended by a single track to Centre Street, Merchantville, on September 26, 1892, and to Moorestown in June, 1904.

With the organization of the West Jersey Traction Company in May, 1893, a bitter trolley fight was precipitated. The new company proposed to lay tracks to Burlington, Moorestown, Haddonfield, and Mt. Ephraim, as yet unserved by street railways—a program which enlisted the support of both city and suburbs. Battles in the courts, at the polls and between rival gangs of workmen in the streets ensued. Trolley lines were projected in all directions in the scramble for franchises covering as many streets as possible, bringing an expansion of transit facilities that otherwise would not have been gained for a number of years. Peace was restored when the Camden and Suburban Railway Company, organized April 8, 1896, absorbed both the old companies. This concern was taken over by the South Jersey Gas, Electric and Traction Company on May 2, 1904, and the lease assigned to the Public Service Corporation on September 30, 1907.

The only other trolley system in Camden was the Camden, Gloucester, and Woodbury Railroad Company, primarily organized to serve Gloucester. On June 16, 1893, it was granted permission to lay tracks on Broadway from the Atlantic City Railroad tracks to Newton Creek, the purpose being to use the tracks of the Camden Horse Railroad northward to Kaighn's Point Ferry. Service as far as Fancy Hill (Newbold) was inaugurated on September 4, 1893, and in May, 1894, the line was completed to Woodbury. This road passed into the control of the Public Service Corporation in August, 1900.

Before the advent of the street railways, the transit needs of Camden were supplied by bus or coach lines, the earliest of a regular character being that of James Elwell, from Federal Street to South Camden, started in 1850 but soon abandoned. In 1866 the West Jersey Ferry Company provided two large omnibuses to carry passengers from the ferry to any part of the city for ten cents, a service which lasted about a year.

Even after the coming of horse cars, the service was not all that the public demanded. This led to the establishment of bus competition—a situation which had its parallel in more recent years. In 1876 the Citizen's Coach Company was organized to run between the Federal Street and Kaighn's Point ferries, via Federal Street, Broadway and Kaighn Avenue, but after the street cars began to use Broadway it soon passed out of the field. Another service of this sort was that established by Captain Emmor D. French to assist in the development of the "Folwell Tract," east of Cooper's Creek. For that purpose he set up the Camden Transfer Line, running from the West Jersey Ferry to the junction of the Burlington and Moorestown turnpikes (now Westfield Avenue and Federal Street), but after the completion of the trolley line to Twenty-sixth Street, this line too was abandoned.

CHAPTER III. CAMDEN CITY.

Selection and Laying Out of Town Site—Jacob Cooper, a merchant of Philadelphia and a direct descendant of William Cooper, the pioneer, was the earliest to realize the possibilities of the location opposite Philadelphia as a town site, and on April 3, 1764, obtained from his father, William, a tract of one hundred acres lying between the lands of his nephews, Daniel and William Cooper. Shortly afterwards it was divided into lots, the advantages of which were thus quaintly stated in an advertisement in the "Pennsylvania Chronicle":

"A soil fitted for gardening, and the raising of earlier fruits than Pennsylvania affords"; "the conveniency of being near the city of Philadelphia for distilleries, breweries, lumber yards, stores and other offices"; "the diversion of fishing and fowling" and "the added pleasure of sailing on the water in summer."

In another newspaper prospectus the tract was pictured as a suitable place for another ferry and the prediction was ventured that it might in a few years "be disposed of in lots, to great advantage, in erecting a TOWN, as it will suit many persons to reside there and carry on different occupations, as in Philadelphia."

But no purchaser in bulk appeared, and, in 1773, Jacob Cooper went ahead with the project, laying out in small town lots the forty acres bounded by the present Cooper Street on the north, Sixth Street on the east, a line midway between Market and Arch streets on the south, and the Delaware on the west. The original plan called for two streets extending from the river and six running parallel with it. To this village of twelve blocks, or squares, he gave the name of Camden, in honor of Charles Pratt, Earl of Camden and Lord Chief Justice of England, who about this time was using every exertion in behalf of the American Colonies.

The six streets running north and south were named King, Queen, Whitehall, Cherry, Cedar, and Pine—changed by ordinance of City Council in 1832 to Front, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth—intersected at right angles by Cooper and Market streets. At Market and Whitehall (Third) streets, a square plot of ground was reserved for public use, presumably for a market house, but it was never used for that purpose and later became a part of the public highway, and as such still remains. In 1776, another plot, at what is now the northwest corner of Fifth and Arch streets, was dedicated to public use and, after being used in part as a burial ground and in part a school house site, is at present occupied by the fire and police departments.

But the founder's interest in the new town soon waned, for after disposing of one hundred and twenty-three out of the one hundred and sixty-seven lots plotted, he sold, in 1781, the remainder of the tract to his nephew, William Cooper, son of his brother Daniel.

The purchasers of the lots were chiefly Philadelphians and in most instances the new owners did not intend and never did reside in the new town. There were, however, among these purchasers many men who afterwards obtained prominence in the struggle for independence. The names of those who first obtained title to the lots in the town of Camden were as follows:

King Street (Front Street), west side.

Lot No. 1	Lyon and Flaconer.	Lot No. 5	Isaac Coates.
2	Robert Parrish.	6	Thomas Mifflin.
3	Andrew Forsyth.	8	Barzilla Lippincott.
4	Robert Parrish.	7	Alexander Todd and James Hartley.

King Street (Front Street), east side.

Lot No. 9	Lyon and Falconer.	Lot No. 18	Samuel Miles.
10	Lyon and Falconer.	19	Thomas Mifflin.
11	William Moulder.	20	Nicholas Hicks.
12	Samuel Noble.	21	Isaac Coates.
13	Samuel Noble.	22	Israel Cassal and John Davis.
14	Samuel Noble.	23	Allan Cathcart and Henry Casdrope.
15	William Wayne.	24	Isaac Mickle, Jr.
16	James Ash.	25	Isaac Mickle, Jr.
17	David Dominick.		

Cooper Street (south side).

Lot No. 26	William Adamson(Adams).	Lot No. 75	John Brown.
27	Vincent M. Pelosi.	76	Joseph Brown.
28	Nicholas Hicks.	77	George Napper.
29	John Shoemaker.	78	Samuel Powell.
42	James Cooper.	79	Thomas Lewis.
43	Samuel Robbins.	80	_____
44	Joseph Budd.	102	Benjamin Horner.
45	James Channell.	103	Benjamin Horner.
46	John Porter.	104	_____
47	John Kearsley.	105	_____
48	Andrew Burkhard.	106	_____
49	John Fenton.	107	_____
73	George Bartram.	108	Edward Gibbs.
74	Moses Bartram.	109	Edward Gibbs.

Market Street (north side).

Lot No. 30	Vincent M. Pelosi.	Lot No. 83	Samuel Powell.
31	Christopher Perkins.	84	George Napper.
32	Vincent M. Pelosi.	85	Joseph Brown.
33	William Adamson(Adams).	86	John Brown.
50	William Rush.	87	John Wessell.
51	William Rush.	88	William C. Brown.
52	Benjamin Town.	110	Samuel Hopkins.
53	John Porter.	111	Samuel Hopkins.
54	John Kearsley.	112	Samuel Hopkins.
55	John Shoemaker.	113	_____
56	John Kearsley.	114	_____
57	_____	115	_____
81	William Ridgen.	116	Martin Fisher.
82	William Ridgen.	117	Martin Fisher.

Market Street (south side).

Lot No. 34	Samuel Noble.	Lot No. 91	John Eldridge.
35	Aquilla Jones.	92	James Reeves.
36	Aquilla Jones.	93	John Hartzell.
37	Samuel Bryan.	94	John Hartzell.
58	Moses Bartram.	95	John Hartzell.
59	George Bartram.	96	John Hartzell.
60	Barzilla Lippincott.	118	_____
61	James Cooper.	119	_____
62	James Cooper.	120	Richard Townsend.
63	John Eldridge.	121	John Eldridge.
64	Samuel Miles.	122	Mathias Gilbert.
65	James Coffee.	123	_____
89	_____	124	_____
90	_____	125	_____

Queen Street (Second Street), west side.

Lot No. 38	_____	Lot No. 40	Adam Crispin.
39	Jacob Schroeder.	41	Adam Crispin.

Queen Street (Second Street), east side.

Lot. No. 67	_____	Lot No. 69	_____
68	John Beedle.	70	_____

Whitehall Street (Third Street), west side.

Lot No. 66	_____	Lot No. 72	_____
71	John Beedle.		

		Whitehall Street (Third Street), east side.	
Lot No. 98	_____		Lot No. 100 _____
	99	_____	
		Cherry Street (Fourth Street), west side.	
Lot No. 97	John Hartzell.		Lot No. 101 John Hartzell.
		Cherry Street (Fourth Street), east side.	
Lot No. 126	John Hartzell.		
		Cedar Street (Fifth Street), west side.	
Lot No. 127	Reserved for public uses with Charles Lyon, Na- thaniel Falconer, Wil-		liam Moulder and Nich- olas Hicks as trustees.
		Pine Street (Sixth Street), west side.	
Lot No. 157	_____		Lot No. 158 Conveyed to trustees for public school.

The next addition to the townsite of Camden came in 1803, when Joshua Cooper, another son of Daniel, laid out in lots the adjoining tracts to the south, extending to the north side of Federal Street, between Front and Fifth streets, in some deeds called Cooper's Villa. Further expansion, again to the south, came in 1820, when Edward Sharp, who had purchased a large tract of land from Joshua Cooper, laid out a block of lots between the south side of Federal Street and an alley one hundred and fifty feet south of Bridge Avenue and extending from high water mark nearly to the present Fifth Street. Among the first purchasers in this section, called "Camden Village," were several men afterwards noted in the annals of the community, including Samuel Laning, the first mayor; John D. Wessel, owner of the Federal Street Ferry; Reuben Ludlam, the first city treasurer; Daniel Ireland, William Butler, Samuel Smith, moderator of numerous township and city meetings; Isaac Sims, James Read, David Sims, and Dorcas Sims.

Bridge Avenue, it may incidentally be noted, received its name by reason of the fact that it was the Camden approach of the first project advanced to span the Delaware in the vicinity of Philadelphia. According to the plans of the Pennsylvania & New Jersey Communication Company, chartered in 1819, Windmill Island was to be connected with the Camden shore by a low and many arched bridge. Once on the island, passengers were to be conveyed to a point opposite Southwark, whence a short ferriage of several hundred feet landed them in Philadelphia. Public support was lacking, however, and nothing more was heard of a bridge until 1843, when a model suspension bridge, exhibited at the Franklin Institute Fair, excited passing interest. Twenty-four years later there was another flurry of interest in the Speakman Bridge, with its curiously contrived draw-span. Not until 1912, when David H. Wright, of Riverton, began a persistent agitation for what he termed the William Penn Memorial Bridge and shortly afterwards exhibited an elaborate plan devised Joseph M. Huston, architect of the Pennsylvania State Capitol, did the project take actual root, resulting in the creation of the interstate bridge commission under whom the great work is now going forward.

To return to the physical development of Camden, no other surveys were filed—save for the lots laid out at Kaighn's Point in 1812—until 1835, when Richard Fetters sub-divided and offered for sale a tract running from Line to Cherry Street, and from Front to Fourth, which soon received the name of "Fettersville." About this time, too, the Camden & Amboy Railroad, which had bought up considerable stretches of marshland south of Bridge Avenue, began filling it up with earth brought from Baldwin's Cut in the East Side, but little of it was sold to prospective builders.

Prior to 1842, no lots could be purchased north of Cooper Street, save in the immediate vicinity of Cooper's Point Ferry. The reason for this was that, under the then existing laws, farm lands were not taxable for city purposes, an exemption which ceased as soon as the land was divided into building lots. Until the failure of the Bank of the United States, in which Richard M. Cooper was heavily interested, the return from the farm lands provided all the revenue desired, without exposing unsold lots to burdensome taxes.

Original Names—Local names designating various sections now within the city limits formerly abounded. Few of them had any legal or official significance, but had their origin in some family ownership, or physical characteristic associated with the place. Originally, localities were designated from the adjacent ferry. Thus after the establishment of the ferry at Federal Street, the section south of Cooper Street became known as "Daniel Cooper's Ferry" to distinguish it from "Samuel Cooper's Ferry," the popular name for Cooper's Point. At a later time the two sections were known as "Lower Billy's Ferry" and "Upper Billy's Ferry," but gradually Camden and Cooper's Point came into use.

The settlement in the vicinity of Kaighn's Point became known as Kaighnsborough or Kaighnton as early as 1801, obviously from the family which had large holdings in the vicinity. By 1828 the names Kaighnton and Cooper's Point had become so well rooted in the public mind that the Legislature specifically provided for their representation in the new City Council.

"Dogwoodtown," in the neighborhood of Tenth and Federal streets, received its name from the profusion of dogwood trees thereabouts. "Ham Shore" and "Pinchtown" were small collections of fishermen's shacks on the Delaware, between Bridge Avenue and Spruce streets. "Cooper Hill," in the vicinity of Broadway and Berkeley Street, was part of the old "Cooper Woodlands." In this section, too, was "Nanny's Woods," so named from the fact that an old colored woman lived in a cabin on the edge of the woods, near what is now West and Washington streets. Stockton, Centreville, Kaighnville or the Town of Stockton, Liberty Park and "Sweet Potato Hill" were other designations given to localities in the lower section of the city.

The territory embraced within what is now the Eleventh and Twelfth Wards had so many names that it is now bewildering to follow them. There was Wrightsville, named from John Wright; Boothmanville, south and west of Marlton Pike and Federal Street, laid out by Thomas Boothman in 1871; Cramer Hill, North Cramer Hill and Cramer Heights, which were developed by Alfred Cramer; Pavonia, laid out in 1852 by the Pavonia Land Company; Fairview, so named from the beautiful view of the Delaware which it afforded; Dudley and Dudley Homestead, bordering the home of Thomas H. Dudley, active in early Camden politics and vice-consul at Liverpool during the Civil War; North and South Spicerville, named after one of the earliest settlers along Cooper's Creek; the French Tract, developed by Emmor D. French about 1876; Rosedale, Bailytown, East Camden, Deep Cut, The Hollow and the Bottom denoted other particular sections. Of these the Cramer Hills, Pavonia, Wrightsville, Rosedale, and Dudley are still in common usage, though in 1894 they came under a common government as the Town of Stockton, not to be confused with that section in South Camden which before its absorption into Camden was called Stockton.

City Charter Granted—Agitation for an effective form of local govern-

ment was begun in 1826, chiefly as a result of a desire for better police protection from the lawless elements which streamed across the ferries on Sundays to carouse in the several beer gardens on this side of the river. At a meeting held at the hotel of Ebenezer Toole on November 13, 1826, a memorial and form of charter for the city was adopted, but no action seems to have been taken on this petition by the Legislature of 1827. Not to be rebuffed, the application was renewed in the following year and resulted in the creation of the city of Camden out of a portion of the township of Newton, its bounds being (1) "a small run of water (Little Newton creek, or Line Ditch) below Kaighnton, which run is between the lands of the late Isaac Mickle, deceased, and Joseph Kaighn"; (2) "the road leading to Woodbury from the Camden Academy" (Broadway); (3) "the road from Kaighnton to Cooper's Creek Bridge" (Newton Avenue); (4) "the road leading to the bridge over Cooper's Creek" (Federal Street); (5) Cooper's Creek and (6) the Delaware River.

Under this charter the city, which at the time of its incorporation had a population of but 1,143, was subservient to the old township of Newton, and this dual control led to constant strife between the Township Committee and the City Council. The act provided for a mayor, a recorder, four aldermen, and five councilmen—constituting the "body politic and corporate" under the style of "The Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the city of Camden"—and a town clerk. Of the councilmen, one was to be elected to represent "the village commonly called William Cooper's Ferry and one shall always be a resident of Kaighnton," the same provision also applying to the aldermen. The mayor presided at council meetings, and in his absence the recorder, both having votes on all questions, though they were not given the veto power.

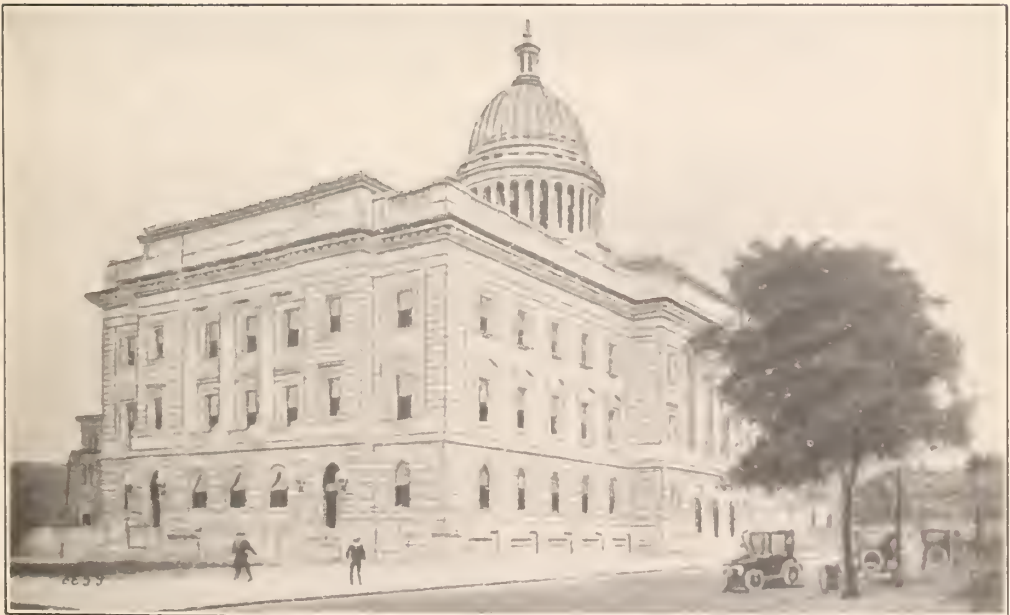
This charter, dated February 13, 1828, and an amendment passed fifteen days later increasing the number of aldermen, gave the people but little direct voice in their government. While it provided for the popular election of the councilmen, the five aldermen and recorder were appointed by the Legislature, and while the mayor was elected by the Council, the choice was restricted to one among the aldermanic body. Perhaps this accounted for the lack of public interest, as evidenced at the first election, held in the Camden Academy on March 10th, when less than fifty votes were cast. The successful candidates were: Councilmen—James Duer, Cooper's Ferry; John Lawrence, Ebenezer Toole, and Richard Fetters, Camden; Joseph Kaighn, Kaighn's Point; Assessor, Jacob P. Stone; Collector, Paul C. Laning; Town Clerk, Samuel Ellis.

The first meeting of the City Council was held on March 13th at the hotel kept by John M. Johnson on the site of the old Vauxhall Gardens, west side of Fourth Street below Market Street, and the three councilmen who attended—Messrs. Fetters, Lawrence and Toole—selected Samuel Laning as the first mayor. According to tradition, it took Fetters and Lawrence the greater part of the preceding night to induce Toole to attend, though he had been one of the petitioners for the charter. Joseph Kaighn failed to put in an appearance and afterwards resigned. Duer, the village shoemaker, having refused to serve, William Ridgeway was elected in 1829 to represent Cooper's Point, but never attended the meetings, nor did Joseph W. Cooper, elected in 1830, nor Charles Stokes, chosen in 1831. In 1832, however, Joseph W. Cooper was again elected and then consented to serve.

The second meeting of the City Council, on March 20th, was held in a



SECOND CITY HALL, CAMDEN



PRESENT COURT HOUSE, CAMDEN

second story room of a frame house owned by Richard Fetters on the east side of Third Street, just below Market, which was subsequently rented for twelve dollars a year. One of the first actions taken at this meeting was the licensing of the several ferrymen, the fee being fixed at twenty-five dollars. Reuben Ludlam was then elected treasurer, his salary being fixed as "two and one half per cent. of all monies receivable by him from taxes and loans, and five per cent. on all monies arising from the ordinary receipts of the corporation." His compensation for the first year reached \$87.50—due to the issuance of a loan of \$2,500 to build the first city hall. This was considered entirely too much, and the percentage was cut to one per cent. on all monies received. Under this scale, Isaac Smith, the second city treasurer, received only \$6.75 for a year's work.

Camden's first City Hall, erected on the south side of Federal Street between Fourth and Fifth, the site now occupied by the Public Service Building, was authorized by the ordinance of June 18, 1828. Originally it was a stone building about twenty by forty feet, two stories and an attic in height. The lower floor was to be used as a lock-up, and the upper floor, reached by an outside stairway on the Federal Street front, as a council chamber and court room. The attic served as a jury room and was also rented out for various purposes.

Under the act creating Camden County it was provided that the city hall and jail of the city of Camden should be used as a county court house and prison until other quarters could be erected by the county authorities. The first courts of the county, accordingly, were held there on March 26, 1844, Justice J. M. White presiding in place of Justice Elmer, named by the Supreme Court but detained at Woodbury. Judges Isaac Cole, Nathan M. Lippincott, S. B. Hunt, J. B. Sickler, and J. G. Clark, comprised the first Common Pleas bench of the county, the first named being selected as Presiding Judge.

In 1862 a one-story building was added to each end of the City Hall, one side being the office of the mayor and the other that of the city clerk. Another addition was made to the building in 1871 to provide rooms for the city treasurer and receiver of taxes. City Council, during this period, seems to have met whenever and wherever its fancy dictated, and at various times held its sessions at Toole's Hotel, at Vauxhall Garden, at Toy's Hotel, at Alderman Smith's house, at the "Baptist Meeting House," and in later days at either Paul's, Clement's or Cake's Hotel.

The agitation which culminated in the erection of the present City Hall had its origin prior to 1868, in which year a committee appointed to select a new location reported in favor of rebuilding on the old site. No action was taken, however, and the matter dragged along until 1871, when Jesse W. Starr came forward with an offer to donate four and one-half acres of land at the junction of Haddon Avenue and the West Jersey Railroad, upon the express condition that a City Hall should be erected thereon and the unoccupied portion be laid out as a public park. On July 2, 1874, Mr. Starr also gave the city the land upon which the Soldiers' Monument now stands, upon the same conditions. These restrictions were extinguished in 1883, upon payment to the donor of \$10,813.19, leaving the city free to use the property as it sees fit, though there has as yet been no change in its status. Begun in 1874, the new City Hall was so far completed by January 27, 1876, that the first meeting of the City Council was then held within its walls.

At this time, the city, which on its incorporation numbered but little

more than one thousand souls, contained a population of not less than thirty-five thousand, and the changes in its governmental structure were no less striking. At the outset, though a municipality with a mayor, recorder, alderman and council, its powers were very much circumscribed. It was still under the jurisdiction of Newton Township, and so continued until 1832, when the legislative act creating the township of Camden went into effect. There was very little for the city authorities to do save grant tavern licenses, over which they had "the sole, only and exclusive right and power," and to pass ordinances for the protection of life and property and the abatement of nuisances. The City Council was specifically debarred from levying taxes on lands used for "the purposes of husbandry" or on any farm buildings thereon—a provision not contained in any other municipal charter in the State.

Functioning under such limitations, it is not strange that the majority of ordinances during the first twenty years of the city's existence related principally to the control and supervision of hogs, dogs, horses, and goats, which had a penchant for roaming at large through the streets and over private property. Like their modern successors, however, the early city fathers did not overlook their authority to create public offices, among which were a city treasurer, poundkeeper, street commissioners, city surveyors, board of health, and city solicitor.

Though several changes had been made in the original charter by 1842, the Legislature had relinquished none of the control over the local governing body which it exercised through the appointment of the aldermen from among whom the mayor was chosen. The demand for more home rule, arising out of this condition, culminated in a town meeting held in the City Hall on December 28, 1842, presided over by Richard Feters, at which a strong set of resolutions was adopted. A year of persistent agitation sufficed to bring the remedy, for by the act of March 9, 1844, the Legislature not only provided for the election of a mayor by a town meeting, but gave the City Council the exclusive authority to grade, curb, and pave the streets and to compel property owners to pave the sidewalks—a power previously lodged with the township authorities, who gave but little attention to the work. As a result, pavements existed in name only. Some owners laid down planks or flagging; occasionally a progressive citizen would put down a fine brick walk, while his neighbors might refuse to make any improvement whatever. Curbs were unknown, and where the line between the highway and the pavement was marked at all, it was by a row of posts.

The city fathers lost little time in exercising the newly granted power, for within little more than a month they provided by ordinance that the sidewalks on the south side of Cooper Street, along Market, Arch, and Federal streets, as well as on the cross streets between Cooper and Federal and from Front to the west side of Sixth Street should be put in first-class order immediately.

The first mayor of Camden to be elected directly by the people "in the town meeting assembled" was John K. Cowperthwaite, who had been active in public affairs since the incorporation of the city, and whose one-year term began in 1844.

By the supplement of 1848, the city was divided into three wards, the North Ward embracing all the territory north of Arch and Federal streets, the Middle Ward extending thence to Line Street, and the South Ward taking in the remainder of the city. Each ward was to elect two councilmen—the

number of aldermen and their manner of appointment remaining unchanged—and the influence of the city in the affairs of the county was strengthened by the provision that each ward was entitled to representation in the Board of Chosen Freeholders.

Under the "Dudley Charter"—On March 5, 1850, the Legislature passed the so-called "Dudley Charter," which greatly increased the powers of the City Council, particularly as regards the raising of taxes for local and school purposes; various other modifications were made in the next twenty years.

Under the "Dudley Charter" the number of officeholders was greatly augmented, each ward being entitled, in addition to its two councilmen, to a set of subordinate officials, including an assessor, ward clerk, a judge of elections, three commissioners of appeals, a constable, and an overseer of the poor. City Council now consisted of the mayor, six aldermen and six councilmen, of which the mayor, or in his absence one of the aldermen, should be the presiding officer. This provision was amended by the act of February 21, 1851, which provided that each ward should elect six councilmen, and the council was empowered to select one of its number as president.

One of the first results of the enlarged taxing power of the City Council was the creation of the "Lamp or Watch District" of the city of Camden, comprising the entire built-up section. As all the territory outside of this district was farm land, its limits give an idea of the extent of the urban area of Camden in 1850. Beginning at the foot of Cooper Street, it ran easterly to Sixth Street, thence to Federal, to Broadway, to Kaighn Avenue, to Front, to Mechanic, to the Delaware River.

At the same meeting, July 6, 1850, the council adopted its first ordinance fixing the amount of taxes to be raised for the general expenditures of the city. This modest budget is well worth a glance today, when the constant assumption of new functions has resulted in staggering municipal expenditures the country over.

From the city in general \$8,600 was to be collected—\$2,000 for the support of the common schools; \$6,000 for contingent expenses, and \$600 toward supporting the volunteer fire department. Persons residing within the Watch District were assessed a further sum of \$1,000, of which \$600 was charged to police protection and \$400 to the water supply. In addition, residents within the Watch District in each of the wards were assessed \$2,000 for the maintenance and improvement of the streets, or a total of \$6,000 for the North, Middle and South Wards. The entire expense of running the city for the year 1850-51 was, therefore, \$15,600.

By the supplement of 1857, the mayor and aldermen were eliminated as members of the City Council and the latter body was made to consist of six councilmen from each of the three wards, two being elected each year for three-year terms. Council was given the authority to survey and map out the city and to provide that all new streets should conform to this survey; to regulate the erection of buildings and prescribe their character. In default of such jurisdiction up to this time, houses had been built haphazardly, in a line, or at an angle with adjacent structures, and each sidewalk had a grade of its own.

Several minor changes in the governmental structure were made at intervals in the sixties, but a big upheaval came in 1871, the acts of February 14th and March 7th, besides extinguishing the ancient township of Newton, setting up eight wards and giving the City Council power to create others, provided that not more than two new wards were erected in any five-year period.

The city limits now extended north and west to Newton Creek and its North Branch, Mount Ephraim Turnpike, the Stockton and Newton Turnpike Road (Ferry Avenue) and an extension of the same in a straight line to Cooper's Creek.

Numerous changes as regards the election of city officials were also made. The Council, too, was to consist of twenty-four members, to which number, on account of a deadlock, another was added in the following year. Three councilmen continued to be allotted to each ward until 1893, when, by act of the Legislature, their representation was cut to two. As to the wards themselves, the original eight established in 1871 have been swelled to fourteen—four created by the City Council and two by the Legislature. Of these, the Ninth Ward was set off from the Fourth in 1888, and its boundaries changed in 1900; the Tenth Ward was formed in 1899 from that part of the Second Ward east of Fourth Street and north of Pearl Street; the Thirteenth Ward was created by dividing the Seventh in 1913; while the Fourteenth Ward was, in 1919, erected out of Yorkship Village or Fairview, at first appended to the Eighth Ward, when, during the World War, the ground on which it stood was ceded to Camden by Haddon Township, unable to finance the extensions of municipal service necessary to the proper functioning of this government war village. The town of Stockton was annexed to Camden in 1899 by Legislative act and divided into two wards, the present Eleventh and Twelfth.

Well adapted as this governmental structure, topped by a mayor possessing but little real executive authority, might have been for a community of 20,000 souls, it had obvious shortcomings when applied to a modern city six times that size. General recognition of that fact led to the adoption of the Commission Form of Government at a special referendum on March 6, 1923—though it had been rejected at its previous submission, July 1, 1913—and five weeks later the first commissioners, one to administer each of the five administrative departments into which the municipal government is divided, were elected at the polls.

Two other incidents in the latter-day political history of Camden are worthy of passing mention. On October 15, 1915, Woman Suffrage was overwhelmingly defeated in a lively referendum, and the same fate met a test of the Local Option sentiment made in 1918.

Mayors of the city of Camden under the several charters were: Samuel Laning, 1828-30; Gideon V. Stivers, 1830-38; Elias Kaighn, 1838-40; Lorenzo F. Fisler, 1840-44; John K. Cowperthwaite, 1844-45; ¹Charles Kaighn, 1845-46; Thomas B. Wood, 1846-48; Benjamin A. Hamell, 1848-49; Charles Sexton, 1849-51; Lorenzo F. Fisler, 1851-52; Charles D. Hine, 1852-53; Lorenzo F. Fisler, 1853-55; Samuel Scull, 1855-56; James W. Shroff, 1856-57; Benjamin A. Hamell, 1857-58; Clayton Trueax, 1858-60; Thomas B. Atkinson, 1860-62; Paul C. Budd, 1862-63; Timothy Middleton, 1863-64; Paul C. Budd, 1864-67; Charles Cox, 1867-71; Samuel M. Gaul, 1871-74; John H. Jones, 1874-76; John Morgan, 1876-77; James W. Ayers, 1877-80; Claudius W. Bradshaw, 1880-86; Jesse W. Pratt, 1886-92; John L. Westcott, 1892-98; ²Cooper B. Hatch, 1898-1902; Joseph E. Nowrey, 1902-05; Charles H. Ellis, 1905-22; Frank S. Van Hart, Acting, 1922-23; ³Victor King, 1923-1923.

¹ Richard W. Howell had been elected by the people, but refused to serve, and Charles Kaighn was elected by City Council.

² The Election Act of February 28, 1901, extended the Mayor's term from March, 1901, to January 1, 1902.

³ The Mayor elected by the people was succeeded by a Mayor elected by the City Commissioners on April 17, 1923.



SECOND COURT HOUSE, CAMDEN



COOPER FREE LIBRARY, CAMDEN

Commissioners, who were elected for terms of four years on April 10, 1923, and assumed control of the city government on April 17, 1923, were: Victor King, Mayor; Frank G. Hitchner, Director of Public Safety; Melbourne F. Middleton, Jr., Director of Finance; H. Raymond Staley, Director of Public Property; and Carroll P. Sherwood, Director of Public Works.

Water Supply—Shortly after the incorporation of the city of Camden there arose a demand for improvement over the primitive method of going to the river bank for all the water needed in the household and on the farm. At a council meeting in November, 1829, the question of water supply came up and it was decided "That Samuel Laning and Isaac Wilkins, Esqs., be appointed to make arrangements with such persons as may think proper to sink wells and put in pumps on the public streets." The only evidence in the early minutes of Council that any progress was made by this committee is to be found in the bills which were presented from time to time for a portion of the cost of such wells. At a meeting on January 30, 1830, it was ordered that the city should pay twenty dollars towards the cost of the pump placed in front of Jacob S. Colling's house on the north side of Federal Street between Third and Fourth streets, by Stivers & Chattin, who conducted the business of well digging and pump making. At the same time the treasurer was authorized to pay George Genge eleven dollars and seventy-seven cents, "being part pay of the expense of putting in a pump and well on Market street, before his house."

We find mention of wells being dug by Joseph Kaighn on "Market street," above Second Street in Kaighnton; on Fourth Street below Cherry, called the Merrihew pump; on Mickle Street above Second Street, on land of John W. Mickle; on Third Street, near Plum; in front of the City Hall on the south side of Federal Street, between Fourth and Fifth; and at Front and Market streets, towards the cost of which the city also contributed. As late as December, 1844, Charles Kaighn was paid one-third of the cost of digging and walling up a well on Mechanic Street. This plan of providing a municipal water supply answered very well when there were only a few widely scattered houses in the city, but after several disastrous fires had occurred, and the several sections were more closely built up, the inadequacy of the system became apparent and an agitation was started for a better service.

The first official action taken by the city authorities towards remedying existing conditions was the appointment of a committee of City Council on April 25, 1844, to wait upon Mr. Drydale, of Burlington, and examine his water works in that city, and report to the next stated meeting of Council the result of their investigation and their opinion on the propriety of granting Mr. Drydale permission to erect water works in the city of Camden, for the supply of the citizens and city with water. The Drydale plant at Burlington was at that time looked upon as one of the best for small municipalities. The committee's report was very favorable to the plant itself, but recommended that the city build its own water works, the entire cost, including piping, being estimated at twenty thousand dollars. A town meeting was subsequently held and the inhabitants of Camden voted against "the erection of a water works under any regulations." Whether this action was inspired by those who had in mind eventually securing a private franchise for supplying water is hard to say accurately at this late date, although it was so construed by some people at the time. Council now took the matter into its own hands and prepared the draft of a law, to be submitted to the Legislature, permitting municipalities through their legislative branches to grant an ex-

clusive franchise to any individual or corporation to supply the city and its inhabitants with pure water, and to convey to such parties any lands deemed necessary upon which to erect suitable buildings. Pending the consideration of this bill, a number of citizens, realizing that it would be a profitable venture, formed a company to pipe water through the city streets.

The Camden Water Works Company was incorporated April 2, 1845, and authorized "to supply the City of Camden with pure water under such terms, regulations, and conditions as City Council shall, by ordinance, ordain and establish." The incorporators were Isaac Cole, Benjamin W. Cooper, Charles Kaighn, Henry Allen, William Folwell, Nathan Davis, Benjamin T. Davis, John W. Mickle, and James Elwell. A public notice appeared in the newspapers announcing that the commissioners, Isaac Cole, B. W. Cooper and Henry Allen, would receive subscriptions to the stock of the new company at the Railroad Hotel on May 1, 1845. Its first officers were Isaac Cole, president; Henry Allen, treasurer, and William Folwell, secretary. The company became familiarly known as the "Henry Allen Co.," since Allen was the principal stockholder and its active spirit. The office of the old water company was for many years at the northeast corner of Second and Market streets.

The company attempted to secure from City Council the use of the foot of Market Street as a site for the water works building, but an energetic protest was at once raised by abutting property owners, headed by the Brownings, against "any such encroachment on their legal and equitable rights; not only as owners of the property on both sides of the street opposite which it is proposed to erect said building, but also as owners of other property on that, and other streets of the said city." The result was that the water company was compelled to look elsewhere for a place upon which to erect its plant. A lot, thirty by ninety feet, on the south side of Cooper Street west of Front Street, now occupied by a portion of the older building of the Esterbrook Pen Works, was then purchased by the company from William D. Cooper, for four hundred dollars.

The original plan consisted of a three-story brick building, thirty by forty-eight feet with a large tank on top. By means of a steam engine, water from an adjoining dock on the Delaware River was pumped to the tank, and then distributed to the mains by gravity. The original service pipes were of wood. The use of wooden pipes, however, was soon discontinued, and iron pipe from Jesse Richard's furnace at Batsto was used. The supply of water was turned into the mains on November 1, 1846, although the pumping engine and piping, except for the fire plugs, were completed and ready for service thirty days before that time. The ordinance granting authority to use the streets originally provided that the Water Company should lay, on or before April 24, 1847, ten thousand feet of service pipes, upon the following streets: Cooper, Market, Plum, and Federal; and Second, Third and Fourth streets, between Federal and Cooper streets. The restriction as to the streets upon which these pipes were to be laid was subsequently repealed. The water rates for a private dwelling were based upon its yearly rental value and varied from four to six dollars per "spigot, or cock." The schedule of prices for the use of water furnished by the company for other purposes was as follows:

Hotels and ferries	\$ 20.00
Supplying locomotives	150.00
Public baths, boarding houses and hotel baths	6.00
Private baths	3.00
Livery or private stables, per stall	1.00
Stables at hotels for country use, per stall50

The Delaware River was not only the source of the water supply for Camden, but it also received all the sewage from the city and adjacent territory. This was not a serious condition in the early days, but as the population of the city almost trebled between 1840 and 1850, and the amount of sewage increased in the same ratio, the situation became alarming. After much agitation, a new source, or location, for the water supply was demanded by the citizens and finally conceded by the water company.

A site at Pavonia, then far removed from the populous section, was selected and the second plant of the Camden Water Company built during 1854. Upon its completion, the old building at the foot of Cooper Street was rented to Boyer and Brother and converted into a factory for the manufacture of agricultural implements. In 1858 this plant was entirely destroyed by fire.

The Pavonia water plant was operated by the Water Company until taken over by the city of Camden, on April 28, 1870, under an act of the Legislature, approved March 14, 1870, wherein the city was authorized to purchase "all their property, real and personal, with its appurtenances, for the sum not exceeding \$200,000, and to issue bonds for the purchase price, such bonds to be secured by a mortgage on the property so conveyed."

In 1893, the water supplied from the Pavonia plant also became polluted and a general agitation was again started to secure another source of supply. After many suggestions, on April 2, 1896, bids were opened for the construction of a plant to furnish twenty million gallons daily, supplied by artesian wells. The contract was awarded to George Pfeiffer, Jr., on June 24, 1896, for the sum of \$600,000. Considerable trouble, due to the wording of the contract, as to time limit and the actual capacity of the plant constructed under the specifications, ensued, and the city finally seized the works in the spring of 1899, since which time the entire supply has been obtained from these wells. Water from the artesian wells had, however, been turned into the mains in November, 1897, but the Pavonia plant was also kept in working order, until the seizure of the new plant as above noted.

From the Morris Station Pumping Plant, the water supply is led to the distribution system of the city by two mains, one thirty-six inches in diameter reduced to thirty inches at Twenty-seventh Street and crossing under Cooper River at Federal Street, the other, thirty inches in diameter and passing under Cooper River at State Street.

Owing to the continually decreasing pressure in 1907, the Board of Trade urged upon the city officials an investigation as to its cause. As a result, three experts, W. H. Boardman, Jay M. Whitman, and J. W. Ledoux, were selected and their report of May 27, 1907, recommended new strainers, introduction of water meters, a storage reservoir at Bethel, and the development of the air field above Morris pumping station. The first recommendation was at once put into effect, the second one to a limited extent, but, in place of the third recommendation, the city bought a tract of land at Delair below Morris station, and fifteen test wells were driven thereon. While these test wells indicated that a large additional supply of water could be obtained in the field, nothing further was done in the matter until May, 1915, when Council actually ordered an enlargement of the water supply. New wells were driven, a pumping station erected, and the Delair field connected up entirely separate from the main station at Morris. This plant gives an additional supply of about five million gallons and is operated by two five million gallon pumps operated by electric motors.

While the pumping plant of the Camden Water Works was located at

the foot of what is now called Twenty-fifth Street, no service connections were made to any of the houses east of Cooper's Creek. As Pavonia, North Cramer Hill, Fairview, East Camden, and the other settlements which went to make up the present Eleventh and Twelfth wards became more thickly populated, the need of a public water supply became a much desired improvement. Each of these settlements, with its independent local government, was too small to support a municipally-owned water plant and eagerly granted a franchise to the Stockton Water Company, a privately owned enterprise, which was incorporated in 1892, to supply water for domestic, manufacturing and fire purposes. The source of supply is artesian wells and the work on the plant had progressed so far that by September, 1892, water was turned into the mains supplying the East Side.

Public Markets and Parks—After several years of fruitless agitation, a special Town Meeting held in the City Hall on March 11, 1837, voted, on motion of Richard Fetters, that "the city council be authorized to construct in Market Street, at the intersection of Third Street, a Market House containing eight stalls of sufficient size; and that the cost thereof be paid out of the present funds of the city." Subsequently Richard Fetters, Robert W. Ogden, and John W. Mickle, were appointed a committee "to superintend the building of a Market House in Third street on the south side of the line of Market street" to be roofed with shingles. Why the building was not erected at the intersection of the two streets, as contemplated by the Town Meeting—particularly since the original town plot of Joshua Cooper had provided a space at this point for such a purpose—is not known.

On its completion the rental charge for each of the eight stalls was fixed at two dollars and fifty cents per annum, which was increased to three dollars in 1843, when a charge of six and one-quarter cents a day was imposed on transient peddlers. Within a short time, however, its unsanitary condition became a chronic source of complaints, and in 1851 the City Council ordered a public sale of the structure. No satisfactory bid being received, that action was reconsidered, and, despite minor repairs from time to time, it continued an eyesore to those living in the vicinity until, following a storm of protests, it was ordered torn down about 1871.

From the fact that an agitation for a new market was started in 1853, it is evident that the old market had even then ceased to fulfill its functions. In consequence of the discussion, John S. Read and Ralph Lee proposed to erect a suitable building at the northwest corner of Third and Federal streets as a private enterprise, but though granted authority to extend the roof of the contemplated structure over the sidewalks of Plum, Federal and Third streets, the project never materialized.

Early in 1856, a petition was presented to Council asking that the old Market House on Third Street be extended to Federal Street. At the May meeting the Public Property Committee was instructed to look into the need for additional market facilities and the probable cost of a new building. This committee shortly brought in a report advising the building of a market house in the center of Third Street, between Plum and Federal streets, to cost \$1,700. Its construction was immediately undertaken and it was completed in the fall. Known as the Washington Market, it continued in use until 1876, when Council refused further funds for its maintenance.

The second city market was succeeded by numerous private enterprises, the first being the Farmers' and Butchers' Market, extending from Mickle to Bridge avenues on the west side of West Street. A one-story brick build-

ing, one hundred and fifty by one hundred and seventy-five feet, it was patterned after similar structures then in vogue in Philadelphia, with a high-arched roof, and narrow windows reaching almost to the edge of the roof. It contained three hundred and forty-six stalls, which rented at from twenty-five to forty dollars, and twenty-four cellars for which the annual rent was one hundred dollars. The location, however, was soon found to be a poor one for the purpose, and after two years the building was converted into the Camden Opera House. In 1883 the building was acquired by the Sixth Regiment, National Guard of New Jersey, and used by them until the completion of the armory on Haddon Avenue in 1897. Passing into the hands of a subsidiary of the Pennsylvania Railroad, it was partially destroyed by fire on March 16, 1906.

The next market house was erected by William S. Scull and John S. Read on the old City Hall lot on the south side of Federal Street, between Fourth and Fifth. Built in 1878, it was in constant use until entirely destroyed by fire on Sunday, March 13, 1900, in a conflagration which consumed many dwellings on Taylor Avenue and threatened to wipe out the entire district eastward to Broadway before being checked with the aid of six engine companies from Philadelphia.

The Lincoln Market, at the southeast corner of Third and Market streets, was erected by Christy and Ransenberger in 1878. It was a three-story brick building, whose upper floors were occupied by a public hall and lodge rooms. Occupied at one time by the Young Men's Christian Association, it became known as Association Hall, but was subsequently purchased by the West Jersey Title and Trust Company and fitted up as an office and bank building.

With the disappearance of these structures, Camden was without facilities for direct dealing with the farmers, and as a step toward supplying this need, City Council adopted, on September 12, 1912, an ordinance providing for a public curb market on the triangular plot at West, Mickle, and Fifth streets. The elevation of the tracks of the West Jersey and Seashore had changed the entire topography of the neighborhood and the open space created by the tearing down of a number of dwellings in these streets in 1894, furnished an excellent site for the project. This was the first true curb market in the city. Market days were fixed as Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, and in order to promote systematic regulation in favor of bonafide farmers, the privilege was made subject to a permit, for which a nominal charge was made. After several seasons the public interest in this market declined and finally it died a natural death. A proposal to establish both a wholesale commission and retail market for farm produce in the abandoned Kaighn's Point ferry terminal is now engaging attention.

Need of parks and open-air breathing spots did not become apparent in Camden until about 1888, although that contingency had been foreseen by Jesse W. Starr some years before and inspired his offer of a plot of eleven and a half acres, south and east of City Hall and bounded by Haddon Avenue, Newton Avenue, and the West Jersey tracks, to the municipal authorities for \$50,000. City Council, however, rejected the proposal, and it was not until the year mentioned that the subject became a live one through the efforts of a committee of prominent citizens, who felt that the city was building up so rapidly, that provision for the future should be made. After an exhaustive study, this committee recommended the purchase of a plot of ground on Cooper's Creek, known as the Red Hill tract, for park purposes, but the recommendations of the committee were rejected by City Council.

This rebuff, however, only served to strengthen the determination of some of the far-seeing citizens to secure the adoption of a park system for Camden. In November, 1895, the first step was taken in the purchase from the Cooper estate, for seventy-five thousand dollars, of the square bounded by Cooper, Second, Penn, and Front streets. At that time there stood on the plot the old Cooper mansion, built by Richard M. Cooper, a brick stable, and a house at the corner of Front and Cooper streets. The two latter buildings were torn down and the main structure turned over for use as a free library, which in turn gave way to the splendid library building constructed through the generosity of Mr. Eldridge R. Johnson.

Almost a decade passed before the next advance, with the purchase of eighty acres of woodland, meadow and glade, part of the Red Hill tract, to which the eyes of the original park boosters had been attracted sixteen years before. To this park, which cost the city a thousand dollars an acre, a price which caused not a little comment at the time, the name Forest Hill was given. Attractively laid out with walks, trees, shrubbery, and artificial lakes, it now forms a delightful pleasure ground. In its midst stands the beautiful Camden High School, and at one end is a monument to Columbus, presented to the city on October 12, 1915, by the Italo-Americans of Camden.

In 1914, the city acquired the tract of land on the south side of Kaighn Avenue opposite Forest Hill Park, including the Isaac Cooper House, and converted it into an athletic field. The house is one of the oldest in this vicinity, one portion having been erected by Joseph and Mary Cooper in 1726 and the other part by Marmaduke and Mary Cooper in 1788. Recently this building has been leased to the Camden County Historical Society and, after being restored to its original condition, as nearly as possible, will be occupied by a public and historical museum in addition to housing the library of the society.

North Camden next began an active campaign for the acquisition of a tract ideally located for park purposes on high lands overlooking the Delaware between North Sixth and Eighth streets. The persistence of the residents of the district finally led City Council, not yet ready to purchase the ground, to make arrangements with the owners for its use by the public in consideration of the remission of municipal taxes. That status was maintained until 1913, when the purchase of the plot, consisting of nearly twenty-one acres, was consummated and the name Pyne Point, a designation antedating the founding of Philadelphia, officially given it.

The next major park extension came in 1923 with the purchase of Dudley Grange and an adjacent tract, comprising in all twenty-two acres lying between Westfield Avenue and Federal Street, east of Thirtieth Street, for which slightly more than \$140,000 was paid. This estate took its name from the Hon. Thomas H. Dudley, who purchased it in 1872, and built thereon the mansion in which, during the next twenty years, he entertained many notables, including President Grant and his family. Mr. Dudley, (1819-1893), was successively clerk, treasurer, and solicitor of the city of Camden; as a delegate-at-large to the Chicago Convention of 1860 he was the master hand in the maneuver which prevented the nomination of Seward, and insured that of Lincoln, and during the Civil War, as United States Consul at Liverpool, the hotbed of Confederate sympathizers in England, rendered services of enormous value to the Union cause.

Of the smaller plots, Whitman Park at Louis and Everett streets, was acquired by the city in 1896 with the intention of establishing there a booster



MASONIC TEMPLE, CAMDEN



ELKS' HOME AND Y. M. C. A., CAMDEN

station for the water distributing system. East, or Reservoir Park, at Twenty-seventh Street and Hayes Avenue, occupies the site of the reservoir erected by the Camden Water Works Company in connection with its pumping station at Pavonia. The one and a half acre plot at Second and Beckett streets was acquired in 1913; in the following year the recreation center at the southwest corner of Third and Kaighn avenue was purchased, and in 1915, in exchange for the site in Forest Hill Park on which the Camden High School was erected, the Board of Education transferred to the city the ground included within Armory Park on Haddon Avenue.

Fresh impetus toward a City Beautiful has been inspired by the coming of the Delaware River Bridge, actual work on which started in Camden on July 29, 1922, and the dedication of which is planned for July 4, 1926. To co-ordinate nebulous proposals of highway improvement and park expansion looking toward future growth, the City Commission in 1923 engaged the services of Charles W. Leavitt, city planning expert. In his report, submitted early in 1924, a comprehensive system of boulevards and parkways, interconnecting with the Bridge Plaza was outlined, together with the creation of a Civic Center on the site of the old Camden Iron Works, a forty-five acre plot fronting on Cooper Creek and lying north of Pine Street and east of Newton Avenue, destined to be the geographical center of the city.

This tract, the acquisition of which is in prospect, is visioned not only as the site for a new City Hall and other public and semi-public buildings, but, connected with Forest Hill Park, as the starting point for the Cooper Creek valley park project, bordering both banks of the stream to the city limits and beyond as far as Haddonfield. Competent landscape architects have pointed out that Camden and the nearby suburban communities have an opportunity of developing here a marginal pleasure ground second only to the celebrated Wissahickon in natural beauty, and appreciation of that fact is growing so steadily that the boroughs and townships involved have joined hands in securing preliminary plans and an estimate of probable cost.

Fire Companies—The first volunteer fire company in Camden dates back to March 15, 1810, when the Perseverance Fire Company, No. 1, was organized by some of the most influential and respectable citizens of the town. The engine, a second-hand one from the shop of the celebrated "Pat" Lyon, of Philadelphia, was first kept in a stone barn on Second Street, above Market; later in the yard adjoining the State Bank; and finally in the building at No. 46 South Third Street, later occupied by the City Dispensary, and now a part of the West Jersey Trust Company site. On March 15, 1832, the company was chartered for twenty years by the Legislature, with Nathan Davis, Gideon V. Stivers, Jeremiah H. Sloan, John Lawrence, Samuel D. Wessell, Isaac Cole, Leddon Davis, John Browning, Richard R. Howell, Joab Scull, Auley McCalla, Dr. Thomas Law, and Robert H. Ogden as incorporators. When the original charter expired, in 1852, it was granted another for a like period. The company was known as "the Silk Stockings," their uniform consisting of white capes, dark trousers and the usual glazed hat.

At this time, and long afterward, the method of combatting fires was to place the primitive engine as close to the burning structure as possible; the tank of the engine was kept filled with a bucket line extending to the nearest pump, well, or water course, and the resulting stream directed at the flames through a long pipe. The citizens put up with this crude system until the burning of the Vansciver carriage factory on Front Street, below Market, in 1834, demonstrated the need for more efficient facilities. After consider-

able agitation it was voted, at a town meeting held on December 14, 1834, to obtain eight hundred dollars for new equipment, either by borrowing, or by a tax levy. The money was borrowed from the State Bank upon pledge of the city's property and was apportioned to three districts, with dividing lines at Cooper Street, Line Street and Line Ditch, in proportion to their assessed valuation. But when City Council, at a subsequent town meeting, asked authority from the "town meeting" to levy an assessment to pay off the debt, it was refused, and the city fathers then returned the unexpended balance of the loan to the State Bank. For the four hundred dollars which had already been spent, the city secured five hundred feet of hose, the first in Camden, and one hose cart.

The year 1830 had seen the coming of the second volunteer fire company, originally known as "Fairmount," because its engine had been formerly the property of the Fairmount Fire Company, of Philadelphia. An offshoot of the Perseverance Company, it had its headquarters in a frame building which stood on land belonging to Ebenezer Toole at the corner of Third and Plum (Arch) streets until 1845. Toole having given notice to have the building removed, the City Council sold it and erected a new one on the lot adjoining the old City Hall, on Federal Street, east of Fourth. Three years later the name of the company was changed to Weccacoe Fire Company of Camden. After several unsuccessful attempts, its house was burned down on February 17, 1854, probably by an incendiary affiliated with a rival organization, for the era of rowdyism which brought the volunteer system into disrepute was then at its height. In 1856 a two-story house was erected on Plum Street above Fifth, to which, in 1868, a third story was added. The Weccacoe was the most active organization in the city. Red capped and caped, its engine mounting two boys dressed in Indian costume and followed by two savage looking Indian chiefs, the company was a feature of every firemen's parade. As a result of dissension in its ranks, there came into being, on March 15, 1858, Weccacoe Hose and Steam Fire Engine Company, No. 2, which was originally located on Bridge Avenue, below Broadway, then on Front Street above Plum, and finally at 503 Benson Street.

In the meantime several other companies had entered the field. The Mohawk Fire Company, instituted in 1847 as a hose company, and two years later becoming an engine company, was located on Pine Street, below Third. A lawless element soon obtained control; numerous incendiary fires were charged against its members, and in 1851 the City Council ordered it to disband, its engine being turned over to the New Jersey Fire Company, organized by some old members who had not forfeited public confidence. At first the "masheen" was kept in an old stable near Broadway and Spruce Street and later in a building on Walnut Street, above Fourth, until the company built headquarters of its own at 416 Chestnut Street.

Another offshoot of the Mohawks was the Independence Fire Company, No. 3, instituted April 3, 1851. The house of the company, on Cherry Street above Third, was destroyed by fire in November, 1852, and replaced in the following year by a one-story structure, covered with mastic in imitation of sandstone. By a supplement to the original charter of 1854, its name was changed to Independence Steam Fire Engine Company, No. 1, in January, 1866, at which time headquarters were maintained at No. 409 Pine Street. The latter property was purchased by the city in 1869 and is still used for fire purposes, though the old structure gave way to a more modern one in 1892. The engine was likewise acquired by the city in 1873 and was in active service until a few years ago.

Shiffler Hose Company, No. 1—so named because its first carriage was bought from the famous Shiffler Hose Company of Philadelphia—was organized on March 7, 1849, with John R. Thompson as president and George F. Ross as secretary. Fifteen years later, with the acquisition of new equipment, it became the Shiffler Hose Steam Fire Engine Company, No. 1, of Camden, but continued at its old location, No. 1014 South Front Street.

The last of the old volunteer organizations, the Fairmount Fire Company of Camden, was established on July 4, 1851, but after a brief existence the City Council became dissatisfied with its conduct and management and instructed the Fire Committee to take charge of the apparatus. Reorganized as the United States Fire Company, No. 5, on February 10, 1854, it was granted the use of the Fairmount engine. The company was located at No. 239 Pine Street.

The rapid expansion of facilities in the early fifties was principally brought about by a policy of municipal subventions. In 1852, for example, the city appropriated one hundred and fifty dollars, payable quarterly, to each company, the money to be used in keeping their apparatus in repair. These grants were, in 1866, increased to four hundred dollars for companies having steamers, and two hundred dollars for all others. With increasing numbers, however, the character of the membership gradually declined. The companies, originally composed of citizens actuated by a desire to render a real service to the community, became vehicles of personal and political ambition, and civic spirit gave way to unrestrained rivalries which bred rowdyism and lawlessness. Many a false alarm was sounded to bring out the companies, who, finding no use for their services, spent their energies in free-for-all fights, and acts of incendiarism were equally frequent. A tolerant public finally could stand it no longer; after the close of the Civil War a determined effort was inaugurated to make fire-fighting a municipal service, and, after a struggle of four years, the volunteers passed out of existence.

The paid Fire Department was established by the ordinance of September 2, 1869, which named Rudolphus Bingham, Jonathan Kirkbride, Samuel G. Harbert and Richard Parks as fire commissioners. The apparatus, which was installed on December 7th, consisted of two Amoskeag engines, two hose carts, and one hook-and-ladder truck, and was allocated to two districts, one with headquarters to be erected at the northwest corner of Fifth and Plum (Arch) streets, and the other housed in the old quarters of the Independence Fire Company at No. 409 Pine Street. The South Camden or First District was placed in charge of C. J. Mines as assistant marshal; the North Camden section under the supervision of William Shearman; general control of the department, subject to the fire commissioners, being exercised with William Abels, as chief marshal. The remainder of the original personnel comprised two engineers, three drivers, two stokers, one tillerman, and thirty extra men.

At the beginning of 1923 the equipment consisted of eighteen engine companies, four hook and ladder companies, and one hose and chemical company, all motor driven, and manned by more than two hundred men.

The fire fighting force of the town of Stockton was under the direction of the Town Council, the chief of the department being selected at an annual town convention to which each of the companies sent five delegates. The name of the candidate so selected was forwarded to the Town Council for its approval. The chief was authorized to appoint an assistant from each of the fire companies. These elections were the occasions for bitter rivalry,

although all differences were buried when the companies responded to an alarm of fire.

The "William Penn Hook and Ladder Company No. 1" was organized on March 15, 1885, at which time the population of the town of Stockton was less than 3,500. The officers and organizers were: Charles P. Clymer, president; William F. Peatt, vice-president; George Barnett, secretary; Joseph Maloy, treasurer; Benjamin R. Tapper and John Bowers, trustees; and Howard Smith, William German, Robert Johnson, Robert Smith, Samuel Williams, George Yates, Alexander Dick, George Amon, Charles L. Pallin, W. T. Dailey, and Frank A. Buren, members. The company was incorporated on June 21, 1889.

The first headquarters of this company were in the frame building under the wooden bridge which spanned the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks at Twenty-seventh Street. From here the headquarters were moved to Twenty-ninth and Howell streets (then called Second and Penn streets) where they remained until 1896, having, however, been enlarged in 1890 to make room for additional apparatus. The dwelling house at Twenty-seventh Street and Saunders Avenue (then called Cooper Avenue and Thompson Street) was purchased and re-modeled in 1896. The building has been occupied by the William Penn Company ever since. The first piece of apparatus was a hook and ladder truck, to which was subsequently added an engine and hose cart.

The "Citizens' Fire Company" was organized in 1890 and incorporated January 19, 1891, with the following officers: Frank Hartman, president; Ferdinand Sell, vice-president; G. Carlin, secretary; Isaac Stone, treasurer; Robert Law, George Doerfuss, William M. Petzelt, and George W. Goodwin, trustees. The headquarters were located at Cooper Avenue (now Twenty-seventh Street) and Cleveland Avenue. While this company went out of commission on January 1, 1900, in anticipation of the paid firemen going on duty, it has maintained its organization and still holds monthly meetings at Citizens' Hall, Twenty-seventh Street and Cleveland Avenue.

The Pavonia Hose Company was organized September 9, 1892, and at once established headquarters at River Avenue and Cambridge Avenue. Its equipment consisted of a hose cart and one thousand feet of hose. At the time the organization went out of active commission its officers were: William Keaser, president; Paul Caiss, vice-president; John Lorekin, recording secretary; George Foehl, treasurer; John Phannenstein, Jacob Switzer, and William Keaser, trustees; Albert Switzer, foreman.

"The Stockton Hose and Steam Fire Engine Company No. 2" was incorporated December 14, 1892, by David Austermuhl, Jr., George J. Swope, E. F. McMenimen, and John Renner.

Its original headquarters were in an old blacksmith shop at No. 2407 Federal Street which was altered to suit the needs of the company. In 1897 the building was removed and a modern structure erected on the site. The officers in 1900 were as follows: William H. Mershon, president; Martin J. Ryan, vice-president; Ruben H. Plum, recording secretary; Samuel T. Wentz, financial secretary; Josiah Jones, treasurer; Elmer K. Steven, foreman.

"The Rosedale Fire Company, No. 4," was the last volunteer company to be organized. At a meeting held in Argosy Hall in 1894, the Rosedale Fire Brigade was formed, the active spirits being John A. Coleman and Thomas Leas. The company was incorporated under the above title on April 28, 1896, by Edwin S. Matlack, Simons Watkins, Wm. A. Radcliffe, Alfred Taylor, Herman H. Rose, Christian S. Stark, Frederick W. Schorber,

George Keefe, Benjamin S. Hewitt, Daniel Rich, Loring Sparks, Jesse Milby, and Joseph H. P. Johnson.

The first fire house was built at Twenty-sixth Street and Rosedale Avenue and opened January 18, 1895. In the spring of 1896, the company bought a lot at Thirty-fifth and Federal streets and moved its building to the new location. In the spring of 1898 additional ground was purchased and a new building erected at a cost of twelve hundred dollars. At that time it was proposed to increase the equipment through the purchase of a combination auto fire wagon. As all of this territory was shortly afterwards annexed to Camden the plan to purchase additional apparatus was abandoned. For two years, the second story of this building was used by the Board of Education as a kindergarten room. The officers of the Rosedale Company were: Joseph H. K. Johnson, president; Charles B. Coe, recording secretary; Everet G. Hutcheson, financial secretary; Loring Sparks, treasurer; Jesse B. Milby, assistant chief; and Frederick W. Schorber, foreman.

All of these companies officially went out of active commission at midnight February 28, 1900. At that time the East Side Company of the Camden Fire Department went on duty in the new fire house on Twenty-seventh Street, between Westfield Avenue and Federal Street.

CHAPTER IV.

CAMDEN CITY—BANKING.

For a period of one hundred and thirty years after the first settlers had located in this section of New Jersey, the inhabitants were without banking facilities. Nor was any such need felt by the sparse population. Early in the nineteenth century, however, the hamlet at Cooper's Ferries had become the center of a considerable travel; farmers from the adjacent countryside, oyster traders from the coast and bay, and charcoal men from the interior all passed through on their way to the Philadelphia market, and the desirability of some place within the State where they might deposit their funds became apparent. The success of the banks at Newark and Trenton, too, attracted attention, and it was thus that a number of prominent men in old Gloucester joined in the movement which resulted in the passage of the "State Bank Act" by the Legislature of 1812.

The State Bank of Camden (now merged into the First National State Bank), established under this act, was incorporated on February 3, 1812, for twenty years, with subsequent extensions for like periods in 1829 and 1849. Originally the capital was fixed at \$800,000, divided into sixteen thousand shares of a par value of fifty dollars. The commissioners named by the Legislature to secure stock subscriptions were Joseph Cooper, John Couleter, Azel Pierson, Joseph Rogers, and Joseph Sloan, while the act designated William Rossell, Henry Chew, Richard W. Cooper, Thomas Jones, Jr., James Matlack, Jacob Glover, Joseph McIlvain, Robert Newell, Samuel C. Champion, Maurice Wurtz, Norman Coulter, James Sloan, John Moore, John Rogers, and Thomas Wright as the first board of directors.

As was customary at the time, the State reserved the right to subscribe to half of the capital stock, not only to share in the large profits anticipated, but to exercise a voice in the management so as to check policies contrary to public interest. This privilege was subsequently repealed, but as regards the State Bank of Camden it was transferred to Judge John Moore White and associates by the Federalists, who then controlled the Legislature, with

the obvious purpose of preventing the Democrats, who seemed likely to gain power, from reaping any possible advantage in dealing with the State's subscription rights.

Only one-half of the stock offered for sale by the commissioners found takers, and the balance—\$200,000—was taken by the bank itself and never issued. In 1822, it being found that a capital of \$600,000 was too large to be profitably employed and at the same time meet the heavy State tax on capital stock, the Legislature authorized a reduction to \$300,000 and further, in 1838, to \$260,000, at which figure it stood until 1912.

Immediately upon the completion of alterations to the old Peter Farrow house, at the northwest corner of Market and Queen (now Second) streets, which had been purchased for \$3,000, the bank was ready for business, opening on June 16, 1812, and its success from the start is evidenced by the fact that within ten months a dividend of one dollar, thirty-seven and one-half cents per share was paid. It has never yet failed to distribute profits annually, and its conservative management has enabled it to weather every panic, though it has been compelled to suspend specie payments at various times in common with banking institutions throughout the county. Indeed, its Philadelphia branch, established in Church Alley in 1813, was among the nine banks in that city to emerge from the panic of 1837 unscathed.

In 1865 the old "State Bank" received permission from the Comptroller of the Treasury to become the "National State Bank," a title and status which it has since maintained. Though numerous alterations have been made in its quarters, notably in 1875 and 1915, it has remained on the same site, save for an interval during the re-building of 1875-76, when the old "Harris house," at Second and Cooper streets, was occupied. In 1912 its capital stock was increased to \$500,000, with a surplus of like amount. Its officers since the beginning have included: Presidents—William Russell, 1812; James Sloan, 1812-13; Richard M. Cooper, 1813-42; John Gill, 1842-84; Israel W. Heullings, 1884-88; Heullings Lippincott, 1888-1918; F. Morse Archer, 1918-22. Cashiers—Richard M. Cooper, 1812-13; William Hillegas, 1813-27; Robert W. Ogden, 1827-43; Auley McCalla, 1843-56; Thomas Ackley, 1856-63; Jesse Townsend, 1863-71; Isaac C. Martindale, 1871-85; Wilbur F. Ross, 1885-1908; A. D. Armbruster, 1908-18; S. C. Kimble, 1918-22.

An abortive attempt to found another bank, styled "The Camden Savings Institution of New Jersey," was made in 1835 by Jacksonian partisans, primarily as a maneuver against State banks of issue, and in the following year another group announced its intention to apply to the Legislature for the incorporation of "a Bank, to be located in the city of Camden, with a capital of \$150,000 and authority to increase it to \$250,000." But it was not until almost twenty years later that the State Bank had a rival, in the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank, organized with a capital of \$300,000 on March 31, 1855, by Charles Kaighn, Cooper P. Browning, Albert W. Markley, Abraham Browning, Samuel Bayard, and their associates.

The lot at the southeast corner of Front and Market was purchased, and while a banking building was being erected upon it at a cost of \$18,000, temporary quarters were secured on Market Street, below Third, and opened for business on January 2, 1856. Success marked its career from the start, the first statement, dated July 7 of the same year, showing a paid-in capital of \$119,670, deposits of \$92,638.42, a circulation of \$115,980, and bills discounted to the amount of \$246,600.35.

This institution was conducted as a State bank until September 1, 1864,

when it was taken over by the First National Bank of Camden, which had been organized in the previous April with John F. Starr, Maurice Browning and James H. Stevens, of Camden; George S. Gillingham and Clayton Lippincott, of Moorestown; Jonas Livermore, of Blackwood; Nathaniel N. Stokes, of Cinnaminson; John F. Bodine, of Williamstown, and William T. McCallister, as directors. Its officers from that day to this have been: Presidents—Albert W. Markley, 1855-57; Nathaniel N. Stokes, 1857-64; Jonas Livermore, 1864-75; John F. Starr, 1875-1904; David Baird, 1904-22. Cashiers—David R. Maddock, 1855-57; Benjamin P. Sisty, 1857-58; James H. Stevens, 1858-75; C. C. Stevens, 1875-78; Watson Depuy, 1878—; H. T. Nekervis, —-1911; Isaac E. Leach, 1911-14; Charles Lafferty, 1914-22.

The merger of the two institutions, already noted, took place on July 1, 1922, using the banking house of the National State Bank as the new headquarters. The officers of the merged banks, which adopted the name First National State Bank, were F. Morse Archer, president; Charles Lafferty, vice-president and cashier; A. D. Armbruster, vice-president and trust officer; and Hon. David Baird, chairman of the board of directors. The capital was \$850,000, surplus \$750,000, and undivided profits \$100,000. Of this sum the assets of the First National Bank were put in at \$750,000, and those of the National State Bank at one million dollars.

While Camden now had two financial institutions of sterling worth, both were operated under the National Bank act and their activities were consequently rigidly circumscribed. The rapid growth of the city in the building boom of the early seventies offered a splendid opportunity for a trust company, and that need was soon filled by the organization of the Camden Insurance, Safe Deposit and Trust Company, chartered April 4, 1873, with an authorized capital of \$100,000. Business was begun on July 1, in the old "Mulford House," No. 224 Federal Street, though only \$20,000 had been paid in at that time. Insurance, however, never entered into its business, and the word was dropped from its title in the following year. It was not only the first savings institution in South Jersey, but the first to exercise the duties of executor, administrator, or trustee. Hardly had it been in operation three months, when the failure of Jay Cook & Company rocked the financial world, but despite the consequent disastrous panic, the rule requiring ten days' notice for the withdrawal of time deposits was waived and all demands promptly met, a step which proved effective in allaying fears for the safety of the institution. Like crises in later years were similarly met, and that record, no less than its remarkable growth, bears testimony as to the sagacity and integrity of the institution's directing personnel.

Its first president was Jesse W. Starr, followed in succession by James B. Dayton, Peter L. Voorhees, Wm. C. Dayton, Alexander C. Wood, Edward L. Farr, and Ephraim Tomlinson. The Mulford House was in use until October 31, 1892, when the present building was completed. The old structure was then torn down, and in 1901 the rear building of the present establishment was erected. In 1911 the capital stock was increased to \$500,000, of which \$350,000 was taken from the surplus account.

The failure, in 1884, of the Gloucester City Savings Institution, which had for several years maintained a branch on Kaighn Avenue, left the southern section of the city without banking facilities. That need, however, was soon supplied by the organization of the Camden National Bank, with a capital of \$100,000. The moving spirits in this enterprise were Zopher C. Howell, then president of the Kaighn's Point Ferry Company; Isaac C. Mar-

tindale, John Cooper, Henry B. Wilson, Howard M. Cooper, Herbert C. Felton, William B. Mulford, and Charles S. Coles. Temporary quarters were opened on August 13, 1885, at No. 259 Kaighn Avenue, with a branch at the northwest corner of Second and Walnut streets, Philadelphia.

In 1887, the three-story rough-cast house at the northwest corner of Second and Kaighn Avenue, formerly occupied by Benjamin Allen, Ebenezer Toole, the ferry master, and John Capewell, of glass works fame, was purchased, and the one-story brick banking house erected on this site was in use until May, 1906, when the present spacious structure on Broadway, near Kaighn Avenue, was completed. In almost two score years this bank has had only three presidents—Zopher C. Howell, his son Zopher L. Howell, and his grandson Francis C. Howell. Its cashiers have been: Isaac C. Martindale, 1885-93, and Elias Davis, 1893 to date (1924).

The New Jersey Safe Deposit and Trust Company was incorporated November 10, 1886, with a capital of \$200,000, by Alexander G. Cattell, Edward C. Knight, George W. Hill, Dell Noblet, George G. Green, George Hires, E. S. Hall, G. W. Dickensheets, E. Ambler Armstrong, F. Wayland Ayer, Lewis Seal, John W. Cheney, and Charles G. Garrison, with temporary offices at No. 225 Market Street from December, 1886 to November 1, 1888, when the structure at the northeast corner of Third and Market streets was completed. On December 8, 1902, the institution was merged with the Security Trust Company, although it still retains its organization on account of certain trust funds placed in its care. Alexander G. Cattell, F. Wayland Ayer, George E. Taylor, Benjamin F. Fowler, Francis R. Fithian and Joshua E. Borton have directed its affairs as president, while Edward S. Hall, J. Allen Thompson, Thomas C. Conrad and Clarence H. Polhemus have served as treasurers.

The Central Trust Company, promoted by Abraham Anderson, who became its first president, Thomas S. Nekervis, its first secretary and treasurer, and Charles Watson, one of its original directors, was authorized to do a banking business on May 8, 1891. Three days later a temporary office was opened at No. 324 Federal Street, where it remained until April 1, 1892, when larger quarters were secured at No. 323 Federal Street. These, too, were rapidly outgrown, and work was begun on a new structure at the northeast corner of Fourth and Federal streets which was occupied on October 3, 1900. Further extensions in 1919 made it one of the largest bank buildings in the city. During its brief but prosperous existence of a generation, the office of president has been filled by Abraham Anderson, Alpheus McCracken, Dr. H. H. Grace, and Fithian S. Simmons, while Thomas S. Nekervis, as secretary and treasurer, has had but one successor, John B. Clement.

Though the Security Trust Company was incorporated on March 11, 1868, it did not commence business until June 1, 1892. Its original banking room was on the first floor of the old "Association Hall" building, at the southeast corner of Third and Market streets, but after securing control of the New Jersey Safe Deposit and Trust Company, the offices were moved to the building of that company. Howard M. Cooper, Francis H. Fithian, and Joshua E. Borton have served it as president, and Clarence H. Polhemus, during the major part of its career, as treasurer.

The West Jersey Trust Company started business on April 2, 1906, in rooms formerly occupied by the Security Trust Company, the new bank using about half of the first floor, while the balance was used by the West Jersey Title and Guaranty Company, which owned the building. In October,

1920, the West Jersey Trust Company acquired a majority of the stock of the Atlantic County Title Company, which gave it a controlling interest in the West Jersey Title and Guaranty Company. The institution has had but two presidents, Norman Gray, 1906-1919, and Hon. F. F. Patterson, Jr., while Charles H. Laird has been secretary and treasurer from the beginning.

On August 12, 1907, the Broadway Trust Company began business at No. 1009 Broadway, which quarters were occupied until 1920, when the building at the northeast corner of Broadway and Walnut Street, one of the hand-somest in New Jersey, was completed. John J. Burleigh served it as president until his death on February 18, 1917, being succeeded by Anthony Kobus and Burleigh B. Draper, the latter serving as secretary and treasurer from the beginning until his elevation to the presidency. The secretary and treasurer-ship is now held by Edwin C. Norcross.

The Merchants Trust Company was organized in November, 1911, with Charles A. Reynolds as president, and E. H. Robinson as secretary and treasurer. After remodeling the Sharpless residence at the northeast corner of Broadway and Carman Street, it opened its doors on March 4, 1912, and so successful was the business that within five years the bank was compelled to seek larger quarters. The new building on the adjacent lot was begun in October, 1917, but owing to war conditions was not completed and occupied until March 24, 1919. Mr. Reynolds was succeeded as president by George A. Frey.

The Parkside Trust Company was incorporated November 6, 1917, and granted a certificate to conduct a banking business on December 31st, opening its banking house on Haddon Avenue, below Kaighn Avenue, twelve days later. The first officers are still serving the institution as follows: Alfred Sayers, president; and J. Hartley Bowen, secretary and treasurer.

The South Camden Trust Company entered the city's financial life on April 2, 1921, with offices at Broadway and Ferry Avenue. Judge Ralph W. E. Donges heads the institution with Clarence S. Haven as secretary-treasurer.

The East Side Trust Company was incorporated on June 14, 1920, with a capital of \$100,000, and a paid in surplus of \$50,000. It commenced business in temporary quarters at Twenty-seventh and Cramer streets, moving to its magnificent new building at Nos. 2616-18 Federal Street in May, 1922. The first officers were: Dr. Charles F. Hadley, president; J. Newlin Wilkins and A. R. Gemberling, vice-presidents; and Samuel O. Clemens, secretary and treasurer.

Taking over the private banking houses established by Antonio Di Paolo at Third and Pine streets, the Victory Trust Company began business on December 1, 1923, with a capital of \$150,000 and a surplus of \$50,000. The president is Antonio Di Paolo, and the secretary and treasurer, Leon H. Sullivan.

Insurance—As early as 1832 an attempt was made to found a local fire insurance company, but subscriptions came slowly in the unsettled financial condition of the country and the incorporators of the concern, known as the Camden Insurance Company, were forced to abandon the project. Fifteen years later, however, several shrewd New York promoters, taking advantage of returning business confidence, induced the surviving directors of the company to revive the old charter and complete their organization, with the understanding that they would manage the institution. Little suspecting the motives of the promoters, new capital was obtained and business begun

with Jesse Smith as president, Henry L. Buckley, secretary, and Richard Feters, Nathan Davis, Thomas W. Mulford, John W. Mickle, Isaiah Toy, Ebenezer Toole, Samuel Engle, and E. D. Jarvis as directors. In short order the company's funds were looted and its policies rendered worthless. The matter reached the attention of the State Legislature which, after ascertaining the facts, ordered the company disbanded. The property was placed in the hands of Abraham Browning, Thomas H. Dudley and Isaiah Toy, as trustees, and its affairs wound up in 1849.

Before this occurrence, however, the Camden Mutual Fire Insurance Company (now the Camden Fire Insurance Association) had been incorporated on March 12, 1841. It was started as a mutual company, without any capital and under the direction of men having no special knowledge of insurance matters. It did have back of it, however, the prestige of men prominent in the commercial and political life of the city. Fortune favored the company, in that the first three years, during which the premiums totaled but six hundred and eighteen dollars, were bridged without loss on a single risk—remarkable, considering that Camden was a "frame town" and its fire companies poorly equipped and loosely organized. The first loss, one of five hundred and twenty-five dollars in the fourth year, left but thirty-five dollars cash in the treasury, but notwithstanding the low rates and poor protection, the company had accumulated assets of \$5,131 by 1853. The risks, however, were many times that amount, a weakness recognized by the more farsighted policy holders, who brought about in that year, a change of both management and policy, and from that time the assets began to increase.

The first office was located in the drygoods store of the secretary, J. K. Cowperthwaite, at the northeast corner of Second and Federal streets, but in 1853 it followed the new secretary, Jonathan Burr, to his general store at the northeast corner of Third and Arch streets. Five years later the building at Fifth and Federal streets was erected and has housed the principal office of the company ever since.

While the title of the organization indicated that it was conducted on a mutual basis, to all intents and purposes business had been done on the stock plan—minus the capital stock. In 1870, though retaining the same corporate title, it was converted into a stock company and \$52,855 of capital stock was divided among the policy holders in the proportion their premiums bore to the assets. The word "Mutual" was finally dropped in 1881. After repeated increases in its capital stock, to take care of its rapidly expanding business, the company today is capitalized at \$1,000,000, with a surplus of like amount and total assets several times those figures.

Though the "Camden Fire" is the oldest and only existing company in its line, competition has frequently been threatened. The year 1873 was particularly prolific in the appearance of potential rivals. Subscription books of the "Citizens' Insurance Company of Camden, New Jersey" were advertised as being open at No. 112 Federal Street on January 4th; the "Trade Insurance Company," with offices at No. 103 Market Street, was organized in July, and the "New Jersey Fire, Marine and Inland Insurance Company" opened offices at No. 105 Market Street in August. These, however, all proved to be "mushrooms" similar to the "wild cat" banks of 1833-37 and soon were compelled to disband. The multiplicity of these insurance companies increased to such an extent that in 1875, the West Jersey Press advocated the publication of a monthly blue book giving the standing of all companies soliciting public patronage.



CAMDEN

Broadway and Kaighn Avenue
Battery B Armory

Christopher Columbus Statue
Broadway, Showing Broadway M. E. Church

CHAPTER V.

CAMDEN CITY—RELIGION AND EDUCATION.

The first trace of organized religious activity within the present limits of Camden is found in the minutes of the Burlington Monthly Meeting of the Seventh Month 5th, 1681, where it is "Ordered that Friends of Pyne Point have a meeting on every Fourth Day and to begin at the 2nd hour at Richard Arnold's house," which stood on the river bank, between Little Newton Creek, or Line Ditch, and the mouth of Newton Creek.

This was before the band of Quaker colonists, under the leadership of Thomas Sharp, had located their lands and erected their homes. When that was done, according to the chronicle of Thomas Sharp, "immediately there was a meeting set up and kept at the house of Mark Newbie, and in a short time it grew and increased, unto which William Cooper and family that lived at the Point resorted." The Newbie house was located on the north side of the middle branch of Newton Creek, near the present West Collingswood station. Within the walls of this primitive habitation, with an earthen floor and bark roof, was held the first Friends' Meeting, outside of Burlington and Salem, in West Jersey.

Pyne Poynte was designated as a place for religious worship by the Salem Meeting, on February 11, 1682, when it was ordered "That a six weeks men's and women's meeting for ye ordering ye affairs of ye church be kept ye 24th of ye third month at William Cooper's and ye next six weeks meeting at Thos. Fairman's at Shackamaxon, and so in course." The origin of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting is found in the order, made at the same time, that there should be meetings alternately at Arwamus (Camden) and Shackamaxon (Philadelphia) once a month.

In 1684 a Meeting House was erected adjacent to Mark Newbie's home, most of the settlers being then located in the vicinity of Newton Creek, and it continued in active use until December 22, 1817, when it was entirely destroyed by fire.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the growth of population about Kaighn's Point and Cooper's Ferries created a demand for a meeting house more conveniently located for the residents, and in 1801 the brick building at Mt. Ephraim Avenue and Mount Vernon Street, Camden, was erected upon land given to the Society by Joseph Kaighn. It was the place of worship of the Coopers, the Mickles, the Kaighns, the Mulfords, the Burroughs, the Bettles, and other distinguished Camden families, many of whose members now rest in the adjoining burial ground.

As a result of the great schism which rent the Society in twain, the supporters of Elias Hicks withdrew from the meeting and, in 1828 began the erection of the house now standing midway between Market and Cooper streets, above Seventh, on land donated by Joseph W. Cooper. At the time, the tract was covered by a grove of large oaks, and thus it was that it was sometimes called the "Woods Meeting." The original frontage lay along Cooper Street, but subsequently the lot in the rear, facing Market Street, was acquired.

Methodists.—Probably the first Methodist minister to give more than passing attention to the spreading of that doctrine in this vicinity was Dr. Benjamin Fisler who, according to Judge Elmer, preached in Camden from time to time between 1791 and 1797. Tangible results, however, were not

forthcoming until the Rev. Richard Sneath, in the spring of 1809, organized a "Class" which held services in the old Academy. As a result of the efforts of this small but enthusiastic group, a plot on the northeast corner of Fourth and Federal streets was soon purchased from Joshua Cooper for seventy-five dollars. There, under the direction of James Duer, the village shoemaker, and John Petherbridge, a plain frame building thirty feet square and two stories in height was erected, and was dedicated on November 23, 1810, by the Rev. Joseph Totten, then presiding elder of the West Jersey District. This was the first church building of any kind erected within the limits of Camden, as then defined.

The congregation increased so rapidly that an end gallery, and then side galleries, were added to enlarge the accommodations. By 1834 the old building had become entirely too small and was sold for \$775 to Samuel Ross, who converted it into a hair cloth factory. The congregation now erected a brick building, two stories and a basement in height, at the southwest corner of Third Street and Mulford's Alley (now Taylor's Avenue), the cornerstone of which was laid on the Fourth of July. It was dedicated as the Third Street Methodist Church on December 14th following. This edifice was in constant use until destroyed by fire on November 20, 1867. The necessity for further expansion then dictated another removal, and a new structure, containing an auditorium with a seating capacity of fourteen hundred, was built on the east side of Third Street, between Bridge Avenue and Mickle Street, and was formally occupied on September 2, 1869.

At that time there were only two railroad tracks on Bridge Avenue, but the extension of trackage and increase in transportation activities in the latter "80's" caused much annoyance to the worshippers, and as a result of constant complaint on that score the Pennsylvania Railroad Company finally offered to purchase the property, with the proviso that it might be used for church purposes until a new building could be erected. This proposition was accepted and the purchase ratified in June, 1892. No time was lost in beginning work on the beautiful grey stone edifice at the southwest corner of Sixth and Stevens streets. When it was occupied, on June 4, 1895, the name of the church was changed to the First Methodist Episcopal Church, in accordance with its historical significance, and the old building was converted to the uses of the Young Men's Christian Association of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

The second Methodist congregation had its origin in a mission Sunday School, organized in 1838 by the Third Street Church, in a small frame building at the southeast corner of Fifth and Mt. Vernon streets. In a very short time larger quarters became necessary, and it was decided to erect a church, though continuing the use of the old building for Sunday School purposes. The reason assigned by the official board for this decision was that "the boys would come into the church in their dirty boots and thus make the floor unfit for our wives to kneel on in their silk dresses"—an explanation which gave much offense to the humbler members of the congregation and led to their withdrawal. The corner stone of the new building was laid on June 8, 1848, and the dedication exercises held on the following Christmas Day. Two years later the congregation was set apart as a separate charge, under the title of the Fifth Street Church, by which it was known until 1859, when it became the Union Methodist Church.

Upon their withdrawal, on April 8, 1848, the less fashionable element of the Fifth Street Mission formed the Berkley Street Sabbath School, whose meetings were held in the Cooper Hill School House, on Berkley Street, be-

tween Broadway and Williams Street. Out of these activities grew the Broadway Methodist Episcopal Church which, immediately upon organization, on May 9, 1854, began to rear a brick edifice on the adjacent lot, the lecture room being ready for occupancy on Christmas Day, 1855, while the main auditorium, on the second floor, was dedicated January 27, 1857. Its capacity was nearly doubled by enlargement in 1873, and in 1892 the chapel in the rear was built. But these facilities too were quickly outgrown and in 1897 the original brick building was torn down to make way for the present edifice, the corner-stone of which was laid on June 17.

The fifth Methodist fold had its beginning in 1859 in a mission school of the Broadway Church known as the Paradise Mission, which first met in a butcher shop on Mount Vernon Street near Seventh, and later in a public school on Spruce Street. Next, a frame house on Walnut Street was rented and occupied until June, 1862, when the congregation moved into the present building at Eighth and Walnut streets. Incorporated as the "Paradise Sabbath School Association of the Methodist Episcopal Church" in 1864, the name was changed to the Eighth Street Methodist Episcopal Church four or five years afterwards. On October 23, 1873, the corner-stone of the brick chapel was laid, and the church dedicated in 1880.

To meet the needs of the Cooper's Point section, the Tabernacle Church was organized on February 27, 1860. In May the corner-stone of a one-story house of worship was laid at the northeast corner of Third and Vine streets, and dedication followed on November 1st. Within seven years additional accommodations were required, and after a survey of the needs of the community it was decided to remove to Third and Pearl streets. There a temporary frame structure, known as the "Plank Church" or "Wigwam" was erected, whose timbers were later incorporated in the permanent edifice, constructed of brick. The latter, dedicated in November, 1870, was so badly damaged by the cyclone of 1885, that complete rebuilding was deemed advisable and an immediate start was made on a brownstone structure, the main auditorium of which was dedicated on October 16, 1887. This building is in the path of the Camden-Philadelphia Bridge, and at this writing (1924) is the subject of a controversy between the State authorities and the board of trustees as to the price to be paid for it by the Bridge Commission. On June 15, 1924, consolidation of the Tabernacle Methodist Episcopal Church with the Centenary Methodist Episcopal Church was made, under the name of Centenary-Tabernacle Methodist Episcopal Church.

The growth of Methodism in Camden has been particularly notable since the Civil War. Included among these latter-day congregations are: The Centenary Church, organized on March 29, 1866, in Andrew's Hall, at the northwest corner of Fourth and Market streets; the Harmony Church, later called the Dudley Methodist Episcopal Church, and since 1897 known as the Asbury Church, was started in 1869 in a small frame building on Pleasant Street near Pavonia station; the Liberty Methodist Episcopal Church, launched as a mission of the Union Church in 1877 to serve the neighborhood of Third and Mechanic streets, but soon disbanded, though not before it had given birth to Grace Church, organized in 1878, and since 1885 known as the Kaighn Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church; the Bethany Church, nurtured by the Third Street congregation and established as a separate charge on June 11, 1884; the Wiley Methodist Episcopal Church, begun as a Mission of the Fifth Street Church in 1884, later transferred to the care of the Broadway Church, and achieving an independent status in 1890; the Fairview

Church, originally a mission of the old Dudley Church but after six years, in 1892, set up a distinct body; the State Street Church, once called the "Old Paint Shop Mission," from its original meeting place at Point and North streets, fostered in 1876 by the Tabernacle Church and separately incorporated in June, 1890, and the Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church, organized in 1894 in a tent on Stewart Avenue north of High Street, where its present edifice stands.

In addition, there are four other Methodist Episcopal missions or churches: Ferry Avenue (colored), Mount Hope, Parkside and St. George's.

The Memorial Methodist Protestant Church was organized in the fall of 1863, and shortly thereafter erected a frame building on the west side of Broadway, below Kaighn Avenue. Its second pastor was the Rev. Boston Corbett who, while a sergeant in the army, shot John Wilkes Booth, the assassin of President Lincoln. A brick structure replaced the old building in 1876, but in 1880 the congregation moved into the former home of the Liberty Church, on Liberty Street above Third. Subsequently there was another removal to No. 1157 Kaighn Avenue.

The Calvary Methodist Protestant Church at Twenty-third and High streets, was organized April 25, 1891, and the building dedicated the following November. In 1922, an addition was erected to the church edifice, the cornerstone having been laid April 29, of that year.

Provision for the spiritual needs of the colored population, the necessity for which became apparent shortly after the incorporation of Camden, was made about 1832, when an African Methodist Episcopal Church was established on Spruce Street, below Third. In June of the following year a one-story frame building was completed and dedicated as the Macedonia Methodist Episcopal Church, a structure which was destroyed by fire after six years' service. The next year a brick church was completed and occupied until 1850, when it was enlarged and rebuilt, but this in turn was replaced, in 1886, by the present edifice.

Several other churches belonging to the African Methodist Episcopal conference are now located in Camden: Zion Wesley A. M. E., on Sycamore Street below Eighth, organized about 1851 as the Wesley Church; the Union A. M. E. Church, dating from 1855, though it did not have a permanent home until the building on Chestnut Street above Seventh was erected in 1868; the Hosanna A. M. E. Church, on Saunders Avenue near Thirtieth Street, which sprang out of a series of house-to-house meetings during 1862-3, being erected as the "Little Hosanna Church" in 1864; Walton's A. M. E. Temple, originally organized as the Howell A. M. E. Church on June 1, 1893; Bethel A. M. E. Church; Clinton A. M. E. Church; Mt. Olive C. M. E. Church; Union A. M. E. Church, at No. 2039 South Tenth Street; and St. Paul's A. M. E. Chapel at No. 1006 Chestnut Street.

Baptists.—Early in the nineteenth century several families from Salem County, who had been members of the Cohansie Baptist Church, took up their abode in Camden. For a time they submitted to the manifold inconveniences—bordering on hardship when the river was full of ice—of attending religious worship in Philadelphia. To overcome these difficulties, and also to stimulate denominational growth in this section, the First Baptist Church of Camden was organized on February 5, 1818, with seven members. The first meetings of the little flock were held in the Academy, a privilege that was soon withdrawn through the influence of persons who opposed the advent of the new sect, and resort was then had to private houses. Within a year, how-

ever, the lots on the east side of Fourth Street, below Market, were purchased and a modest frame church erected.

Tradition associates this congregation with a leading role in the incorporation of Camden in 1828. It seems that one Sunday, during the hours of service, a drunken brawl started in Vauxhall Garden, directly opposite on Fourth Street, during which missiles of all kinds filled the air, battered against the sides of the church and crashed through the windows. This state of affairs continued from forenoon until late in the afternoon, the worshippers being compelled to remain within the church throughout the bombardment. That incident, according to the story, gave rise to a demand for combining the hamlets about the Ferries into a municipality capable of maintaining law and order.

The frame church was replaced, on the same site, by a two-story brick structure dedicated on January 3, 1840, services during its construction having been held in the City Hall. That, too, was outgrown within twenty years, when it was torn down and the erection of the present building begun, though it was not entirely completed until 1864. Five years later the congregation was split into two factions, one of which was headed by the pastor, the Rev. F. B. Rose, and the other by the trustees. The dispute finally reached the courts and led to the withdrawal of the trustees and their followers to form the Trinity Baptist Church in 1871, a breach which was not healed until 1914, when a consolidation was effected.

The first church had been in existence for thirty years when some of its members undertook to fill a patent need of the South Camden section by forming another congregation, for whom a home at the southeast corner of Fourth and Division streets was completed and dedicated in November, 1852, as the Second Baptist Church. This edifice served its purpose for fifteen years, when, according to Dr. Lyell, "an appetite for better surroundings led them to sell their good house of worship and to build a larger and more expensive place of worship, and without regard to their financial ability to pay for it." The new building on Fourth below Mount Vernon street plunged the congregation so deeply into debt that it never recovered. The old structure on Division Street was sold to the Church of St. Peter and Paul. After a prolonged but fruitless struggle, the church was disbanded and the property sold by the sheriff in 1894, though a portion of the membership immediately organized the Emanuel Baptist Church and made arrangements with the new owners for the use of the building, with its ultimate purchase in view. This congregation is now known as the Temple Baptist Church.

The Stockton Baptist Church, the third organization of this faith in Camden, was founded on August 1, 1855, the fruit of a mission established on Van Hook Street, near Sixth, by the Second Church the year before. This building was sold to the Episcopal Church of Our Saviour in 1863, and a new one erected on Broadway above Van Hook Street, and eight years later—Stockton then having become a part of Camden—its title was changed to the Third Baptist Church. In 1880 an addition was built for the use of the Sunday School.

In 1856 a colored Baptist congregation was organized in the home of Mrs. Mary Colding, No. 736 Chestnut Street. Meetings were held in various private homes and in a blacksmith shop at Sixth Street and Kaighn Avenue until 1864, when a permanent meeting place was secured, and the title Mt. Zion Baptist Church adopted, later to be changed to the Seventh Baptist Church, and now known as the Kaighn Avenue Baptist Church. In 1905

the old building was sold, and two years later a new one was erected at the northwest corner of Ninth Street and Kaighn Avenue.

The North Baptist Church, organized November 15, 1859, was the outgrowth of a mission school which occupied a frame building on the south side of Elm Street, west of Second. Its first home, at the southeast corner of Second and Pearl streets, was dedicated on February 25, 1865, and was in use until May 29, 1894, when the present church on Linden Street between Third and Fourth, was completed.

When the second Church sold its original home, in 1867, the congregation had voted to build on Broadway, a decision which was overruled by the church authorities, who favored the site at Fourth and Mt. Vernon streets. Those who adhered to the expressed wish of the congregation then withdrew and secured ground on Broadway, below Spruce Street, on which two buildings were erected on the rear of the lot. In 1872 a stone edifice was built on the Broadway front, but its maintenance was beyond the financial resources of the congregation, which disbanded after three or four years and turned the property over to the mortgagee. In October, 1877, however, thirty-seven members organized the Tabernacle Baptist Church, meeting in a hall on Stevens Street below Fifth until 1880, when they again occupied their former house of worship, which they finally purchased.

Among the Baptist congregations of a later date are: The First Baptist Church of Cramer Hill, organized in 1884, which fifteen years later became the Grace Church; the North Cramer Hill Baptist Church, started as a mission of the Grace Church in 1887, which afterwards adopted the title of Bethany; the Linden Church, organized in December, 1885, as the outgrowth of the Northeast Baptist Sunday School, which had been in existence for more than twenty years at Tenth and Penn streets; the Rosedale Church, formally established in 1893; and St. John's, set apart as an independent congregation in June, 1895.

There are nine other Baptist congregations or missions in existence: First Italian Baptist; First Nazarene Baptist; Highland Baptist Church; Little Rock Baptist; Metropolitan Baptist; Mickle Street Baptist (colored); Mount Calvary; Parkside Baptist, and Tenth Street Baptist.

Episcopal.—Previous to 1828 Camden Episcopalians were forced to resort to St. Mary's Church at Colestown (founded in 1751), or to Philadelphia, to attend divine services. About this time, however, four Philadelphia clergymen of the faith—Drs. Abercrombie, Hawks, DeLancey, and Mead—volunteered to preach once a month in Camden. These meetings were at first held in private houses and later in the City Hall. The question of the organization of a church was taken up at a gathering in the City Hall on March 12, 1830, at which it was resolved "that the meeting do now institute a Protestant Episcopal Church under the name of Zion Church, the name, however, to be subject to change." The officers elected included Isaac Welsh and Josiah Harrison, wardens; Dr. Bowman Henry, Jeremiah H. Sloan, Abraham Browning, Sr., John Browning, Richard W. Howell, Aula McCalla, Gideon V. Stivers, Dr. Samuel Harris, and Morris Croxall, vestrymen; Mr. Howell, treasurer; and J. W. Sloan, secretary. At a second meeting, two weeks later, the name St. Paul's was finally adopted and articles of incorporation were ordered filed in the County Clerk's office at Woodbury—a formality which was complied with on April 15, with one change in the official board, the substitution of Thomas C. Clement for Dr. Harris. Services, however, continued to be held in the City Hall, where, on Sunday, July 17, 1831,

Bishop Onderdonk, of Philadelphia, administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to seven communicants—the first event of the sort in local Episcopalian annals.

Steps looking to the purchase of a site had already been initiated, though it took more than two years to come to a decision on lot No. 121 on the map of Camden, situated on the south side of Market Street, between Fourth and Fifth. In February, 1834, the construction of a stone building was begun, the cornerstone being laid on April 22 by Bishop G. W. Doane, assisted by the venerable Bishop William White, of Pennsylvania, and the church was consecrated in June of the following year. At this time the Rev. Thomas Starr, of the Colestown church, was elected rector, also retaining his old charge. He was succeeded as minister to the combined organizations in 1836, by the Rev. Francis P. Lee. This alignment was continued until 1838, when St. Paul's and the newly organized Trinity Church, of Moorestown, united in a call to the Rev. Henry Burrough, of New York. In 1840 Trinity Church withdrew from this joint arrangement; Mr. Burrough continued with the Camden congregation alone for a time, and in 1844 was succeeded by the Rev. John M. Lybrand, who served until his death, eleven years later. Extensive alterations, begun in 1856, left scarcely a vestige of the original structure, and when the church was re-opened in the following year the Rev. Joseph F. Garrison began his long pastorate. Early in the '70's a plot at the northeast corner of Fourth and Penn streets was purchased with a view to a removal thither, but that decision was afterwards reconsidered. In 1885 the parish buildings were added, and in 1910 major alterations, including the removal of the old wooden spire and the construction of a new facade extending out to the building line, were completed.

St. John's Parish was incorporated January 7, 1852, having had its inception as a mission of St. Paul's, which met at the home of Miss Harriet N. King on Broadway near Division Street. The first services were held in Washington Hall, Fourth and Spruce streets, on November 16, 1851, but four years later the "Floating Chapel of the Redeemer for the Seamen of the Port of Philadelphia" was procured and, lifted from the two canal boats which bore it, transferred to the site at Broadway and Royden Street. This strange structure was in use until Christmas Day, 1870, when it was destroyed by fire, but the ashes were no sooner cold than plans were prepared for a stone church, the corner-stone of which was laid by Bishop Odenheimer, April 21, 1871. The parish buildings were added in 1884-85, and the men's clubhouse, known as St. John's Workingmen's Club, at the northeast corner of Royden and Williams streets, was opened May 29, 1893.

The Church of Our Saviour had its origin in Sunday afternoon meetings conducted in various private homes by the rector of St. John's, from the fall of 1854. Four years later Mrs. Henry Ottens, wife of the English architect who designed the Public Ledger Building, offered the use of a spacious room in her home, "Devonna Cottage," recently completed, at Ferry Avenue and Fillmore Street. A large bell, suspended from a tall tree, called the worshippers to service, but the sparse population of the district at that time militated against the success of the experiment, and the congregation dissolved after a few years. In 1867 the parish was re-organized and the brick church formerly used by the Baptists, on Van Hook Street, near the West Jersey tracks, was purchased, being in use until 1881, when the present stone building, at Broadway and Viola Street, was occupied.

St. Stephen's may be traced to a Sunday School established through the

efforts of members of St. John's in 1861, in a little brick schoolhouse on Main Street, north of Federal. In 1855 it was turned over to the care of St. Paul's, under whose supervision it remained until 1907, when the congregation voted to become an independent parish, named St. Stephen's. In 1877 it occupied a distinctive home of its own near the corner of Eleventh and Cooper streets, an edifice known as St. Paul's Chapel. This was replaced by a larger structure in 1897.

East Camden had no Episcopal Church until 1884, when, as the outgrowth of a series of meetings at the home of Frederick Jones, and under the guidance of Rev. Joseph P. Taylor, of St. John's, the organization later known as St. Wilfred's sprang into being. The erection of a church at Thirtieth and High streets was immediately begun and first occupied in September, 1885. For a time it passed from the supervision of St. John's to St. Paul's, but in 1891 was erected as a separate parish of the New Jersey diocese. In 1900 the little frame building was succeeded by a stone structure at Thirtieth Street and Westfield Avenue. Two other congregations have maintained organizations, namely, St. Andrew's Mission, River Avenue below Thirtieth Street, and St. Augustine's (colored), at Ninth and Sycamore Streets. The latter was organized by the Rev. John H. Townsend, then rector of St. John's Church, in 1885, as a mission for the colored people, and was originally known as the Guild of the Iron Cross. It met from 1885 to 1889 in an old building at the corner of Chestnut and Ann streets. In May, 1899, the present building was consecrated by the Right Rev. John Scarborough, D.D. Eleven priests have labored in this field of the church's mission work, the present rector being the Rev. Robert H. Jackson.

Presbyterian.—The first attempt to found a Presbyterian Church in Camden was made in 1840, when a series of Sunday meetings in the City Hall culminated in a call to the Rev. Alexander Robertson, of Salem, who declined. The Rev. William L. McCalla, of Philadelphia, was then invited to act as stated supply, but, having incurred the displeasure of the West Jersey Presbytery, it declined to receive him, an act which led to much controversy with the Synod of Philadelphia and to the transfer of the new congregation to the Philadelphia Presbytery, under whose jurisdiction it continued for about six months. The church did not long survive its return to the West Jersey fold and was dissolved on December 1, 1842, chiefly due, according to the Rev. William H. Boyd, author of "A Half Century of Presbyterianism in Camden," to the dislike of the Presbytery to Mr. McCalla's vigorous denunciation of evil both within and without the church and his "pugnacity, ability and power of sarcasm" in the controversy which rent the Presbyterian Church asunder, as between the "Old School" and the "New School" in 1837.

The First Presbyterian Church dates from June 25, 1846, although meetings had been held regularly in the schoolhouse of Miss Turner, on Third Street, below Market, for some time previous. While a permanent home was being erected on Fifth Street, above Market—partially occupied in 1847 but not completed until the following year—the congregation worshipped in the City Hall. The first pastor was Rev. Giles F. Manwaring, and the trustees, Auley G. McCalla, William Howell, George W. Helmbold, Richard B. Jones, and Charles J. Hollis. Noteworthy among the early pastors were Rev. Daniel Stewart (1854-61), and Rev. Dr. Villeroy D. Read (1861-84), who left a deep impress not only upon the church, but on the growing city in whose welfare they were earnestly concerned.

In 1872, the new edifice at Fifth and Penn streets was so far completed that the services were transferred to it, though the dedication did not take place until June 1, 1873. Subsequently the old church was acquired by the Trinity Baptist Church.

The Calvary Presbyterian Church which separated from the First Church in June, 1895, purchased the old building of the North Baptist Church at the southeast corner of Second and Pearl streets. After maintaining a separate organization for nearly twenty-nine years, it was finally voted in April, 1924, to reunite with the old First Church. This was done in June, 1924, and a new Calvary Presbyterian Church is planned for East Camden.

The Central Presbyterian Church was organized under the auspices of the "New School" faction on November 28, 1850, the Rev. John W. Mears, afterwards installed as its pastor, being one of the prime movers. In 1851 a frame structure of Gothic architecture was erected for its use at Fourth and Hartman (now Clinton) streets, but growth in membership was slow, and financial burdens soon bore down the congregation, which was dissolved in 1855, when the property was transferred by a sheriff's sale to the Camden Board of Education. After being used for school purposes until 1877, the old building was demolished and the Central Public School reared on the site.

The Second Presbyterian Church took form under the fostering care of the authorities of the First Church in the fall of 1859. Four lots at the corner of Fourth and Washington streets were purchased, but were soon exchanged for lots at Fourth and Benson streets, upon which a frame chapel was erected. The first pastor was Rev. Lewis C. Baker, who had supplied the pulpit of the First Church during the absence of Dr. Stewart and who continued with the congregation until 1882, when he resigned, being succeeded by Rev. William H. Boyd.

By 1863 a larger edifice became imperative, and to raise funds for its construction Isaac Van Horn and Thomas McKeen, active laymen, fenced in the block bounded by Washington, Third, Berkley and Fourth streets and converted it into a skating park by impounding a small tidal stream which ran through the lot. A severe winter aided the undertaking, and eighteen hundred dollars was added to the building fund; work was then begun on a new church which was dedicated on September 2, 1866. The old chapel was replaced with a stone structure in 1885, and the congregation was quite active until about 1910 when, owing to the changes in the neighborhood, the attendance decreased to such an extent that the church was no longer self-supporting. On March 20, 1923, the Presbytery of West Jersey unanimously granted the petition of the First and Second Presbyterian Churches for permission to unite into one society to be known as the First Presbyterian Church of Camden, New Jersey. Owing to certain legal requirements, a new certificate of incorporation was filed in the county clerk's office, and on April 26th, the Rev. George H. Hemingway, D.D., was re-installed as the pastor of the united congregations. The church edifice was purchased in November, 1923, by the Camden Board of Education and was used to relieve the school congestion in this neighborhood.

Presbyterianism is now represented by five other churches: The Third, begun as a Sunday School in 1885, was organized as a church February 16, 1888; the Fourth was originally organized as the Liberty Park German Church on February 22, 1889; Grace Church, organized November 6, 1889; Woodland Church, started as a mission of Calvary Church in January, 1897,

and was recognized as an independent congregation in 1903; and the Westminster Church, organized November 5, 1908.

Lutheran.—An attempt was made in 1853 to establish a Lutheran Church, the Rev. Mr. Gregory having been granted the use of the City Hall for its meetings. Before any effective organization had been perfected, however, Mr. Gregory returned to Switzerland, and the little band of worshippers disbanded. On December 22, 1857, the Trinity German Evangelical Lutheran Church was organized at a meeting in Read's Hall, northwest corner of Third and Federal streets, where its meetings were held for several years. The church edifice, on Stevens Street, below Broadway, was dedicated on October 6, 1861, and three years later the parochial school, largely built of material obtained from the old "Academy" which formerly stood at Sixth and Market streets, was erected.

Of the seven other churches which minister to the Lutherans of Camden at the present time, Epiphany, the first of the denomination to adopt the English language, was organized in 1879, holding its first services in Read's Hall on November 23. Then followed: St. Paul's, incorporated September 13, 1904, though in existence since the previous December; Holy Trinity, organized May 13, 1904, as the outgrowth of the Parkside Lutheran Sunday School; and Grace Church, an offshoot of the Epiphany congregation, organized March 7, 1906. Concerning the German Evangelical Christ Church, Christ Evangelical Lutheran, and Nazareth Evangelical Lutheran churches, detailed information is unavailable.

Catholic.—Long before the Catholic Church established a regular parish in Camden, as it did on November 11, 1853, with Rev. James Moran as pastor, priests from Philadelphia and Gloucester had celebrated mass at stated intervals in the City Hall, in private homes, and in Starr's Hall. On June 9, 1859, ground was broken for a church at Fifth Street and Taylor Avenue on a site purchased from William D. Cooper two years before, and just four months later it was dedicated by Bishop Bayley. This edifice was in continuous use until the completion of the Church of the Immaculate Conception, at Broadway and Market Street, on July 27, 1866, when it was sold to the T. M. K. Lee Post No. 5, Grand Army of the Republic, from whom it passed into the hands of the city of Camden in 1917, being used by the Federal and State Employment Service during the World War. The new church was dedicated on October 2, 1870, and consecrated free of debt on May 28, 1893.

The Church of Saints Peter and Paul was organized April 8, 1857, and moved into the old home of the Second Baptist Church, at Fourth and Division streets, in the following year. The congregation was originally incorporated as "The German Roman Catholic Saints Peter and Paul's Church," but adopted its present title in 1878. Though enlarged in 1869, the structure became inadequate for the needs of the parish, and in 1882 a new site at St. John and Spruce streets was purchased. There, a splendid church of modern Romanesque architecture arose, the dedication taking place December 8, 1890.

The Church of the Sacred Heart, now housed in one of the finest religious edifices in Camden, was formed on October 13, 1885; St. Joseph's was organized in April, 1893; and the edifice of St. Joseph's Polish Church was dedicated in May, 1896.

The Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel was incorporated in 1903 by Father DeIelsie, and held its first services in the old home of Saints Peter and Paul, at Fourth and Division streets, which was subsequently purchased.

Soon after, the building was condemned as unsafe, and the congregation assembled in the American Mechanics Hall, then in a private home at No. 637 South Third Street, and finally in the old parish school building on Division Street, where it remained until the new church on the adjacent Fourth Street corner was completed in 1908.

The Church of the Holy Name, organized on July 13, 1913, temporarily made use of the Jarvis Paper Box Factory, State Street, above Seventh, but soon acquired the moving picture hall and three adjacent properties at Fifth and Vine streets, where mass was celebrated for the first time on Passion Sunday, 1914. Under the judicious guidance of the Rev. Thomas J. Whelan, the parish has prospered greatly and is now possessed of a handsome combination church and school building.

There are, besides the above, three other Roman Catholic Churches in Camden, namely: St. George's (Lithuanian); St. Michael's (Greek); and St. Joseph's, at Howell and Twenty-fifth streets.

Of the other denominations, the Christian Scientists maintain a large and active organization with headquarters at No. 209 Cooper Street.

The Hebrews have their congregation within the city limits, namely: The Congregation of Ahavzedak at No. 419 Arch Street; The Synagogue of the Sons of Israel, at Eighth and Sycamore streets; The Synagogue of Beth-El on the Park Boulevard at Belleview Avenue; and a Synagogue at No. 335 Liberty Street.

The Spiritualists have three organizations which hold meetings at regular intervals as follows: The First Church at No. 515 Linden Street; the Second Church at No. 205 Cooper Street, and St. Mark's Spiritual Alliance, at Broadway and Washington Street.

Schools.—Education among the early pioneers of Camden County was necessarily, because of the sparsely settled nature of the territory, limited to home instruction, and probably the school begun in connection with the Haddonfield Meeting in 1722 had no predecessor in this portion of West Jersey.

So far as can be learned, there was no school house within the present limits of Camden until 1804, when the brick building of the Camden Academy, at Sixth and Market streets, was erected by public subscription on ground donated by Jacob Cooper in 1776, and added to by gift of his grand-children when the structure was definitely begun. George Genge, one of the trustees, is sometimes mistakenly credited with being the donor of the site, the confusion arising from the fact that in his will he provided an annuity of eighty dollars "to the only and exclusive use of paying the education of poor children in the Academy," the annuity being derived from ground rents on lots numbered 5, 17, 18, 19 and 24 on the original town plan. This annuity was extinguished by authority of the Legislature in 1854, upon payment to the trustees of \$1,333.34. At the same time, the trustees were authorized to transfer title to the site to the local Board of Education, to be held by it so long as used for educational purposes. The old building, which had served as something like a modern community centre as well as a school, was torn down about 1863 and replaced by the present George Genge School.

While the "Academy" was erected by public subscription upon land donated for public uses, the schools held therein were "pay schools" under the control of the teachers conducting them. It was not until 1843, when the "School Trustees of the Township of Camden" established classes in the building, that it was actually used for anything resembling a free public

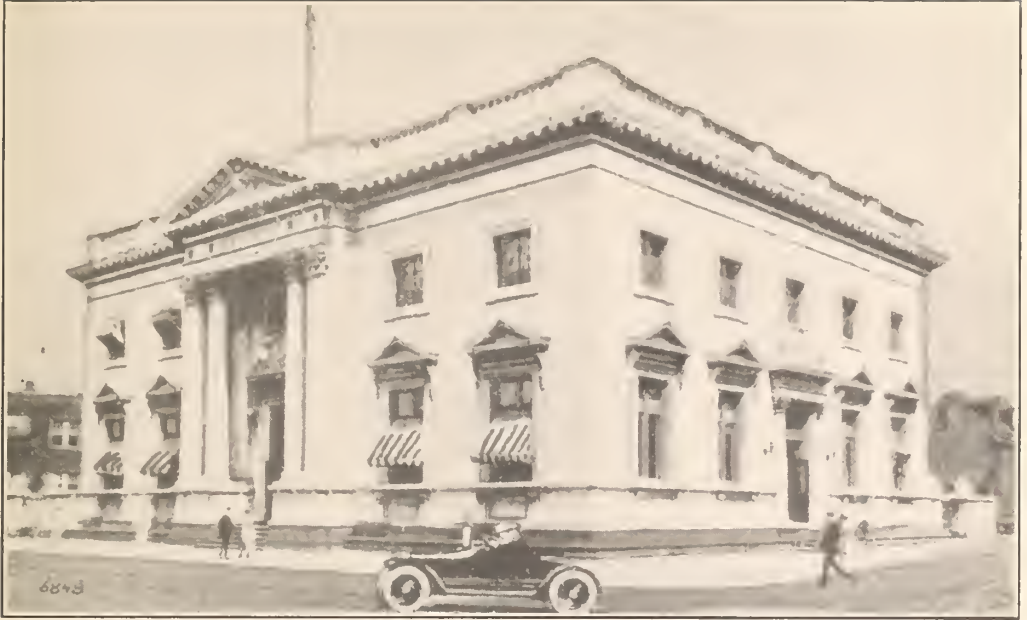
school. Even then there were certain nominal charges imposed on each scholar, since the trustees were without authority to raise or borrow money for educational purposes.

Agitation over the question of better school facilities became general soon after the incorporation of the city, and resulted, by action of a town meeting held in March, 1835, in the selection of a committee to inquire into the expediency and practicability of adopting a general system of education, to propose a plan and furnish an estimate of the expense necessary to carry it into full effect, and to recommend the best means of creating a fund for such purposes. This committee, truly representative of the community, in that it included members from Cooper's Point, Camden, and Kaighnton and also from the three churches which at that time were doing so much for the education of the children of the city, consisted of J. K. Cowperthwait, Richard Fetters, Isaiah Toy, Rev. S. Starr, Rev. William Granville, Rev. T. C. Teasdale, Benjamin Allen, Charles Kaighn, William Ridgway, and Joseph W. Cooper.

The report of this body is worthy a brief synopsis. Estimating the annual expense of educating a child at ten dollars, it set the cost of inaugurating the system at approximately \$5,000—a census of children between the ages of five and fifteen having disclosed a total of five hundred and sixteen, fourteen of whom were colored. As to the school house itself, it was thought that "benevolent citizens with capital may be induced to erect such a building, and prepare it for the reception of children, by being allowed legal interest for the capital invested, in the way of rent." Spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and geography were to be taught, and in the girls' school plain and fancy needlework. The contemplated staff included one male teacher at six hundred dollars a year, one female teacher at three hundred, and if classes for those under five years of age were to be established, a teacher at two hundred dollars. Of the library, an important part of the scheme, it was thought that "it may be commenced with about fifty dollars expense, a small appropriation to increase it, together with donations from philanthropic citizens."

The governing body was to be a board of nine trustees elected annually by the town meeting, five from the city proper, two from Kaighnton, and two from Cooper's Point. To raise the necessary funds it was proposed to assess each of the six hundred and fifty heads of families one dollar and seventy-five cents a year, and every single man, of whom there were two hundred on the tax list, one dollar. But it developed that no existing law authorized the raising of money for general education, the township being limited to the use of its funds for the schooling of paupers and the children of those too poor to pay. The situation, therefore, remained as it was before, though the agitation seems to have resulted in the erection of a frame school house on the lot at the corner of Fifth and Arch streets, a site dedicated to public use in the original town plan. This structure appears to have been built some time prior to 1840, when the city was divided into two school districts, for one of which a new building was provided in Fetersville.

This modest educational establishment was supplemented by a number of private schools, offering instruction in all the elementary branches, as well as in languages and music, at fees that would appear ridiculous today. These schools were housed in the private homes of the teachers or in the basements of the Methodist and Baptist meeting houses and in St. Paul's Church. There was an entire lack of standards as to courses of instruction, however, and when any teacher retired, the pupil was left to flounder around until his



POST OFFICE, CAMDEN



MANUAL TRAINING AND HIGH SCHOOL, CAMDEN

new instructor had sufficient time to discover what had been absorbed under the previous master.

On March 13, 1843, the town meeting made its first substantial appropriation to the public schools, amounting to seven hundred and eighteen dollars, part of which was to be raised by taxation and part taken from the accumulated interest on the township's share of the Federal and State's surplus revenue fund. But much more was needed, and in the latter part of 1843 the Legislature was memorialized for "such alterations in the school laws as will suit the purposes of the city of Camden." That petition was not granted until 1854, when the public school system was really inaugurated through a special legislative act authorizing the organization of the Board of Education and giving it certain specified powers.

The first school to be erected under the new board was the Kaighn School, at Newton Avenue and Chestnut Street, the land having been donated by the Kaighns. The "Paper Mill School," on the north side of Main Street, near Federal, and the "Hatch School House," near the intersection of Seventh and Pearl streets, were soon added to take care of the children in the North Ward, while the "Cooper Hill School" and several rented rooms swelled the facilities of the Middle and South Wards.

From an actual attendance in the public schools of less than four hundred in 1854, the enrollment has now risen to over twenty thousand, while the amount of money available has increased from about \$16,000, including the cost of a new school house, to over \$1,300,000. The value of the school plant, which in 1854 did not much exceed \$10,000, is now conservatively estimated at \$2,500,000.

The first Manual Training and High School in Camden was established in 1891 in the upper floors of No. 125 Federal Street, expanding into the upper floors of No. 123 two years later. It soon outgrew these small quarters, however, and on October 17, 1899, moved into a distinctive home of its own at Haddon and Newton avenues. Here the curriculum, which had previously been largely limited to manual training, was extended to include the customary high school course.

Within ten years this building, too, became overcrowded, and a plot of ground on Haddon Avenue, adjoining the National Guard Armory was purchased for a new structure. But when the Board of Education finally decided to proceed with the project in 1915, there was a great public protest against the use of so cramped a site and Forest Hill Park was suggested as an alternative location. This suggestion met with universal favor, and an exchange of property was speedily arranged between the park commissioners and the board. The corner-stone was laid on October 14, 1916, and the building, an attractive example of Tudor architecture, designed by Paul H. Davis, 3d, of Philadelphia, was put into actual service on April 15, 1918, though the dedicatory exercises were not held until ten days later. The entire cost, including equipment and furnishings, was \$506,990, exclusive of the original investment of \$40,000 in the purchase of the Haddon Avenue plot.

Literary Geniuses—Early Camden, with its little groups of ferrymen's houses, its occasional tavern, and its unassuming farmhouses, was truly not a fertile field for literary activity. Its people, even to the present day, have been of a practical turn of mind, interested in more material concerns than the fostering of æsthetic tastes.

Doubtless the first book written by one residing within the limits of the present county of Camden was John Estaugh's "A Call to the Unfaithful

Professors of Truth, and Divers Epistles of the Same Author," published in 1744, after his death, by his widow, Elizabeth Haddon Estaugh, of Haddon Hall. This 16 mo. book of 119 pages, with an 18-page preface, was printed by Benjamin Franklin, and subsequently was republished in both London and Dublin.

The next literary product associated with Camden County came from the pen of Rev. Nathaniel Evans, sent out by the Society for Propagating the Gospel in 1765 and assigned as "over-shepherd" of the Episcopalian congregations at Gloucester Town and Colestown, who took up his residence at Haddonfield so as to be in the center of his labors. Shortly before his premature death, in 1767, he edited the writings of his friend and fellow poet, Thomas Godfrey, Jr., the author of "The Prince of Parthia," the first American play. Five years later, Provost William Smith, of the College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania), which had recognized Evans' scholarship with the degree of Master of Arts, performed a like service for him in supervising the publication of his literary remains under the title "Poems on Several Occasions, with some other Compositions,"—a 12 mo. book of 160 pages, printed by the noted John Dunlap. The list of subscribers formed a veritable directory of the prominent families of the day, including from West Jersey, Wm. Cooper, Daniel Cox, Samuel and William Harrison, Dr. Thomas Hendry, John Hinchman, John Kaighn, Hannah and Samuel Ladd, Betsy Mickle, Robert Friend Price and Dr. Benjamin Vanleer. In the poem "The Morning Invitation to Two Young Ladies at the Gloucester Spring," a beautiful word picture is drawn of this spot, which, according to the historian Mickle, "in the olden days was much resorted to by the citizens of Philadelphia."

Sequester'd from the city's noise,
Its tumults and fantastic joys,
Fair nymphs and swains retire,
Where Delaware's far rolling tide
Majestic winds by Glo'ster's side
Whose shades new joys inspire.

The first publication of a resident of Camden itself is "A Journal of the Life and Labors of Richard Jordan, a Minister of the Gospel in the Society of Friends," a valuable contribution to early Quaker history in America, which was published by the Haddonfield Monthly Meeting, in 1829, as a testimonial to his faithful and effective ministry. Jordan came hither from Hartford, Connecticut, in 1809, and settled in a modest farm house in South Camden near the Newton Meeting House, having declined to accept the farm, later called Woodlynne Park, which Samuel Cooper had purchased for him, because it was too large. There he labored, inflexible in what he believed to be the ancient faith of the church, and extending no quarter to innovators, until his death on October 13, 1826. He is buried in the yard of the meeting to which he was so dearly attached.

John James Audubon paid at least two lengthy visits to Camden while at work on his monumental "Birds of America." From May 23 to June 13, 1829, he boarded with Mrs. Armstrong on the south side of Cooper Street near Third, in a two-story brick dwelling, the site of which is now occupied by a portion of the residence and grounds of the late Captain John B. Adams. It was during this stay that he made the famous drawings of the warbling vireo, or greenlet (vireo gilvus) which, on their way north were in the habit of lingering for several weeks in and about Camden. The cheapness of living here as compared with what he called "the too high prices" of the Philadel-

phia hotels, brought him back to Mrs. Armstrong's in June, 1832, for further studies of the birds of this region.

William Crump, an English resident of Camden, who was on the staff of the old "Pennsylvania Inquirer," was the author of "The World in a Pocket Book," a compendium of useful knowledge, including such subjects as commerce, agriculture, revenue, government, manufactures, etc., which made its appearance in 1844.

Isaac Mickle's "Reminiscences of Old Gloucester," one of the most valuable local histories of Camden and vicinity, was published in 1845 by Townsend Ward, of Philadelphia, and printed by Henry Curts at the "Phoenix" office in Camden. Mickle was also the author of a three-act drama entitled "The Old North Tower," the scenes of which are laid in France and which was intended to demonstrate the superiority of republican over monarchical institutions, and his versatility is further attested by a historical novel, "Printz Hall, a Record of New Sweden," published anonymously "By the Author of Blackbeard" in 1839.

Dr. Isaac Mulford's "Civil and Political History of New Jersey" made its appearance in 1848, a prospectus published in "The West Jerseyman" in the previous June apparently having marshalled a sufficient number of subscribers at one dollar and fifty cents each. An octavo of five hundred pages, it recounts the history of the State from the English discoveries to the adoption of the Constitution of 1844.

In 1848 James B. Dayton's "A Book of Precedents" was published by P. J. Gray, in Camden. Then, and for some time afterwards, this was a very important work for lawyers, and went through several editions.

John Leadbeater, Jr., who wrote much of the poetry which made the campaign of 1844 notable, was a resident of Camden. In 1850, Henry Curts printed, at the "Phoenix Office," a curious little 16 mo. entitled "Literary Remains of John Leadbeater, Jr." in which are to be found such once popular verses as "Jersey Blues, We Look to You," "Come Jersey Blues and Lend a Hand," "The Mariner's Floating Chapel," "The Camden Girls," "Camden Lyrics," and "Camden Assurance."

"A Local History of Camden" by Dr. L. F. Fisler, which first appeared in serial form in the "Camden Evening Daily" and the "West Jerseyman," was published in an enlarged version as a pamphlet of sixty-two pages by Francis A. Cassedy on July 1, 1858. Describing the public buildings, the churches, the ferries, the press, the health, fire, and water departments, and the city government, when taken together with Mickle's "Reminiscences," it gives a fairly complete outline of Camden happenings to that time. The author, who came to Camden in 1836, had several terms as mayor, was a successful practising physician, and a Methodist local preacher, and was admirably equipped to portray contemporary Camden.

Dr. Reynell Coates was a frequent contributor to "Graham's Magazine" in the days when it commanded the best literary talent in America. Later he was for a short time editor of "Sartain's Magazine," and finally became interested in journalism, and developed a penchant for politics and fraternal organization work. He was the founder of the Junior Order of Sons of America in 1847, and the author of many pamphlets on medical subjects, as well as prose and poetical compositions. Among the former may be named "Fire Doomed," "The Gambler's Wife," "The Exile of Connecticut," "The Mimic Chase," "The Heart's Best Dream," and "We Part No More," while the drift of his poetic talents may be gleaned from the following titles:

“Through the Cave of Despair,” “The Mountain Child,” “The Grecian Maid,” and “The Nautilus.” He also wrote the biography of Dr. Bowman Hendry, which appeared anonymously, but was afterwards acknowledged by him.

Closely identified with the Native American party, Dr. Coates was delegated, in 1845, to write the platform on which the succeeding campaign was to be waged, and in 1852 was its candidate for vice-president of the United States. Possessing every requisite to reach the higher rounds of success in either medicine or literature, he permitted his talents to become perverted and dulled by other influences, as a result of which his declining years were blighted. Dependent upon the charity of relatives and medical friends for actual necessities, and living in the upper room of the Camden Dispensary, where he did his own cooking, he died April 27, 1886.

David W. Belisle, in 1859, published a “History of Independence Hall from the Earliest Period to the Present Time” which has formed the basis for many subsequent accounts of this historic shrine. Eleven years before he had issued a volume of verse under the title “Parterre,” which seems to have received little encouragement, and of which no copy can be found today. Another Camdenian credited with a printed collection of poems was James R. Colhouer, whose “Hours of Leisure,” published in 1868, was marked by much originality of thought and treatment and was not entirely devoid of poetic inspiration.

As a local historian, Judge John Clement is unsurpassed for the depth of his researches and the accuracy of his conclusions. The son of John Clement (1769-1855), the first librarian of the Friends’ Library of Haddonfield and first postmaster of that village, he served as Lay Judge of Camden County from 1854 to 1864, when he was elevated to the Court of Errors and Appeals, adorning that judicial office until his death on August 15, 1894. In 1851 he was chosen a member of the Council of Proprietors, and in 1885 its president. His writings are accepted as authoritative on the early history and genealogy of West Jersey, particularly of old Newton Township. His “Sketches of the First Emigrant Settlers of Newton Township,” printed by Sinnickson Chew in 1877, is replete from cover to cover with personalities and incidents associated with the founding of old Gloucester County. Among other articles which have been preserved in print are: a “Sketch of the Life and Character of John Fenwick,” published in 1875; “Revolutionary Reminiscences of Camden County,” 1876; “William Penn: His Interests and Influence in West New Jersey,” privately printed in 1882; “Historical Sketch of the Baptist Church of Haddonfield,” 1883; and a number of historical papers which appeared in “The Pennsylvania Magazine” and “The Proceedings of the Surveyor’s Association of West Jersey,” those from the latter publication being put in book form in 1880. At his death he left a large collection of valuable manuscript notes, maps, and letters, now in the custody of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Walt Whitman, “The Good Gray Poet,” came to Camden in 1873, and here all of his later work was done, including “Song of the Redwood Tree,” “Song of the Universal,” “Song for All Seas, All Ships,” “Eidolons,” and “An Old Man’s Thoughts of School,” which he recited at the dedication of the Cooper Public School on October 31, 1874. It was here, too, that he revised “Leaves of Grass” for its sixth, or Centennial Edition, to which he added another volume, “Two Rivulets,” of prose and verse alternately. In 1882, he prepared the copy for the eighth edition of “Leaves of Grass” and also “Specimen Days,” a prose and autobiographic volume. “November

Boughs" was written in 1882. Camden claims him as its own, and the little home which he long occupied on Mickle Street, purchased and restored by the city government, was dedicated as a permanent memorial to his literary achievements on November 17, 1923.

Dr. J. Dunbar Hylton, a resident of Camden County, and a well known figure on the streets of Camden, was a prolific writer of verse, producing no less than nine volumes between 1857 and 1892. Though these did not meet with loud acclaim, he entertained a high idea of their value, in one of his prefaces stating that the author "is not so arrogant as to declare this the finest poetical production of the century, but if it had its equal in beauty of thought and expression, he will thank anyone who will be so kind as to show it to him." Thus far no one has accepted him at his own valuation.

In 1896, John Collins, at one time a drawing teacher in Mrs. Barlow's Select School for Girls on Friend's Avenue, published a brochure of twenty-four pages entitled, "1970—A Vision of the Coming Age," said to have been written in 1870, in which he described in rhyme the millennial city and prophesied many of the modern inventions, such as the trolley car, the phonograph, and the automobile. Half a century before, he had drawn, on stone, the designs used in James Andrews' once familiar "Progressive Drawing Book of Flowers."

Thomas H. Dudley, United States Consul at Liverpool during the Civil War, was the author of a number of monographs relating to the Alabama Claims, to foreign trade, and to the protective tariff. "Three Critical Periods in Our Diplomatic Relations with England During the Late War," contributed to "The Pennsylvania Magazine" for April, 1893, contained a mass of personal reminiscences and reflections whose flow was cut short by his sudden death.

William John Potts (1842-1895), of Camden, wrote an interesting biographical sketch of Mr. Dudley, which was published in the "Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society" and afterwards as a pamphlet. Mr. Potts was also the author of a monograph on Pierre Eugene DuSimitiere, the artist, antiquary, naturalist, and projector of the first American Museum, which appeared in "The Pennsylvania Magazine" and, later, separately. In a memoir of Mr. Potts, Frederick D. Stone, Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, disclosed that he was a frequent contributor to "Notes and Reviews" (London), to the "New England Genealogical Register," to the "New York Genealogical and Biographical Record," to "The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography," to "The Critic," and to "The American Journal of Numismatics."

Curtis Haven's book, "Phonography," published in 1883, was one of the first books on this subject, and was much used by students. Malcolm MacDonald was the author of "The Harmony of Ancient History and Chronology of the Egyptians and Jews," issued from the Lippincott press in 1891, and also of a play, "Gaute Mazin," and several poems which received favorable notice in "The Critic." Another local author was Herbert A. Drake, who wrote an epic, "The Universe," and published other pamphlets on sundry topics.

Dr. Elsie Whitlock Rose, daughter of the late Wilbur F. Rose, and formerly a resident of Camden, is the author of a series of eight profusely illustrated volumes on cathedrals and cloisters of France which are regarded as authoritative. Valuable contributions to the historical lore of the city were

made by the late Howard M. Cooper, Esq., whose "Historical Sketches of Camden," the outgrowth of an address before the Camden County Historical Society, is a model of concise statement of fact and readability. His "William Cooper of Greenfield, Woodbury, N. J., and his Cooper Ancestry," tracing the family tree of one branch of the Cooper family, is now excessively rare.

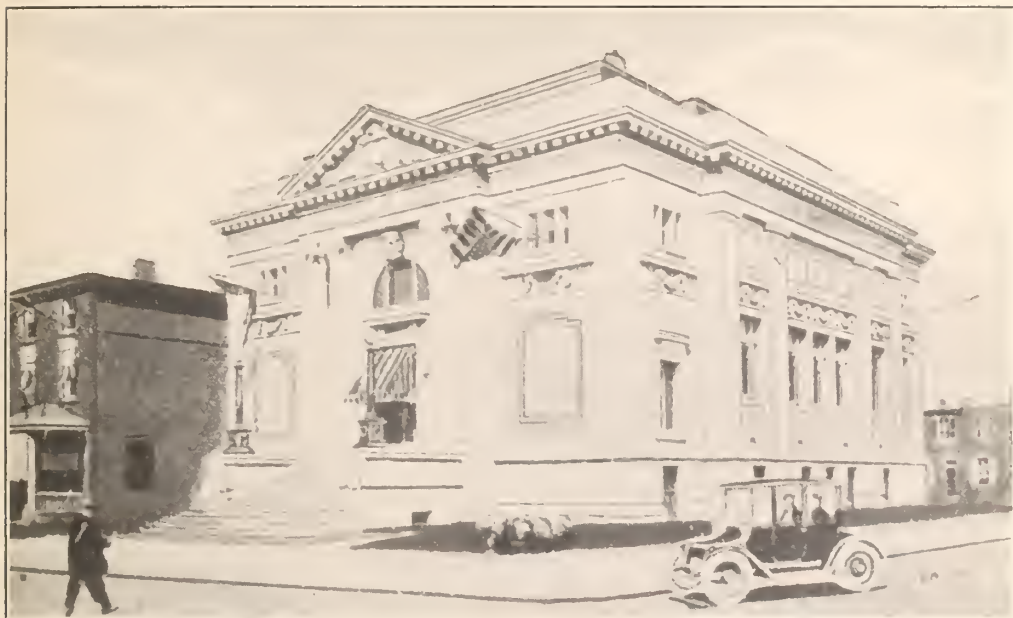
Dr. Wallace McGeorge has contributed many historical sketches concerning old Gloucester County. John Hood, in 1905, published an "Index of Colonial and State Laws of New Jersey between the years 1663 and 1903" which is an invaluable guide to State legislation from the beginning. Dr. E. L. B. Godfrey's "History of the Medical Profession of Camden County," published in 1896, contains a mass of historic, as well as biographical data, and mention must also be made of William Fewsmith and Geoffrey Buckwalter, whose writings were mainly along educational lines; Bartram L. Bonsall, George H. Fort, an authority on Masonic lore; Horace Traubel and Thomas F. Harned, literary executors of Walt Whitman, the former also, at one time, editor of "The Conservator." Of later writings the little book on "Woodrow Wilson's Eloquence" by Hon. John W. Wescott, has attracted much attention, not only because of its subject matter, but also because its author at both the Democratic National Conventions placed Mr. Wilson in nomination for the presidency.

Libraries—The development of the free library system, in Camden as elsewhere, can be traced to the debating associations. Of these, the first was the Newton Juvenile Debating Society, organized on January 24, 1807, by a number of young men in Newton Township, with James Cooper as president, and Joseph Mickle as treasurer. Its sessions, held in the school room attached to the Newton Meeting House and at several other places in or near "the Ferries," were at first interesting and instructive, but its activities ceased within a year and a half.

The Camden Library, located near the corner of Market and King (Front) streets, was probably the earliest public, or semi-public institution of the kind in the city. When and by whom it was started is not known, the only available record of its existence being an advertisement dated November 1, 1831, and appearing in the "Camden Mail" of April 12, 1832, in which the librarian, Richard W. Howell, requested the return of all books belonging to the library.

Following this came the "Circulating Library," conducted by Benjamin Hutchins on Cooper Street, between Third and Fourth, in 1838, but this was purely a private enterprise, with a rental charge of three cents per volume for one week.

With the object of improving the moral and intellectual temper of the youth of the city, the Washington Library Company (sometimes erroneously called the Worthington Library) was organized on February 22, 1836. The company, however, apparently did not attempt to collect books, but devoted its attention entirely to lecture courses. For three seasons—1839-40, 1840-41 and 1841-42—a series of addresses was given in the Camden Academy, the City Hall, or the First Baptist Church, by such men as Joseph R. Chandler, editor of the "United States Gazette," James Wilson, Dr. Caldwell, Dr. Mulford, and David Paul Brown, but interest then seems to have waned and the company disbanded. Closely allied with this organization was a concern, organized on the stock plan and known as The Camden Library Company, which did attempt to make a collection of books, but its affairs seems to have



PUBLIC LIBRARY, CAMDEN



COOPER HOSPITAL, CAMDEN

been wound up at the same time, for in December, 1843, Edward Cole, Joseph D. Folwell, and Isaac Mickle, notified the shareholders that they had in their possession several books belonging to the company which they desired the proper owners to take away.

The Union Debating Society, a rival of the Washington Library Company, was formed in 1837, and during its brief career held its meetings in the basement of the Methodist Church. In 1842-43, too, there was an organization called the Henry Literary Institute, of which Thomas W. Mulford was secretary. Its meetings were held at the City Hall, but little is known of its activities.

Knowledge of the Camden Library Institute, organized in 1846, is limited to the fact that it was an attempt to revive the Camden Library Company; that Isaac W. Mickle was its secretary, and that its meetings were held in Bontemp's Hall.

After a lull of three or four years, the Camden Association for the Diffusion of Knowledge was formed on January 27, 1847, at a meeting in the City Hall called by a group of citizens whose names are woven into the warp and woof of the city history, including James Elwell, John W. Mickle, R. C. Cake, Isaac Cole, Wm. D. Cooper, Richard Feters, John Browning, Samuel Hart, Joshua Hollingshead, Richard W. Howell, J. K. Cowperthwaite, Dr. L. F. Fisler, Isaac Mickle, P. J. Gray, and others of like prominence. For four or five years this association conducted a series of lectures in the old frame school house at Fifth and Arch streets. The first of these courses included the following speakers: Dr. Isaac S. Mulford, the historian; Editor Joseph R. Chandler; Dr. O. H. Taylor, Dr. Theodore F. King, James B. Dayton, Esq.; Morton McMichael, later mayor of Philadelphia; Edward Browning, Thomas W. Mulford, and Dr. Fisler.

Of much longer life was the Camden Literary and Library Association, organized in September, 1852, "to establish a literary and reading room, to provide facilities for mental development and improvement by the institution of lectures, debates, and such other means as may be deemed best adapted to accomplish the end in view." The second floor of Odd Fellow's Hall (now Morgan's Hall) was rented as a meeting place; there the assembling of a library was begun in short order and a course of lectures given in the following winter. During the thirty years of its existence the society occupied at various times No. 210 Market Street, No. 122 Cooper Street, the northeast corner of Fourth and Market streets, and finally, in 1867, the third floor of No. 106 Market Street, which it occupied in conjunction with the Young Men's Christian Association. The literary department, which had been dormant for a number of years, was revived in 1869 under the name Union Institute, and before it went out of existence in 1882 for lack of support, the library contained about twenty-five hundred volumes.

The Young Men's Debating Club and Lyceum, instituted November 1, 1866, met in Test's Hall, northwest corner of Second and Federal streets, until September, 1870, thereafter assembling in the rooms of the Young Men's Christian Association, where, shortly afterward, it combined with the Union Institute under the name of the Union Lyceum.

In 1873, Camden lost one of the finest opportunities to obtain one of the most valuable collections of books on historical subjects ever gotten together by a private collector. Frederick Bourquin, a native of Switzerland, who had located in Camden in 1851, in that year offered his large historical library to the city of Camden upon condition that the municipality would

provide a suitable building in which it could be housed, and made available to the public. After the rejection of the offer, the books were sold at a public auction and to give an idea of its size it is only necessary to state that four hundred and seventy-five pages of closely printed matter was required to catalogue the numerous items.

The first attempt to establish a Free Library came in 1898, when the members of the Women's Club of Camden collected about a thousand books and a fund of \$2,500 for that purpose. The city gave the use of the old house in Cooper Park, formerly the residence of Dr. Richard M. Cooper, for one year, and, as the experiment was successful, not only continued that arrangement but voted five hundred dollars of public money the next year for its maintenance. In November, 1902, acceptance of the State "Free Library Law" was sanctioned by the electorate, and since then one-third of a mill on every dollar of assessable property has been available for library purposes.

As soon as The Public Library Trustees were appointed, the books which had been collected by the voluntary association were turned over to them and for several years the old Cooper house served as the only public library. In a few years a gift of \$120,000 was secured from Andrew Carnegie, the munificent patron of free libraries, and with this sum the trustees were able to erect the main library building, a branch on the East Side, and to remodel the Cooper house. The main building, at Broadway and Line Street, was opened to the public on June 27, 1905; the East Side Branch, at Federal Street and Westfield Avenue, on June 18, 1906; and the Cooper Park Branch, which was closed for one year, again threw open its doors on September 10, 1907.

In 1915, Mr. Eldridge R. Johnson, president of the Victor Talking Machine Company, offered to replace the old building in Cooper Park with a modern structure at his own expense. The offer, which stipulated that he should select the architects, who were to have entire supervision of the work was accepted by the City Council on December 30, 1915, and the new building, of pure Roman-Ionic design and constructed of Indian limestone, was opened to the public in October, 1918.

There are several other small libraries in this city serving local sections such as the North Baptist Church Library, established in connection with that church in March, 1886. When the church building at the corner of Second and Pearl streets was vacated, the library was installed in the houses on the west side of Fourth Street north of Wilson Street and opened for inspection on January 2, 1896. The Pyne Poynte Library was opened in the old Cope House in Pyne Poynte Park in 1898.

CHAPTER VI.

GLOUCESTER CITY.

After the transfer of the county seat of Gloucester County to Woodbury in 1786, Gloucester-town speedily declined. Instead of the hundred houses it once had, Isaac Mickle, the historian (1825-1855), recalled a time when it had but a dozen, when its streets were ploughed up and desolation sat everywhere. In fact the whole township, which stretched between Newton and Timber Creek back as far as the present Mt. Ephraim, had a population of but six hundred and eighty-six when the Federal census of 1830 was taken.

Ten years later, when Gloucester-town Township and a portion of Glou-

chester Township had been laid together as Union Township, the population of the whole was only 1,075, of whom possibly two hundred resided within the present city limits. At that time agriculture and the shad fisheries—planked shad was still in its infancy as a local specialty—formed the principal occupations of the inhabitants.

But a turn was at hand. In 1844—the year Camden County was erected—David S. Brown, a native of Dover, New Hampshire, who had become a prosperous dry goods merchant in Philadelphia, settled upon Gloucester as the site of the large cotton mill which he and his associates projected. That venture, which resulted in the establishment of the noted Washington Mills, in latter days known as the Argo Mills, was only the first of the enterprises which he initiated and which, in the course of the next thirty years, transformed Gloucester from a deserted village into a thriving industrial town.

Ground for the first unit of the Washington Mills, a four-story structure three hundred feet long and fifty feet wide, was broken July 1, 1844, and the first bricks laid on August 15 following. Designed for the manufacture of white cotton goods, to break foreign control of the American market, the first cops of yarn were spun on July 31, 1845, and by August 7 the first loom was running. With three hundred and twenty-four narrow and seventy-four wide looms, and 14,592 spindles, employment was given to three hundred and sixty-three hands. The impetus imparted to the growth of Gloucester was almost immediately apparent, the census of 1850 showing a population of 2,188.

Eventually six other similar mills were built on the ten-acre site bounded by Mercer, King, and Monmouth streets and the Delaware River, the factory structures occupying the space between Ellis Street and the river. On the northern portion of the remainder of the tract, boarding houses were erected for the unmarried employes, while the southern half, planted with shade trees, was thrown open to the employes as a recreation ground.

In 1845, Mr. Brown and his associates incorporated the Gloucester Manufacturing Company, to bleach, dye, and print the product of the Washington Mills. For that purpose the Gloucester Print Works were built in 1850, and enlarged five years later for the introduction of printing machinery. Burnt to the ground on September 14, 1868, they were immediately rebuilt, with a capacity of 836,000 pieces of calico annually.

The Ancona Printing Works—now, together with the old Washington Mills, in the possession of the Armstrong Cork Company—next sprang into existence under the auspices of the Brown interests. Built in 1871 on the river front between the Washington Mills and the Gloucester Print Works, they introduced newly discovered methods of applying colors to cotton goods and scored an immediate success with their "Dolly Vardens" and other unique printed muslins. In the same year the gingham factory which Samuel Raby, the first superintendent of the Washington Mills, had established south of Jersey Avenue in 1859, was taken over and re-equipped for the production of a finer grade of goods. As a result of frequent expansions to keep pace with the demand for its wares, this establishment was finally housed in seven principal buildings and nineteen annexes covering seven acres of ground.

In 1871, too, this versatile captain of industry incorporated the Gloucester Iron Works, to take over the foundry which William Sexton and James O. Michellon, long connected with the Starr Iron Works in Camden, had built on the river, near Newton Creek, in 1864. He also had a hand in the

terra cotta works, to the south of Jersey Avenue on the Delaware, and was the leading spirit in the construction of the Camden, Gloucester and Mt. Ephraim Railroad, then popularly known as the "Peanut Line," incorporated in 1865, as well as of the Gloucester City Gas Works, incorporated and constructed in 1873, and the Gloucester City Savings Institution, which had a prosperous career of a dozen years before it passed out of existence in 1884.

Under the influence of this era of industrial prosperity, the town was, in 1868, incorporated as Gloucester City, governed by a mayor and six councilmen. Under an amendment to the charter in 1871 the number of councilmen was increased to nine, at which it still remains, and in 1883 the city was divided, as now, into two wards, each electing four members of Council, leaving the ninth to be elected at large. The sessions of this body have been held, since 1869, in the two-story brick City Hall located on Monmouth Street, above Burlington Street.

Gloucester had no fire department prior to 1875, when a fire, which might have been disastrous had it not been for the steam power and hose-line from the Washington and Ancona Works, caused immediate attention to be given to the organization of a volunteer company. Originally the equipment consisted of one hook-and-ladder truck, six fire extinguishers, six hooks, thirty-six buckets, axes, etc., but in 1878 a thousand feet of hose was added and a carriage purchased of the Union Hose Company of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Patrick Mealey, who had served as foreman from the first, was then made chief engineer, and the creditable record made by the "redshirts" under him has been maintained by his successors. Agitation for a paid department, the inevitable result of the recent rapid growth of the city, is gaining strength at this writing, and the days of the volunteer are apparently numbered.

Gloucester has a municipal wharf, built at the foot of Mercer Street as early as 1873. In the same year a start was made on a well-planned sewer system, and in 1884 individual wells, which had up to that time furnished the town with its water, were replaced by a system of artesian wells located on lands adjacent to Newton Creek.

Though the catches of the shad fisheries had materially decreased, fresh importance was given to that industry about 1876, when the purveyors of planked shad began to make the merits of that dish more widely known by the liberal use of printer's ink. William J. Thompson, who had surrendered the lease of the Buena Vista House to John Plum, built a new hotel farther south of the shore, and the rivalry between the two *restaurateurs*, led to extensive advertising, which brought visitors from far and near to sample the dish which Gloucester thus made its own. It laid the foundation of the fortune which Thompson accumulated and started him off on his spectacular career as the "Duke of Gloucester."

In later years the city obtained an unenviable reputation on account of the race track on her southern border, where book-making and all the evils in such enterprises were in full blast. Conditions became so bad that a general protest was raised by the people of South Jersey, and at the session of 1893, the Legislature passed the famous anti-race track bill, prohibiting betting and book-making within the State. The first race at the track was run on Labor Day, September 1, 1890, a horse named Gloucester winning the first brush; the last took place on Thanksgiving Day, 1893.

Thereafter Gloucester settled down to the more humdrum task of regaining some of its waning prestige as an industrial community. Today it has six large manufacturing plants besides the large shipyards erected during

the "Great War" by the Pennsylvania and New Jersey Shipbuilding Companies. Of these, the Welsbach Company, on the site formerly occupied by Brown's bleachery at Ellis and Essex streets, employs 1,200 hands in the making of gas mantles, fixtures, lamps, burners, and radiators. The plant goes back to about 1880, and a memorable incident in its history was the presentation of a quantity of radium to its discoverer, Mme. Curie, during her visit to America in 1921.

The Hinde and Dauch Paper Company employs two hundred and fifty hands in the manufacture of paper and corrugated boxes. Its factory, at Spruce and Ann streets, occupies the site of Raby's gingham mills. Breslin Brothers, Sixth and Powell streets, gives employment to four hundred in the production of rugs. The John M. Rogers Works, at the foot of Monmouth Street, are makers of tools and precision instruments. The Forrest Mercerizing Company, in the old coffee plant at Essex and Railroad Avenue, is principally engaged in finishing hosiery yarns. Both the famous Ancona and Argo mills are in the possession of the Armstrong Cork Company, makers of corkboard and pipe coverings, who have built a wharf five hundred feet long for cargo steamers bringing cork from Spain.

The dissolution of the Gloucester Ferry Company in the summer of 1923—a loss which would be a severe one for the city were it not for the prospective completion of the Camden-Philadelphia bridge within little more than two years—probably wrote the last chapter of a story which had its beginning in 1695. In that year John Reading was granted a license for a ferry from Gloucester to Wicaco on the Pennsylvania shore, and conducted it until 1707. Thereafter it passed through the hands of John Spey, Joseph Hugg, Richard Weldon, and John Ladd, eventually coming into the possession of the Hugg's again, who in 1750 built the Surf House, or Hugg's Hotel, which is still standing north of the old ferry landing.

This enterprise seems to have declined some time prior to the Revolution, and though there may have been sporadic attempts to re-establish it after the war, the first to gain a permanent footing was the service begun by Robert Wharton, the noted mayor of Philadelphia, about 1816, between Greenwich Point and Gloucester. Both Wharton and his son-in-law, Samuel Shoemaker, who succeeded him, made use of team-boats, one of which, propelled by six horses, was the sensation of the day. Steam as the motive power was introduced by Robert Wharton Sykes, nephew of the Mayor, who took over the ferry, together with more than a hundred acres of land in Gloucester, in 1835. One of the boats which he built for the line was the ill-fated "New Jersey," destroyed by fire in 1856, while in the service of the Camden and Philadelphia Ferry Company.

About 1845, Captain Richard F. Loper obtained control of the ferry and began running the boats to Almond Street, Philadelphia. Increasing patronage, due to the revival of Gloucester's fame as a pleasure resort, demanded better and larger boats, and in rapid succession the "Stockton," "Fashion," "Peytona" and "Eclipse," the latter named after popular race horses of the day, were built and put in service. In 1850, when Loper incorporated the business as the Philadelphia Ferry Company, with William M. Baird and Benjamin F. McMurtrie as his associates, the Gloucester terminal was removed to the foot of Jersey Avenue. After a time they leased the ferry to Charles Stewart, but Loper took hold again in the early sixties, when Wilmon Whilldin, the noted Delaware River captain, became associated with him. In 1865, Loper sold out to A. Heckman, and on Whilldin's death, four years

later, his share passed to his son-in-law, William M. Farr. It was under Heckman and Farr that the ferry attained its greatest development. To accommodate the crowds which now flocked to Gloucester, they built commodious waiting rooms at the slips, and put on two new boats, the "Fulton" and "Exchange." Soon thereafter they began to build the celebrated two-deckers, with a capacity of from 1,500 to 2,000 people, far ahead of any similar craft of their day. Of these the "Peerless" was built in 1872, and the "Dauntless" in 1876, followed in 1893 by the "Fearless," recently put into the Pennsgrove-Wilmington service. When the tide of pleasure-seekers turned to the amusement parks lower down the river, their profitable operation was confined to the growing season, when they were laden to capacity with the trucks of the South Jersey farmers. But with the increase in operating costs occasioned by the World War, this seasonal patronage did not suffice and suspension became inevitable.

The first school house in Gloucester was a log cabin which was replaced about 1830 by a frame structure located east of the Union cemetery. This in turn was, a decade later, succeeded by a brick house erected on Hudson Street, near Broadway, which played a prominent part in the little town, housing in their infancy both the Presbyterian congregation and the small Catholic flock of St. Mary's.

To-day, Gloucester has one high school and five elementary schools, with an average daily attendance of 1,600 pupils, in addition to the parochial schools of St. Mary's, in which about 1,000 pupils are enrolled.

The religious life of the community finds expression in eight organized congregations, the First Methodist Episcopal, First Presbyterian, St. Mary's Catholic, First Baptist—all of these being located on Monmouth Street; the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Ascension, on Sussex Street; Bethany Lutheran, on Fourth Street, near Hunter; the Second Methodist, on Eighth Street; and the Church of God, on North Burlington Street. Of these, the first in the field was the First Methodist, which had its origin in the generosity of Robert W. Sykes, who, in 1839, donated to its use a plot on the north side of Market Street, between Burlington and Sussex, and erected upon it a structure which was at first called "Sykes' Chapel," though subsequently, at the request of the donor, the name was changed to Gloucester Point Chapel. Within three months the church was burned to the ground, but was almost immediately replaced, through the liberality of Mr. Sykes, by a brick building more centrally located on King Street, near Somerset, where the congregation worshipped until 1851, when removal to the present site on Monmouth Street occurred. This structure was destroyed by fire in the midst of a great revival on the night of December 3, 1882, and worship was conducted in the City Hall until the dedication of the present edifice on December 23, 1883.

Of the other congregations organized during the first half of the nineteenth century, the Presbyterian Church dates its founding back to a meeting held in Washington Hall, on King Street, June 26, 1847; the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Ascension is only a few months younger, having been organized in the Hudson Street school house November 29 of the same year, while St. Mary's celebrated its first Mass in Philip Francis Scanlon's house, northwest corner of North King and Hudson streets, in January, 1848.

Banking facilities for Gloucester's population of 14,000 are provided by a branch of the Security Trust Company, of Camden, and by the Gloucester City Trust Company. The latter, incorporated July 20, 1917, began business at No. 506 Monmouth Street on the 17th of November following, but moved

into a modern banking house at Monmouth and Atlantic streets, on January 1, 1924.

The tercentenary of the founding of Gloucester by the Dutch under Captain Cornelius Jacobse Mey was worthily celebrated on June 22, 23 and 24, 1923, in a series of commemorative exercises. The first day's program, on the grounds of the Federal Immigration Station, occupying the William J. Thompson estate, included addresses by the Governor of New Jersey, the Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania and Dr. Henry C. Conrad, representing the Governor of Delaware, by the Charge d'Affaires of the Netherlands Embassy, and Chancellor Edward J. Walker, together with an historical discourse by Hon. Charles Van Dyke Joline, president of the Netherlands Society of Pennsylvania, and the recitation of a memorial ode by James Lane Penny-packer, of Haddonfield. The exercises were held under the joint auspices of the municipal authorities of Gloucester City and the Camden County Historical Society, represented respectively by Mayor James H. J. McNally, and President Charles S. Boyer. The second day, Saturday, was marked by a great parade, and Sunday, by special services in the churches.

This first settlement of white men on the shores of the Delaware had been commemorated, on November 22, 1920, by the dedication of a massive granite shaft bearing a description of old Fort Nassau. This monument is located on Cumberland Street, between Broadway and Atlantic Street, and was erected under the supervision of a commission appointed by the Governor of New Jersey and including John H. Fort, President, Frank H. Stewart, and Alfred M. Heston.

Hugg's Hotel, built in 1750, is not the only ancient landmark that may still be seen by the visitor to Gloucester. Of almost as great an age is the Harrison Manor House, which goes back to 1756. This is located on Newton Creek, near the Collings Avenue entrance and in the vicinity of the famous chalybeate spring, once so great an attraction to pleasure-loving Philadelphians. On the river front, at low tide, may still be seen the timbers of the British frigate "Augusta," sunk October 23, 1777, in attempting to force the *chevaux de frise* at Red Bank, and raised in 1869 by a dredging company, afterwards being towed to Gloucester for exhibition purposes. Nearby, along Boat House Row, formerly stood a walnut tree and a buttonwood tree, under which were held the annual elections of the Gloucester, or Western Division of the Council of Proprietors. The buttonwood tree disappeared many years ago and the walnut tree was blown down in 1918, but on this same site the annual elections of this ancient organization are still held.

CHAPTER VII. TOWNSHIPS.

Camden County covers the area of three of the five original townships into which old Gloucester County was divided in 1694 in compliance with the edict of the General Assembly that the counties of the Western Division should be set off into townships. The division was made by the Grand Jury and approved by the Court of Gloucester County on June 1, 1695; thus began the townships of Newton, Waterford and Gloucester.

At the present time there are ten townships, two cities and twelve boroughs within Camden County. Dr. Carlos E. Godfrey, director of the Public Record Office, has prepared a table showing the numerous changes which have taken place within the three original townships, from which the following facts are gleaned.

From Gloucester Township the following sub-divisions were made:

- (a) Gloucester Town Township by royal patent in 1773, although it had previously exercised, apparently without definite authority, many of the rights of a township.
- (b) Union Township established in 1831.
- (c) Winslow Township erected in 1845.
- (d) Clementon Township created in 1903.

From Newton Township were created:

- (a) Camden Township in 1831.
- (b) Haddon Township in 1865.
- (c) The balance was absorbed by Camden City and Haddon Township in 1871.

The original boundary lines of Waterford Township were maintained for nearly one hundred and fifty years before any subdivisions took place. From this territory have been taken the following:

- (a) Delaware Township created in 1844.
- (b) Chesilhurst Borough was formed partly from Waterford Township in 1887.
- (c) Voorhees Township erected in 1899.
- (d) Berlin Township established in 1910.

Some of the townships which were created out of the original divisions of the county still exist, while others have, like Newton Township, completely disappeared. Their political history may be traced as follows:

Gloucester Town Township was combined with part of Gloucester Township to form Union Township (1831).

Camden Township was consolidated with the City of Camden in 1848.

Union Township (1831) was annexed to Gloucester City in 1868, but before this occurred a portion of the township was taken in 1855 to form Centre Township.

Delaware Township (1844) still exists, though its area was considerably diminished by the erection of Stockton Township in 1859.

Winslow Township (1845) gave up a small portion of its area in 1887 to form part of Chesilhurst Borough.¹

Centre Township (1855) had been partitioned in the creation in 1904 of Haddon Heights Borough, to which Haddon Township also contributed; of Magnolia Borough, jointly with Clementon Township, in 1915; of Tavistock Borough in 1921; of Brooklawn Borough in 1924. In all likelihood it will disappear at the next session of the Legislature in the erection of new boroughs, with Mt. Ephraim, Bellmawr and Runnemede as their respective seats.

Stockton Township (1859), from which Merchantville Borough was taken in 1874, and Pensauken Township in 1892, was consolidated into the Town of Stockton in 1894. In 1899, the Legislature annexed the Town of Stockton to the City of Camden.

Haddon Township (1865) still exists, though its area has been materially decreased through the successive erection of Haddonfield Borough in 1875, Collingswood Borough in 1882², Woodlynne in 1901, Haddon Heights in 1904 (Centre Township also contributing), and Audubon and Oaklyn Boroughs in 1905.

Voorhees Township (1899) remained intact until 1924, when Gibbsboro Borough was cut out of it.

Clementon Township which was created in 1903, has already had two municipalities taken from it, namely Laurel Springs Borough in 1913, and Magnolia Borough in 1915, towards the latter Centre Township also contributing some of its area.

Pensauken Township (1892) and Berlin Township (1910) still retain their original bounds unchanged.

In addition to the above, Washington Township, created out of a portion of old Deptford Township in Gloucester County, in 1836, was included within the original bounds of Camden County, but by an act of February 28, 1871, it was returned to Gloucester County.

¹ Incorporated by a General Act of the Legislature.

² Incorporated by General Legislative Act, the election being held May 22, 1888. No record of this action having been filed in the County Clerk's office, the Legislature of 1911 passed a validating act, which incorporated the borough as of date of May 22, 1888.

Population and Taxable Valuation of Camden County Municipalities.

	Population Rateables	
	1920	1924
Camden City	116,309	\$157,851,543
Gloucester City	12,162	8,719,097
Boroughs.		
Audubon	4,740	6,080,579
Barrington	1,333	1,113,601
Chesilhurst	287	127,233
Collingswood	8,714	11,163,578
Haddonfield	5,646	7,719,671
Haddon Heights	2,950	4,593,985
Laurel Springs	911	1,071,768
Magnolia	1,245	919,400
Merchantville	4,754	4,356,013
Oaklyn	1,148	1,702,470
Tavistock	25	91,000
Woodlynne	1,515	1,502,054
Townships.		
Berlin	2,093	1,262,745
Centre (1)	4,004	5,939,825
Clementon	3,491	4,241,355
Delaware	2,331	2,453,272
Gloucester	3,097	3,135,583
Haddon	2,708	4,335,836
Pensauken	4,469	8,797,266
Voorhees (2)	1,305	1,162,419
Waterford	1,917	809,565
Winslow	3,379	1,980,397
Totals	190,533	\$241,130,255

Newton Township.—The township, or constabulary, of Newton—defined as fronting on the Delaware River and bounded by Cooper Creek on the north, and the lowermost branch of Newton Creek on the south, and extending between said streams to a line drawn between the headwaters of the two creeks—was the site of the earliest English settlement in Camden County, antedating the founding of Philadelphia. It was founded in compliance with an act of the General Assembly of West Jersey adopted in 1694 and officially sanctioned on June 1, 1695. The earliest mention, however, of Newton Township in any legislation appears to be in the Act of 1701, wherein Martin Jervis was appointed assessor and collector, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the tax law passed by the Provincial Assembly in 1700.

That the inhabitants of the township of Newton took quite a lively interest in the proceedings of the General Assembly is shown in an original manuscript petition dated January 13, 1774, which came to light several years ago, relating to the celebrated controversy over the removal of Stephen Skinner from the office of Secretary of the Treasury of the Province of New Jersey for a shortage in his accounts of over £6,575, which he claimed had been stolen from the treasury. This document was signed by seventy prominent citizens of the township, including Jacob Stokes, Benjamin Thackery, Joseph

(1) Including Brooklawn Borough.

(2) Including Gibbsboro Borough.

Mickle, Isaac Burroughs, James Sloan, Joseph Sloan, Benjamin Graybury, William Chew, Samuel Webster, Samuel Clement, Joseph Lippincott, Thomas Stephens, and Thomas Clement, and read in part as follows:

To the Honorable House of Representatives of the Colony of New Jersey, in General Assembly Convened.—The Petition of a Number of the Inhabitants of the Township of Newton, in the County of Gloucester.—Humbly Showeth—that by the Minutes of the last Session of the Assembly it appears, Your House were of the Opinion that the Robbery of the Eastern Treasury said to be Committed, happened for want of that security and care that was Necessary to keep it in Safety, and that you requested the Governor to remove the Treasurer. We take the liberty to inform the House that we think your request very reasonable.

For one hundred and thirty-three years, the people of this section went along in the even tenor of their way, holding town meetings and electing township officers and members of the Board of Freeholders. In the early days outside of the settlements which later made up the City of Camden, the township contained only the villages of Haddonfield and Rowandtown, or Roundtown (afterwards called Glenwood and now known as Westmont.) It is interesting to note that in 1818 the population of the entire township was only 1,951, while Gloucester City, the principal town included within the bounds of the present Camden County, had a population of 1,726.

The town meetings, until 1737, were all held at the old Newton Meeting House, which formerly stood near the graveyard adjacent to the present West Collingswood Station on the Reading Railroad. In the next year the town meeting was held in the Friends' school house at Haddonfield.

The records of the old township are, like those of many of the older municipalities, either lost or scattered, making it impossible to compile a complete list of township officers or activities. About fifty years ago, however, Judge Clement, who at that time had apparently seen the minute book for the years 1723 to 1737, prepared a list of the officers for this period, which should be made a matter of permanent record and are, therefore, here set down. The list is as follows:

1723—Township Clerk, Thomas Sharp; Overseers of Poor, Joseph Cooper, Jr., John Gill.

1724—Township Clerk, Thomas Sharp; Overseers of Poor, John Eastlack, John Gill; Freeholders, Joseph Cooper, Thomas Sharp; Assessor, Joseph Cooper, Jr.; Collector, William Cooper; Surveyors of Highways, Jacob Medcalf, Samuel Shivers, Joseph Kaighn, Thomas Dennis; Overseers of Roads, Samuel Sharp, William Albertson.

1725—Township Clerk, Thomas Sharp; Overseers of Poor, James Hinchman, Jacob Medcalf; Freeholders, John Kay, John Kaighn; Assessor, Joseph Cooper, Jr.; Collector, John Eastlack; Surveyors of Highways, William Cooper, Benjamin Cooper, Jacob Medcalf, Thomas Atmore; Overseers of Roads, Samuel Sharp, William Albertson.

1726—Township Clerk, Thomas Sharp; Overseers of Poor, James Hinchman, Jacob Medcalf; Freeholders, James Hinchman, William Cooper; Assessor, Joseph Cooper, Jr.; Collector, Benjamin Cooper; Surveyors of Highways, Jacob Medcalf, John Kaighn; Overseers of Roads, Joseph Kaighn, William Dennis.

1727—Township Clerk, Thomas Sharp; Overseers of Poor, Joseph Kaighn, John Gill; Freeholders, Joseph Cooper, Joseph Cooper, Jr.; Assessor, Joseph Cooper, Jr.; Collector, Samuel Sharp; Constable, Samuel Sharp; Surveyors of Highways, John Kaighn, James Hinchman, William Cooper, Jacob Medcalf; Overseers of Roads, John Eastlack, Caleb Sprague.

1728—Township Clerk, Thomas Sharp; Overseers of Poor, Joseph Kaighn, Simeon Breach; Freeholders, Robert Zane, John Kaighn; Assessor, Joseph Cooper, Jr.; Collector, John Gill; Constable, Thomas Atmore; Surveyors of Highways, William Cooper, Benjamin Cooper, Isaac Cooper, Mark Newbie; Overseers of Roads, John Eastlack, Caleb Sprague.

1729—Township Clerk, Samuel Sharp; Overseers of Poor, Joseph Kaighn, Simeon Breach; Freeholders, William Cooper, John Kaighn; Assessor, Joseph Cooper, Jr.; Col-

lector, Thomas Atmore; Surveyors of Highways, Robert Zane, Samuel Sharp, Joseph Ellis, Joseph Zane; Overseers of Roads, John Eastlack, Caleb Sprague.

1730-31—Township Clerk, Joseph Kaighn; Overseers of Poor, Robert Zane, Joseph Kaighn; Freeholders, Robert Zane, Joseph Kaighn; Assessor, John Cooper, Jr.; Collector John Gill; Constable, Thomas Perrywebb; Surveyors of Highways, Joseph Cooper, Jr., John Eastlack, Simeon Breach, Caleb Sprague; Overseers of Roads, Caleb Sprague, John Gill.

1732—Township Clerk, John Kaighn; Overseers of Poor, Robert Zane, Joseph Kaighn; Freeholders, Robert Zane, Joseph Kaighn; Assessor, Joseph Cooper, Jr.; Collector, James Graysbury; Constable, William Albertson; Surveyors of Highways, James Hinchman, John Kaighn, Robert Hubbs, Joseph Kaighn; Overseer of Roads, Isaac Cooper, Joseph Zane (Robert Stephens acted as Overseer of Poor in place of Robert Zane from September to the following March).

1733—Township Clerk, Joseph Kaighn; Overseers of Poor, Tobias Halloway, John Gill; Freeholders, Tobias Halloway Joseph Kaighn; Assessor, Joseph Cooper, Jr.; Collector, William Albertson; Constable, William Dennis; Surveyors of Highways, James Hinchman, John Eastlack, John Kaighn, Joseph Kaighn; Overseers of Roads, Isaac Cooper, Joseph Zane.

1734—Township Clerk, John Kaighn; Overseers of Poor, Tobias Halloway, Joseph Kaighn; Freeholders, James Hinchman, Timothy Matlack; Assessor, Joseph Cooper, Jr.; Collector, Joseph Mickle; Constable, Joseph Mickle; Surveyors of Highways, James Hinchman, Timothy Matlack, Joseph Ellis, William Albertson; Overseers of Roads, Samuel Sharp, John Brick.

1735—Township Clerk, John Kaighn, Overseers of Poor, Joseph Kaighn, Robert Stephens; Freeholders, Joseph Kaighn, Isaac Cooper; Assessor, Joseph Cooper, Jr.; Collector, John Kaighn; Constable, John Kaighn; Surveyors of Highways, James Hinchman, Joseph Cooper, Joseph Kaighn, Robert Hubbs; Overseers of Roads, John Kaighn, James Graysbury.

1736—Township Clerk, John Kaighn; Overseers of Poor, Benjamin Cooper, William Albertson; Freeholders, Timothy Matlack, Joseph Kaighn; Assessor, John Gill; Collector, John Kaighn; Constable, John Kaighn; Surveyors of Highways, Samuel Clement, John Kaighn, William Albertson, Isaac Albertson; Overseers of Roads, John Eastlack, Tobias Halloway.

1737—Township Clerk, John Kaighn; Overseers of Poor, Benjamin Cooper, Thomas Atmore; Freeholders, Timothy Matlack, Joseph Kaighn; Collector, Samuel Clement, Constable, John Kaighn; Surveyors of Highways, James Hinchman, William Albertson, Joseph Kaighn, Robert Hubbs; Overseers of Roads, Robert Hubbs, Isaac Albertson.

Between 1737 and 1823, no lists of township officers can be found and, while the names of some of those holding office during this period are known, it is not until the latter year when the newspaper files are available, that a complete list can be compiled.

1823—Township Clerk, Josiah Atkinson; Overseers of Poor, Isaac Webster, Joseph Myers; Freeholders, John Clement, John Roberts; Assessor, Joseph Collins; Collector, Ruben Ludlam; Commissioners of Appeals, Turner Risdon, Gideon V. Stivers, J. K. Cowperthwait; Surveyors of Highways, Hugh Hatch, Isaac Mickle, Jr.; Overseers of Roads, Joseph Middleton, Samuel Burrough, Samuel Pine; Township Committee, John Wessell, Richardson Andrews, John Clement, Thomas Redman, Thomas Rowand; Constable, John Porter; Poundkeepers, Benjamin Springer, Thomas Porter; Judge of Elections, Joseph Porter.

1824—Township Clerk, Samuel Ellis; Overseers of Poor, Joseph Myers, Thomas Porter; Freeholders, Isaac Wilkins, Samuel C. Champion; Assessor, Joseph Porter; Collector, Richardson Andrews; Commissioners of Appeals, Gideon V. Stivers, Samuel Laning, Jacob Roberts; Surveyors of Highways, Hugh Hatch, Joseph W. Cooper; Overseers of Roads, Joseph Middleton, Samuel Burrough, Evan Clement; Township Committee, Thomas Redman, John Clement, Thomas Rowand, Samuel Scull, Isaac Cole; Constables, John Porter, James Githens; Poundkeepers, Benjamin Springer, Thomas Porter; Judge of Elections, J. K. Cowperthwait.

1825—Township Clerk, Samuel Ellis; Overseers of the Poor, Jacob Myers, Thomas Porter; Freeholders, Samuel C. Champion, John Roberts; Assessor, Jacob Roberts; Collector, Richardson Andrews; Commissioners of Appeals, Gideon V. Stivers, Isaac Webster, Joseph Porter; Surveyors of Highways, Joseph W. Cooper, David B. Roberts; Overseers of Roads, Joseph Middleton, John Sloan, Evan Clement; Township Committee, John Clement, Thomas Redman, Joseph Kaighn, John Wessell, Isaac Smith; Constables, John Porter, James Githens; Poundkeepers, Benjamin Springer, Thomas Porter; Judge of Elections, Isaac Wilkins.

1826—Township Clerk, Samuel Ellis; Overseers of Poor, Thomas Porter, Joshua B. Fennimore; Freeholders, Gideon V. Stivers, John Roberts; Assessor, Jacob Roberts; Collector, Richardson Andrews; Commissioners of Appeals, Samuel Laning, Turner Ris-

don, Ebenezer Toole; Surveyors of Highways, Jacob L. Rowand, Samuel Nicholson; Overseers of Roads, Joseph Middleton, John Small, Richard Stow; Township Committee, John Clement, Thomas Redman, Samuel Scull, John Wessell, Isaac Jones; Constables, John Porter, James Githens; Poundkeepers, Benjamin Springer, Thomas Porter; Judge of Elections, Samuel G. Thackray.

1827—Township Clerk, Samuel Ellis; Overseers of the Poor, Thomas Porter, Benjamin T. Davis; Freeholders, John Roberts, Gideon V. Stivers; Assessor, Jacob Roberts; Collector, Paul C. Laning; Commissioners of Appeals, Samuel Laning, Turner Risdon, Ebenezer Toole; Surveyors of Highways, Samuel Nicholson, Hugh Hatch; Overseers of Roads, Joseph Middleton, Amos Willis, Michael Stow; Township Committee, John Clement, Thomas Redman, John Wessell, Isaac Jones, Richardson Andrews; Constables, John Porter, Joseph G. Albertson; Poundkeepers, Benjamin Springer, Isaac Horner; Judge of Elections, Samuel C. Thackray.

Gloucester Township.—The boundaries of old Gloucester Township were fixed by the court in 1695 as "from ye said Newton Creek branch to ye lowermost branch of Gloucester River (Timber Creek)." For over sixty years the township extended from the Delaware to the Atlantic Ocean, and it was not until 1761 that a definite boundary line was established for the easterly side of the township. The first constable was Elias Hugg, and at the time of the formation of the constabularies this was the only official deemed necessary. Many of the early records of the township have until recently been inaccessible. Lately the original minutes for the years 1747 to 1807 have been brought to light and are now in the custody of the Camden County Historical Society. They furnish valuable information concerning the early inhabitants of this period and the following extracts are taken from this interesting record:

TOWNSHIP CLERKS.

1747-48—Josiah Albertson.	1789 —Aaron Chew.
1749-52—Gabriel Davis	1790-94—Joseph Hall Fleming.
1753-57—Josiah Albertson.	1794-98—Aaron Chew.
1758-61—Joseph Harris.	1799-1800—Daniel Bassett, Jr.
1762-65—John Hinchman.	1801-04—Samuel Cheesman.
1766-70—Jacob Jennings.	1805 —John Tomlinson.
1771-81—Isaac Tomlinson.	1806-07—Daniel Bassett, Jr.
1782-88—John Hedger.	1808 —John Tomlinson.

CHOSEN FREEHOLDERS.

1747-50—John Tomlinson.	1781 —Peter Cheesman.
1747-48—Samuel McColloch.	1781 —Richard Cheesman, Jr.
1749-50—Henry Roe.	1782-83—Lazarus Pine.
1751-56—John Hillman.	1782 —John Hedger.
1751-52—Thomas Cheesman.	1783 —John Hider.
1753-56—Joseph Tomlinson.	1784-85—Ephraim Tomlinson.
1757-60—John Gill.	1784 —Richard Burden.
1757-61—John Hinchman.	1785 —Richard Cheesman.
1761 —William Davis.	1786-90—Isaac Tomlinson.
1762-63—Josiah Albertson.	1786-88—John Hider.
1762-64—Richard Cheesman.	1789 —Ephraim Tomlinson.
1764 —John Hillman.	1790 —John Hedger.
1765-67—Josiah Albertson.	1791 —George Sparks.
1765-69—John Hider.	1791-96—John Hider.
1768 —David Hurley.	1792-98—Isaac Tomlinson.
1769 —Peter Cheesman.	1797 —John Thorne
1770 —Isaac Tomlinson.	1798 —Joseph Bolton.
1770-71—Joseph Hillman.	1799 —Edmund Brewer.
1771-73—Jacob Jennings.	1799 —John B. Morgau.
1772-76—Peter Cheesman.	1800-05—John Hider.
1774-75—Joseph Hillman.	1800 —Isaac Tomlinson.
1776 —Isaac Tomlinson.	1801-02—Joseph Thackery.
1777-78—Benjamin Pitfield.	1803-08—William Zane.
1777-78—Isaac Jones.	1806-08—John Marshall.
1779-80—John Hider.	1807 —Henry Chew (removed.)
1779-80—John Hedger.	

The most important matter which came before the township meetings in these early days was the care of the poor, for which each meeting at first made a special appropriation and later delegated this authority to five trustees with full power to levy a poor tax. In normal years the poor tax ran from £50 to £150, but in 1780 it required £4,000 to meet the demands.

The first township committee was elected in 1798, their duties being defined in the following resolution:

We, the Inhabitants do constitute and appoint Messrs. Isaac Tomlinson, Samuel Cheesman, John Hider, Moses Branson & Aaron Chew, a Chosen Committee of said town to assist the Town officers in their Business and to order money to be Raised for the Use of said Township when necessary and do all Business as the Law Directs for Us & In our names.

By order of the Town Meeting.

Prior to 1790, the town meetings were conducted without any set rules, in consequence of which there were many irregularities and often much disorder. To overcome these defects the annual township meeting in that year adopted a set of rules for its future government and made special provision for holding elections for members of the Council and Assembly. Previously it appears the inhabitants of Gloucester Township often failed to hold elections for these important offices, neither had they an inspector at the general elections, which were held on the first day at Long-a-coming and on the second day at Blackwoodtown.

Gloucester Township is one of the oldest settled parts of the county. The Tomlinsons, Hillmans, Albertsons, and Huggs, all had extensive holdings within the original township and were active in its civil life.

As at present constituted, lying along the southern branch of Timber Creek below the Evesham Road, its principal settlements include Blackwood, Chew's Landing, Glendora (formerly known as Hillmanton), and Blenheim (once Mechanicsville).

Of these, the oldest is Blackwood, named after John Blackwood, who purchased large holdings in the vicinity, about the middle of the eighteenth century, together with a grist-mill and fulling-mill which had been erected there by George Ward—a resident of the lost town of Upton, a mile and a half further up Timber Creek—in 1701 or 1702. About 1820, the property passed into the hands of Garrett Newkirk, of Philadelphia, who several years afterward erected there the first Good Intent cloth mill. Twice rebuilt, after destruction by fire, the plant under varying ownership was used in the production of woolen goods, oil cloths, and horse blankets, for more than half a century. During the coaching days, the village was the headquarters of Uriah Norcross, who not only operated stage lines throughout the county, but a line between Camden and Cape May as well. The hotel at Blackwood was established by John Blackwood sometime before the Revolutionary War and, after numerous changes was, in 1831, purchased by Edward Middleton who soon thereafter put his son-in-law, Uriah Norcross, in charge. In later years the hotel was conducted by Thomas J. Wenz, and the stage to Camden was driven by John H. Magee.

In the early "eighties" the mills lost much of their former prosperity and many of the operatives moved elsewhere, but with the extension of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad to Blackwood, the village resumed its busy aspect and is now feeling the stir of development evident everywhere within the metropolitan radius of Camden.

The Presbyterian Church at Blackwood goes back at least to 1750, for in

that year there appears a minute in the records of the Presbytery of New Brunswick extending a call to Benjamin Chestnutt to become the pastor, in connection with the congregations at Woodbury and Penn's Neck. Methodism made its entrance into Blackwood in 1800 and has flourished, despite early opposition. The Baptist Church was organized under Rev. Henry Westcott in 1848. For some years before the Civil War, the brick house built by George Cheeseman in 1845 and kept by him as a temperance hotel, was used as a boarding school, to which the attendance of several young Cubans gave a somewhat international aspect.

Chew's Landing, on the north branch of Timber Creek, also antedates the Revolution, and at one time was a shipping point of considerable importance for flat boats carrying lumber and produce to Philadelphia. That business was first developed by Jeremiah Chew, from whom the place derives its name; he also built the Colonial Tavern which was the scene of the capture of his patriot son, Lieutenant Aaron Chew, by a British scouting party. Before the filling up of the stream made navigation impossible, many boats were built at the village. Ordinarily these were of fifty or sixty tons, but on one occasion a hull of three hundred tons capacity was constructed, the rigging being done in Philadelphia. The building of the Camden and Atlantic Railroad took away from Chew's Landing the freight which formerly passed through it from the interior, and the village declined in importance, but in recent years has taken on new life. The Chew's Landing Methodist Episcopal Church was organized on March 10, 1811, and its first trustees, elected shortly afterward, included Christopher Sickler, Dr. Samuel Harris, Aaron Burroughs, David B. Morgan, and John B. Morgan, all of the village, then called Hillmanton. Its predecessor in the field, St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church dates back to September 6, 1789, when Rev. Levi Heath began to hold services regularly, the parish being formally established on November 14th following. Aaron Chew was active in soliciting funds for its first house of worship and in 1791 secured many subscriptions in Philadelphia, from among the leaders in local and national affairs, including President Washington.

Blenheim, on the Black Horse Pike between Chew's Landing and Blackwood, was formerly known as Mechanicsville from the fact that it contained the shops of several skilled artisans. Its situation, between villages more favorably located in the days when transportation was principally by water, operated against its early growth, but its location on the Reading Railroad, as well as one of the principal South Jersey highways, assure its future as a suburb.

Hilltop is a new development between Blenheim and Chew's Landing.

Glendora, also on the railroad and the pike, between Chew's Landing and the township line at Evesham Road, is of comparatively recent origin, but, lying closer to Camden than any other village in the township, is rapidly forging ahead.

Grenloch, at first called Spring Mills, about a mile and a half below Blackwood, assumed importance as early as 1810 because of its superior water power. In that year the Bates & Williams saw mill located there. Until 1836, however, when Carr & Lunt purchased the property as the site for an agricultural implement factory, the clearing did not extend far beyond the mill. Under the direction of Stephen Bateman, a practical machinist from Connecticut, who was at first employed as manager but in 1860 became the sole owner, the works prospered and its line of products diversified. A few

years later, E. S. and F. Bateman assumed the business of their father, and under them the plant witnessed further expansion, with the well-known "Iron Age Cultivators" as a specialty. Active until quite recently, the plant is now occupied by a concern manufacturing automobile bodies.

Waterford Township.—Waterford was the most northerly of the original townships. It was defined as extending "from Pensoakin, alias Cropwell River, to the lowermost branch of Cooper's Creek." Mickle says it derives its name from a fishing town on the Barrow in Ireland, but of this there does not seem to be authentic corroboration. The eastern boundary was not definitely fixed until 1761, when Samuel Clement, Jr., a deputy surveyor, acting under the supervision of a committee of the Board of Freeholders composed of Richard Matlack, Henry Wood, John Hinchman, William Davis, James Whitall, Joshua Lord, Francis Batten, and Jacob Spier, ran the dividing lines between the townships of Waterford, Gloucester, Deptford and Greenwich.

Waterford retained its original entity until 1844, when the northern portion, bounded by the Delaware River, Pensauken Creek, the Clement's Bridge Road and Cooper's Creek, was set off as Delaware Township. The "Divide," a pine-covered ridge about two hundred feet above sea-level, which separates the waters flowing into the ocean from those feeding into the Delaware, is near the middle of the township. In earlier days many of the streams which have their origin in this divide furnished water-power and were dotted with saw-mills and grist-mills, but with the development of steam power this form of energy lost much of its importance.

The earliest settlements in old Waterford were in the northern portion, near tide-water, and it was only after roads began to be built that lands in the interior were located. Taken as a whole, the first settlers in this township were the Spicers, Morgans, Coles, Champions, and Matlacks. It has been almost entirely a rural region, with a sprinkling of small villages.

Further inroads were made upon its area for the creation of Voorhees and Berlin townships, so that its western boundary is now the Clayton and Milford road. A small portion toward the central section of the Winslow Township boundary line has also been given up to Chesilhurst Borough.

Its principal towns are Atco* and Waterford, both on the West Jersey and Seashore Railroad. The town of Waterford owes its origin to the establishment of the Waterford Glass Works, in 1824, by Jonathan Haines. This plant, built in the midst of an unbroken forest, was begun on a small scale, but successively enlarged as demand for the product grew, particularly under the management of Joseph Porter and his two sons. Several years after Joseph Porter's death, which occurred in 1863, the works, which at that time comprised two factories for the making of window glass and a third for manufacturing hollow ware, were sold to Maurice Raleigh, who added the property to his vast Atsion estate of 30,000 acres. After several years, glass making declined and, in order to furnish employment for the workmen, Raleigh converted one of the factories into a hosiery mill and, in association with James Colter, built a three-story frame shoe factory in which a hundred operatives found work during a brief season of prosperity. After a destructive fire in 1882 and the death of Raleigh, many of the residents quit Waterford, though the exodus was checked when the Raleigh Land and Improvement Company, which came into possession of the property, began to boom it as an eligible location for small fruit farms and for suburban residence.

* Atco. name from Atlantic Transportation Co.

The Methodist Episcopal Church dates its beginning in Waterford almost back to the time of the establishment of the glass works, though it was not until 1848 that it was distinctively housed in a two-story structure, the upper floor of which was occupied by the Sons of Temperance. Presbyterianism followed in 1866, the congregation being organized on April 25 of that year and its house of worship being dedicated on January 3 following. Christ Protestant Episcopal Church followed in 1868, the services being conducted by a lay reader for two years, when the Rev. William Stewart became rector of a parish comprising the Waterford and Hammonton churches. In 1880 a fourth religious edifice was added, when Maurice Raleigh built a Catholic Church for the accommodation of those of his workmen professing that faith, the services, at which priests from Egg Harbor officiated, being held at intervals.

The town of Atco was laid out in 1866, by George W. Hancock, on a sixty-acre plot purchased from the Richards family, who had since 1827 operated the Jackson Glass Works, a short distance to the southeast. Its favorable location of high, dry lands, and its excellent railroad facilities were reflected in rapid initial development. James E. Alton is said to have put up the first building in the town, and in the same year, 1866, the Richards estate erected the Atco House opposite the railroad depot. Manufacturing was introduced into the village in 1877, by John T. Wilcox, in the form of a horn-comb factory, an enterprise which had a successful life for five or six years. In 1884 the Atco Glass Works began operations under the same auspices, turning out window glass of a superior quality and for which there was a lively demand.

The First Presbyterian Church of Atco was organized at meetings held, late in 1867, by the Rev. Samuel Loomis, of Vineland, who was chosen pastor of the new congregation, and in the following year ground was broken for a house of worship on an acre plot donated by the Richards estate, the edifice being dedicated on the first Sunday in March, 1869. During the seventies a Universalist Society flourished in Atco under the guidance of the Rev. Moses Ballou, attracted to the locality from Massachusetts by reason of the milder climate. After his death, in 1879, the society declined, and in 1885 the chapel was sold to the newly formed Methodist Episcopal congregation, an offshoot from the former church at Jackson.

Gloucester Town Township.—It has never been definitely determined when or under what authority Gloucester Town first assumed the authority to install a township government. The town itself was laid out in accordance with the following order of the Burlington County Court:

Burlington Court

held ye 4th: of the 7th: moneth 1685

Order for 3d tenth for their Towne & Towne bounds

Ordered by ye Court That ye fireholders within ye third Tenth in ye Province aforesd shall or may take up & lay forth 2000 Acres of Land for their Towne bounds & 400 Acres for their Towne, And yt each person & persons who are already seated in ye sd tenth shall or may take up their respective proportions thereof according to their purchase, And that every such purchaser shall take forth a warrt for the takeing up of his particular proportion thereof, which is to be returnable at ye next Court following ye Survey thereof, & is to be Accompted as part of their share or quantity of Land to them apperteyning wthin ye sd tenth of which order abovesd all persons concerned in ye sd third tenth are required to take notice, & to forbear to offer or make any obstructions or disturbances in ye sd premises.

At that time there were only two County Courts in West Jersey: namely,

Salem and Burlington, and they exercised jurisdiction over all the territory now included within the bounds of Camden, Cumberland, Cape May, and Atlantic counties, as well as within their own precincts.

It has been only recently that this Court minute book has come to light, having for years been filed among the records of the Supreme Court of New Jersey. This led Mickle, the historian, to write, in 1845:

"We can find no statute creating the township of Gloucester (meaning Gloucester Town), but it is said there was an Act for that purpose which is now lost. In March, 1705, the city of Gloucester had overseers of the poor and of the highways, independent of Gloucester Township. At March Term, 1712, we find that William Harrison was appointed by the Court, constable for Gloucestertown, in place of John Siddon, who was probably the first constable for the new township."

It is, however, more likely that the town became a township "by prescription." Having firmly entrenched itself by 1705, it is, however, difficult to understand subsequent proceedings. A royal patent has recently been discovered by Dr. Carlos E. Godfrey, dated December 8, 1773, creating the "Inhabitants of the Town of Gloucester" into a perpetual township. The patent reads as follows:

PATENT FOR GLOUCESTER TOWN.

George the Third by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c—To all to whom these presents shall come Greeting. Know ye that We of our especial Grace certain knowledge and meer Motion have given & granted and by these Presents do give and grant for us our Heirs and Successors to the Inhabitants of the Town of Gloucester in the County of Gloucester in our province of New Jersey within the following Boundaries vizt: Beginning at the Mouth of Newton Creek Thence down the Delaware River to the Mouth of Great Timber Creek Thence up the same to the Mouth of a Branch called the Beaver Branch Thence up the same to the head thereof in the Lands of Jacob Jennings Thence North five degrees East to the line of Newton Township. Thence along the 2d Line to the head of the Southerly Branch of Newton creek in David Horley's Field. Thence down the same to the main Creek Thence down the main Creek to the Place of Beginning to be & remain a perpetual Township & Community in word and in Deed to be called & known by the name of the Town of Gloucester and we further give and grant to the sd Inhabitants of the Town afsd and their Successors to choose annually Overseers of the Poor and all other necessary Officers for the Town afsd and to have and hold & enjoy all other Privileges Rights Liberties and Immunities that any other Township in our sd Province doth or may of Right Enjoy And the said Inhabitants are hereby constituted and appointed a Township aforesaid To have hold and Enjoy the Priviledges afsd to them and their Successors forever.

In Testimony whereof We have here unto Caused the Great Seal of our Province of New Jersey to be affixed Witness our Trusty and welbeloved William Franklin Esquire Captain General Governor & Commander in Chief in & over our Province of New Jersey & Territories thereon depending in America Chancellor & Vice Admiral in the same &c—at Burlington the 8th day of December in the 14th Year of our Reign anno Domini 1773. Pettit.

Union Township.—This township, incorporated November 15, 1831, took in Gloucester Town Township and the western portion of Gloucester Township, its boundaries being given as: "Beginning at the mouth of Beaver Branch, where it empties into Great Timber Creek, thence up the said creek to Clement's Bridge, thence along the middle of the Evesham road to a bridge over Cooper's Creek, thence down the said creek to the corner of the township of Newton, thence by the said township of Newton and Gloucester-town to the beginning, together with all that territory and community known by the corporate name of the "Inhabitants of Gloucester Town, in the county of Gloucester." It included, therefore, all of the present Centre Township, all of the boroughs of Barrington and Brooklawn, parts of the boroughs of Had-don Heights and Magnolia, and a portion of Gloucester City. Its short life,

virtually ended when the major part of the territory was taken to erect Centre Township in 1855, was marked by no notable happenings.

Camden Township.—The township of Camden was created by the Legislature on November 29, 1831, at the request of the inhabitants of the city of Camden, who objected to the interference in their local affairs by the township committee of Newton Township.

The limits of the new township were the same as those specified in the Act of February 13, 1828 (the original Act incorporating the city of Camden).

The first annual meeting for the new township was to be held on the second Monday in March, 1832, and that for the township of Newton was held three days later. The Act further provided that on the Monday after the annual meeting of the township of Newton, the newly elected committees of the two townships should meet at the house of Isaiah Toy, "inn-keeper," in the city of Camden, at ten o'clock in the forenoon and proceed to divide the property. Its report reveals in a remarkable manner the tremendous growth of Camden in less than one hundred years. The committee's report was as follows:

In compliance with the 5th section of an act entitled, an act to establish a new township in the County of Gloucester to be called the township of Camden, we the subscribers, committeemen of the township of Newton and the township of Camden, convened at the house of Isaiah Toy in the city of Camden, March 10th, 1832; and there and then did proceed to allot and divide between the said townships all property and debts in proportion to the taxable property and ratables as taxed by the assessor at the last assessment within their respective limits.

Amount of duplicate \$3,117.00; amount of taxes assessed in Newton, \$1,744.17; amount of taxes assessed in Camden, \$1,327.83—\$3,117.00 Joint debt \$700.00. Newton's proportion \$391.70. Camden's proportion \$308.30.

It is ordered and agreed that each township retain the public burial ground within their respective limits.

Cash on hand, \$62.75, Camden's proportion \$26.75; Newton's proportion \$35.12; township books, election box, etc., assigned to the township of Newton by paying six dollars to the treasurer of the township of Camden.

Samuel Nicholson
John Gill, Jr.
J. M. Hinchman
Benj. W. Mickle

J. K. Cowperthwait
Richard Fetters
Isaac Van Sciver
Isaac Cole
John Lawrence

The first meeting of the township committee for the new township was held immediately following the joint meeting, and probably in the same room and in the presence of their old allies of Newton. The first business after the receipt of the joint committee's report was the appointment of a committee to purchase books for the use of the township of Camden.

So closely are the affairs of the city and township connected that it is difficult to always distinguish the actions of the town-meetings, which were sometimes called on township matters and at other times on city affairs. The annual township meetings which were held on the second Monday in March were generally held in the old Academy, or in the City Hall. We also find township meetings held "at the home of James Elwell, inn-keeper" and at other hotels. Aside from the election of township officers, the principal function of these assemblages was the fixing of the amount of taxes to be raised for the city and township. Up to 1845, it required a vote of two-thirds of the inhabitants of the township, in town meeting assembled, to assess a city tax exceeding five hundred dollars. This was later changed to a majority of the legal voters present.

It is interesting to study the means employed by the township in the early days to raise money. In 1834, the principal items on which the tax assessments were levied were as follows:

	Per \$100 of valuation
Real Estate	25 cents
Personal property	40 "
Single Men	1.62 " each
Horses and mules	40 "
Cattle	18 " "
Jack wagons ³	80 " "
Common wagons and dearborn	40 " "
Gigs and chaises	28 " "
Sulkies	21 " "
Tan vats	9 " per vat
Turpentine stills	1.50 " " still
Lumber yards	1.00—4.00 each

While these rates appear adequate, the assessed valuations were so low that it is hard to conceive how the community made any progress with so little money to spend on public works. From an old account book kept by Richardson Andrews, we learn that the total State, county, township and city taxes levied on lots Nos. 81 and 82, situated at the northeast corner of Fourth and Market streets, Camden, were as follows:

1819 — 78 cents	1829 — 3.78
1820 — 66 "	1830 — 1.85
1821 — 78 "	1831 — 1.15
1823 — 64 "	1832 — 5.36
1827 — 1.14 "	

The figures are missing for the years 1822, 1824 to 1826 and 1828. Further investigation shows that a frame house was built in 1832 on lot No. 81 which accounts for the extraordinary increase in the amount for the year.

The total amount of taxes collected in Newton township for the years 1822-1826 was as follows:

1822	\$844.84
1823	1,025.93
1824	999.46½
1825	1,626.81
1826	2,130.52

In connection with the tax rates above quoted, it is equally interesting to compare the amount of money raised in the early days with that required by the same territory twenty years later and today. According to the Township Committee's report for the year 1846, there was received during that year \$2,324.35, while the expenditures amounted to \$1,985.91, including the \$923.38 paid to the City Treasurer of Camden and \$300 to City Council. The annual Town Meeting cost the taxpayers \$24.75, of which \$16.75 was for refreshments of its officers, \$6.00 for the clerk of the meeting, and \$2.00 for the moderator. At the close of the year there were tax warrants uncollected

³ Jack wagons were wagons with leather springs and were forerunners of the present elliptical steel springs.

amounting to \$3,527.32. From substantially the same territory today, there is collected about one million dollars in taxes.

The township books cannot now be found, but from newspapers, court records and city council minutes the following list of township officers has been compiled:

1832—Township Committee, Richard Fetters, Isaac Cole, John Lawrence, J. K. Cowperthwait, Isaac Vansciver.

1833—Township Clerk, Josiah Harrison; Collector, Daniel S. Carter; Overseer of the Poor, Benjamin Wiltse; Constable, John Gahan.

1834—Township Clerk, Josiah Harrison; Assessor, Isaac H. Porter; Collector, Caleb Roberts; Commissioners of Appeals, Gideon V. Stivers, Nathan Davis, Isaac Vansciver; Freeholders, J. K. Cowperthwait, Richard Fetters; Surveyors of Highways, William J. Hatch, Joshua Burroughs; Overseer of Poor, William M'Knight; Constable, John Gahan; Overseer of Highways, Daniel L. Pine; Poundkeeper, William M'Knight; Judge of Elections, Isaac Wilkins; Township Committee, Gideon V. Stivers, Richard Fetters, James W. Sloan, Ebenezer Toole, Isaac Vansciver; School Committee, Gideon V. Stivers, Richard Fetters, James W. Sloan, J. K. Cowperthwaite, Isaac Vansciver.

1835—Township Clerk, Samuel Miller; Assessor, Edward Bullock; Collector, Josiah Shivers; Commissioners of Appeals, Gideon V. Stivers, Isaac Wilkins, Josiah Atkinson; Freeholders, J. K. Cowperthwait, Richard Fetters; Surveyors of Highways, Samuel Laning, Joab Scull; Overseer of Poor, Benjamin Wiltse; Constable, Chester Chattin; Overseer of Highways, Daniel L. Pine; Poundkeeper, Abraham L. Hilderman; Judge of Elections, Samuel Laning; Township Committee, J. K. Cowperthwait, Gideon V. Stivers, Richard Fetters, Isaac Vansciver, Charles S. Garrett; Special School Committee, J. K. Cowperthwait, Richard Fetters, Isaiah Toy, Rev. Samuel Starr, Rev. William Granville, Rev. T. C. Teasdale, Benjamin Allen, Charles Kaighn, William Ridgway, Joseph W. Cooper.

1836—Township Clerk, Edward P. Andrews; Assessor, Isaac H. Porter, Collector, Paul C. Laning; Commissioners of Appeals, Isaac Vansciver, Josiah Atkinson, Edmund Hampton; Freeholders, J. K. Cowperthwait, Gideon V. Stivers; Surveyors of Highways, William Hugg, John Thorn; Overseer of Poor, Benjamin Wiltse; Constable, Chester Chattin; Overseer of Highways, Daniel L. Pine; Poundkeeper, Stephen Goldsmith; Judge of Elections, Isaac Wilkins; Township Committee, Samuel Laning, Thomas Peak, Joab Scull, Elias Kaighn, Henry Brown; School Committee, Samuel Laning, Thomas Peak, Joab Scull, Elias Kaighn, Henry Brown.

1837—Assessor, Isaac H. Porter; Collector, Paul C. Laning, Commissioners of Appeals, Josiah Atkinson, Isaac Vansciver, James Hale; Freeholders, J. K. Cowperthwait, Richard Fetters; Surveyors of Highways, Joseph G. Scull, John M. Johnson; Overseer of Poor, Benjamin Wiltse; Constable William Hugg; Overseer of Highways, Daniel L. Pine; Poundkeeper, Edwin B. Johnson; Judge of Elections, Isaac Wilkins; Township Committee, Joab Scull, Elias Kaighn, Charles S. Garrett, Richard Fetters, Isaac Wilkins; School Committee, J. K. Cowperthwait, Richard Fetters, Isaac Vansciver.

1838—Assessor, Isaac H. Porter; Collector, Paul C. Laning; Commissioners of Appeals, Josiah Atkinson, Isaac Vansciver, James Gahan; Freeholders, J. K. Cowperthwait, Isaac Wilkins; Surveyors of Highways, Isaac Bullock, Joab Scull; Overseer of Poor, Benjamin Wiltse; Constable, William Hugg; Overseer of Highways, Seth Matlack; Poundkeeper, Edwin B. Johnson; Judge of Elections, Isaac Wilkins; Township Committee, Joab Scull, Elias Kaighn, Charles S. Garrett, Amos A. Middleton, James Gahn; School Committee, J. K. Cowperthwait, Oliver Cox, Isaac Vansciver.

1839—Township Clerk, Josiah Shivers; Assessor, Isaac H. Porter; Collector, Thomas Peak; Commissioners of Appeals, Josiah Atkinson, Sr., Isaac Vansciver, James Gahan; Freeholders, J. K. Cowperthwait, Isaac Wilkins; Surveyors of Highways, Isaac Bullock, Joab Scull; Overseer of Poor, Benjamin Wiltse; Constable, William Hugg; Overseer of Highways, Daniel L. Pine; Poundkeeper, Daniel L. Pine; Judge of Elections, Samuel Scull, Benjamin Springer, James Hale, Richard Fetters; School Committee, J. K. Cowperthwait, Richard Fetters, Isaac Vansciver.

1840—Township Clerk, Josiah Shivers, resigned April 23, succeeded by Josiah R. Atkinson; Assessor, Isaac H. Porter; Collector, Daniel S. Carter; Commissioner of Appeals, Josiah Atkinson, Sr., Isaac Vansciver, James Gahan; Freeholders, J. K. Cowperthwait, Isaac Wilkins; Surveyors of Highways, James Elwell, Charles Carter; Overseer of Poor, Andrew Sweeten; Constables, Josiah Shivers, Aaron Sparks; Overseer of Highways, Daniel L. Pine; Poundkeeper, Daniel L. Pine; Judge of Elections, Isaac Wilkins; Township Committee, Gideon V. Stivers, Joab Scull, Josiah R. Atkinson, John M. Johnson, Elias Kaighn; School Committee, J. K. Cowperthwait, Isaac Vansciver, Gideon V. Stivers.

1841—Township Clerk, Josiah R. Atkinson; Assessor, William Gregory; Collector, Daniel S. Carter; Commissioners of Appeals, Thomas Peak, James Gahan, Josiah Atkinson; Freeholders, J. K. Cowperthwait, Isaac Wilkins; Surveyors of Highways, Joseph Weatherby, Thomas Peak; Overseer of Poor, William Hugg; Constables, Josiah Shivers, Aaron Sparks; Overseer of Highways, Daniel L. Pine; Poundkeeper, William Hugg; Judge of Elections, Isaac Wilkins; Township Committee, Richard Fetters, Gideon V. Stivers, Joab Scull, Isaac Cole, J. K. Cowperthwait, John W. Mickle; School Committee, Gideon V. Stivers, Isaac Cole, J. K. Cowperthwait.

1842—Township Clerk, Samuel Scull; Assessor, William Gregory; Collector, Daniel S. Carter; Commissioners of Appeals, Gideon V. Stivers, Thomas Githens, Thomas Peak; Freeholders, J. K. Cowperthwait, Isaac Wilkins; Surveyors of Highways, James Gahan, Joseph Sharp; Overseer of Poor, Benjamin Toins; Constables, Edward Morgan, Edward Gahan; Overseer of Highways, John Subers; Poundkeeper, Daniel L. Pine; Judge of Elections, Isaac Wilkins; Township Committee, Gideon V. Stivers, J. K. Cowperthwait, Richard Fetters, Elias Kaighn, Isaac Cole; School Committee, John L. Rhees, Isaac L. Mulford, J. K. Cowperthwait.

1843—Township Clerk, Samuel Scull; Assessor, William Gregory; Collector, Timothy Middleton; Commissioners of Appeals, Amos A. Middleton, Thomas Githens, Thomas Peak; Freeholders, John W. Mickle, J. K. Cowperthwait; Surveyors of Highways, Joseph Weatherby, James Gahan; Overseer of Poor, John Meyers; Constable, Edward Morgan (only one constable); Overseer of Highways, none elected; Poundkeeper, Daniel L. Pine; Judge of Elections, Josiah A. Atkinson; Township Committee, Jesse Smith, Joseph Sharp, Daniel S. Carter, James Elwell, Isaac Wilkins; School Committee, Isaac S. Mulford, John L. Rhees, J. K. Cowperthwait.

1844—Township Clerk, Josiah Shivers; Assessor, Charles Sloan; Collector Timothy Middleton; Commissioners of Appeals, Thomas Peak, Jesse Smith, Isaac Wilkins; Freeholders, John W. Mickle, J. K. Cowperthwait; Surveyors of Highways, Jesse Smith, Daniel S. Carter; Overseer of Poor, William Hugg; Constable James Gahan; Overseer of Highways, Daniel L. Pine; Poundkeeper, Theo. C. Humphreys; Judge of Elections, Josiah R. Atkinson; Township Committee, Richard Fetters, Isaac Cole, James Elwell, Jesse Smith, Thomas Peak; School Committee, Richard Fetters, Isaac S. Mulford, Joseph G. De Lacour, B. A. Hammell, Isaac Cole, J. K. Cowperthwait, J. L. Rhees, Jesse Smith.

1845—Township Clerk, Joseph Myers; Assessor, Josiah Shivers; Collector, Clayton Truax; Commissioners of Appeals, Thomas B. Atkinson, James L. Williams, Thomas Peak; Chosen Freeholders, Charles Kaighn, John R. Thompson; Surveyors of Highways, William Sharp, Mark Burroughs; Overseer of Poor, Caleb Roberts; Constable, John Lawrence; Overseer of Highways, Richard M. Paul; Poundkeeper, Edward C. Jackson; Judge of Elections, Samuel Scull; Township Committee, Josiah Sawn, John B. Thompson, Joseph Sharp, Joseph J. Moore, William J. H. Hawk; School Committee, Franklin Ferguson, Joseph C. De Lacour, Samuel H. Morton, Philander C. Brink, Jesse Smith, James W. Sloan, Enoch Shiver, Jr., David Brown, Joseph Taylor.

1846—Township Clerk, James M. Cassady; Assessor, J. R. Atkinson; Collector, J. P. Buyack; Commissioners of Appeals, Andrew Jenkins, James Elwell, Benjamin A. Hammell; Chosen Freeholders, John W. Mickle, Charles Sexton; Surveyors of Highways, Samuel McLain, John A. Brown; Overseer of Poor, William Hugg; Constable, Samuel Lummis; Overseer of Highways, Daniel L. Pine; Poundkeeper, Daniel L. Pine; Judge of Elections, Benjamin A. Hammell; Township Committee, James Elwell, Richard Fetters, Elias Kaighn, Joab Scull, Caleb Roberts; School Committee, Isaac Mulford, Joseph C. De Lacour, Richard Fetters, Isaac Cole, William Feuring, Isaac Mickle, Richard J. Ward, Elias Kaighn, J. W. Shorff.

1847—Township Clerk, Josiah Shivers; Assessor, Josiah R. Atkinson; Collector, Isaac Kelly; Commissioners of Appeals, James Gahan, Charles M. Thompson; Chosen Freeholders, John W. Mickle, Richard Fetters; Surveyors of Highways, Samuel McLain, Elijah Davis; Overseer of Poor, William Hugg; Constable, Robert P. Smith; Overseer of Highways, Daniel L. Pine; Poundkeeper, William Hugg; Judge of Elections, Timothy Middleton; Township Committee, J. K. Cowperthwait, James Elwell, Elias Kaighn, Joab Scull, Charles Sloan; School Committee, Isaac S. Mulford, Joseph C. De Lacour, William Feuring, Ebenezer Nichols, Richard J. Ward, Daniel S. Carter, Henry Chapman, Isaac Mickle, John Thorn.

After the adoption of the new State Constitution in 1844, numerous revisions of the general and special statutes were required to bring them into conformity with the new organic law. Among the acts which were revised were those affecting the township of Camden. In 1847, a diversity of opinion arose as to the proper day for holding the annual town-meeting, as a result

of which two meetings were held, one on the second Monday in March and the other on the second Wednesday in the same month. At each of these meetings a full set of township officers was elected, causing much confusion and uncertainty. At the request, however, of Thomas H. Dudley, P. J. Gray, and Aula McCalla, Abraham Browning, then the Attorney-General, rendered a decision that the proper date was the second Wednesday, and in this decision P. D. Vroom, Stacy G. Potts, and William L. Dayton also concurred.

With the approval of the Act of February 25, 1848, the township of Camden was abolished and the territory divided into three wards of the city of Camden. All the property rights belonging to the "Inhabitants of the township of Camden in the county of Camden" were then vested in the "Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council" of the city of Camden.

Delaware Township.—The early history of Delaware Township is bound up in that of old Waterford, from which it was taken by an Act of the Legislature, February 28, 1844. Originally it included all the land between Cooper's Creek and Pensauken Creek, north of the road running from Clement's Bridge to Hopkins' Mill, near the Burlington County line.

The first town meeting was held at the Town Hall at Ellisburg on March 13, 1844, at which time the following officers were elected for the new township: Township Clerk, Mahlon M. Coles; Collector, George T. Risdon; Surveyors of Highways, Joseph H. Ellis and Aaron Moore; Overseers of the Highways, Job Coles, William E. Matlack, Richard Shivers, Joshua Stone, and Reuben Roberts; Overseers of the Poor, George Haines, Jacob H. Fowler, and Joshua Stone; School Committee, Benjamin W. Cooper, Joseph A. Burrough, Joseph C. Stafford; Poundkeepers, Joseph Ellis and Jonathan Fetters; Constable, John Lawrence; Commissioners of Appeals, Joseph H. Coles, William E. Matlack, Richard Shivers, Joshua Stone, and Reuben Roberts; Township Committee, Joseph K. Lippincott, Samuel T. Coles, Joseph A. Burrough, Isaac Adams, and Alexander Cooper; Town Physicians, Dr. Charles D. Hendry and Dr. Richard M. Cooper.

The land in the vicinity of the present Colestown Cemetery was probably the earliest survey made in the township of Delaware. Samuel Coles originally located five hundred acres of land on Cooper's Creek near the Delaware in 1682, but, being informed by the Indians that the land further back along Pensauken Creek was better for agriculture, he sold this tract and took up several others on the south branch of Pensauken Creek, adjoining the lands of Jeremiah Richards and Richard Heritage. Other early settlers were: Thomas Howell, on the northerly side of Cooper's Creek east of Browning Road; William Cooper, the first settler of that name in Camden, whose lands were located around Cooperstown on the Marlton Pike; Francis Collins, John Burrough; Simeon Ellis, after whom Ellisburg is named; the Kays, the Gills, and the Stokes.

Entirely lacking in railroad facilities, Delaware Township has remained exclusively a rural community. It contains but two or three small hamlets, such as Ellisburg, Colestown, and Cooperstown. But with the recent inauguration of bus service on Marlton Pike, its opening up for suburban development cannot be long delayed. Colestown is notable in religious annals as the site of the first Episcopal Church in West Jersey, St. Mary's, which dates back to 1751.

Winslow Township.—The township of Winslow, situated in the extreme southeastern end of the county, was incorporated March 8, 1845. It was taken from old Gloucester Township so as to give the lower section of

the township a representative in the Board of Freeholders and to permit residents of the locality to control the expenditure of moneys raised in the vicinity.

The first tracts of land to be taken up in this township were chiefly cedar swamps, and the pioneers were engaged in cutting and transporting cedar logs to Philadelphia. After the building of the Camden and Atlantic Railroad in 1856, population began to flow into the hitherto remote interior.

The township receives its name from Winslow, the largest village within its borders, which in turn was named from Edward Winslow Coffin, youngest son of William Coffin, Sr. A glass works, established here in 1831 by William Coffin, Sr., became an important factor in the hollow-ware trade. Andrew K. Hay, who had been a partner in the business, became sole proprietor in 1851, and at once erected a saw mill and grist mill so as to diversify the industries of the neighborhood. The Methodist Church was erected in 1840 on ground donated by Messrs. Coffin and Hay.

Blue Anchor, a small village built around the old Colonial inn of the same name, was on the old Indian trail to the seacoast and at the junction of other trails from Absecom and Tuckahoe. The land around this settlement has long been known as the Blue Anchor Tract, and was purchased, in 1737, by Abraham Bickley, a wealthy distiller of Philadelphia, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Gardiner. The tavern was built prior to 1740 by John Hider.

Braddock, Cedar Brook, Florence, Williamstown Junction, and Albion, are hamlets along the Reading Railroad; Sicklerville, on the Williamstown Branch, memorializes John Sickler, an early settler of the region; and Ancora, on the West Jersey and Seashore, is chiefly notable for the presence of the Camden County tuberculosis sanitarium, soon to be moved to modern quarters at Asyla. Toward the upper eastern corner of the township, at the junction of the Clayton and Milford Road with the Blue Anchor Road, lies Tansboro, taking its name from a tannery which was established there in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The well-kept inn at this point played an important part in ministering to the comfort of travellers to the seacoast in the stage coach days.

Centre Township—This township was established by an Act of the Legislature approved March 6, 1855, with boundaries that can be briefly described as follows:

Beginning in the middle of Big Timber Creek at the mouth of Little Timber Creek; thence along the latter stream to a point where the old King's Highway crosses the same; thence in a northerly direction to the southwest corner of Cedar Grove Cemetery and along the cemetery line and an extension thereof to the south branch of Newton Creek; thence eastward up the said creek and on the line of Newton Township to Clement's Bridge; thence westerly along Clement's Bridge road to Big Timber Creek and the place of beginning

This took in the greater part of Union Township, and Mt. Ephraim became the township seat. The first meeting of the newly created township was held on March 14, 1855, when the following officers were elected: Moderator, Chalkley Glover; Clerk, Jehu Budd; Collector, Champion Goldy; Assessor, Joseph Budd.

Of the early settlers John Hugg and his four sons—John, Jr., Elias, Joseph, and Charles—soon became large land-owners, their holdings extending nearly to the headwaters of Little Timber Creek and across to Big Tim-

ber Creek. John Hugg's house stood where Little Timber Creek flows into Big Timber Creek, and it is supposed to be the site of Fort Nassau, the earliest white settlement on the Delaware.

Mt. Ephraim, on the Blackwood (now Black Horse) Pike, about five miles from Camden, had a slow and uneventful growth until the advent of a branch of the Reading Railroad in 1876, originally a narrow gauge road, but changed to standard gauge in 1885. A few lots were laid out at this point by Hezekiah Shivers as early as 1820, but the first regular town plot was not made until 1876, when James Davis subdivided a considerable tract. In the same year, under the stimulus of railroad transportation, Joseph Warrington laid out an extension, as did Mary K. Howell in the following year. Another by the Mt. Ephraim Land and Improvement Company, incorporated in 1886, brought the total number of lots to more than two thousand.

A town hall, built in 1862, furnished accommodations for a public school and the township officers. In it the Baptists maintained a Sunday School for a number of years. In 1886, a chapel was erected nearby as a mission under the direction of the Baptist Church of Haddonfield. Another notable structure in the early days was the residence of Joseph H. Bower, originally the Iowa State Building at the Centennial Exposition. The old tavern at the junction of King's Highway and Blackwood Pike, goes back into the eighteenth century, having been built, in all likelihood, by Ephraim Albertson, an extensive land-owner in the vicinity, from whom the town derived its name.

Snow Hill, lying just outside and northeast of the borough of Barrington on Warrick Road, was laid out about 1840 by Ralph Smith, an ardent Abolitionist of Haddonfield, as a negro settlement under the appropriate name of Free Haven. The name, however, never won favor and, many of the settlers coming from Snow Hill, Maryland, that appellation came into common usage. In later years the town plot was extended by Jacob C. White, a colored dentist of Philadelphia, who was warmly interested in the uplift of his race.

Northmont, just north of Mt. Ephraim; Fairfield, adjoining Haddon Heights Borough, Bellmawr, a little over a mile east of Mt. Ephraim on the Blackwood Pike, and Runnemede, still further east, are all of comparatively recent origin in the Camden suburban circle.

Stockton Township—By act of February 23, 1859, Stockton Township, fronting on the Delaware and running easterly between Cooper and Pensauken creeks, was created out of Delaware Township. Originally, it included all the territory now comprised within the Eleventh and Twelfth Wards of the city of Camden, Petty's Island, the borough of Merchantville, and Pensauken Township.

At the junction of Pensauken Creek and the Delaware River in the northeastern corner of the township is located the site of the mythical fort established under the auspices of Sir Edmund Ploydon (Plowden). In 1634 Ploydon obtained a grant from the Viceroy of Ireland for certain lands in North America. According to this worthless patent, Ploydon was to be invested with the dignity of "Earl Palatine" of the Province of New Albion. He at once instituted an order of knighthood under the title "The Albion Knights of the Conversion of the Twenty Three Kings" hoping thereby to attract settlers to his new domain and complete the colonization plans. While there is no definite basis, it is generally thought that the twenty-three kings which were to be converted were Indian chieftains living within the granted lands. The entire story is founded upon an account written, in 1648, by one Beau-

champ Plantagent, and, by historians, generally conceded to be the product of a dreamer.

Pavonia, Cramer Hill, Dudley, Wrightsville, and Rosedale, suburban settlements which developed rapidly in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, were incorporated into the town of Stockton by referendum held under legislative authority on March 22, 1894, and which became effective on May 1 following. Agitation for and against union with the city of Camden soon set in, the movement, apparently, being opposed by the residents, but approved by the property owners. With the accomplishment of that purpose, by the Act of March 24, 1899, the last remnant of Stockton Township disappeared.

Haddon Township.—This township occupies the centre of what was originally Newton Township. It came into existence February 23, 1865, when the Legislature set aside the territory contained "within the present boundaries of the present eastern election district of said township of Newton" as a new township to be called Haddon. The first meeting was to be held at the Town Hall in Haddonfield, and the first annual town meeting was to be in the school house in the village of Stockton, now part of South Camden.

As originally laid out, the township included all the territory within the present boroughs of Haddonfield, Collingswood, Audubon, Oaklyn and Woodlynne, as well as a part of Haddon Heights and most of the ground upon which the Federal Government during the World War built Yorkship Village (now known as Fairview, a part of the Fourteenth Ward of Camden City).

Historically, the most important part of the township is that section lying between the north and main branches of Newton Creek west of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad. Within these bounds was the old town of Newton—a name given to the undefined territory within which a number of the first permanent English settlers of Camden County built their houses, located their first meeting house, established their burying ground, and opened their first school. The town itself probably consisted of a few scattered log cabins along Newton Creek and would be today entirely overlooked were it not for some old deeds in which it is mentioned as a residence of either the grantee or grantor.

Of these early landmarks, the only one still existing is the Friends' Burying Ground at West Collingswood station on the Reading Railroad. This was set apart in 1684, and consisted of a two-acre tract bounding lands of Mark Newbie and Thomas Thackara. Here lie buried many of the early pioneers of this section, but, owing to the absence of tomb-stones—a Friends' custom which is much to be regretted—the location of their graves is today impossible. Adjoining the original grounds is a one-acre plot of land laid out by James Sloan in 1791, after he had had some difficulties with the trustees of the older graveyard. In the north wall surrounding this enclosure is embedded a marble slab containing the following inscription:

Here is no distinction
Rich and Poor meet together
The Lord is maker of them all.
By James Sloan, 1791.

This dispute between the Sloans and the Friends, best explained by the wording of the above tablet, lasted for a number of years and at one time became so bitter as to amount to almost a scandal in the Society.

The log meeting-house, which adjoined the burying grounds, was the first

house of worship in Camden County, and from 1695 to 1737 was the scene of the annual township meetings of Newton township. The old building and its successor were maintained by the Friends' Meeting until destroyed by fire on December 22, 1817, although, in later years, owing to the gradual removal of Friends from the neighborhood and the erection of more accessible places of worship it lapsed into disuse.

Another notable fact in connection with this section is that here the first banking operations within the limits of New Jersey were carried on. This came about through the fact that Mark Newbie had brought with him from Dublin, from which he had fled to escape the persecution of the Friends in England, a considerable quantity of copper tokens struck in Ireland after the massacre of Roman Catholics in 1641. These coins, known as "St. Patrick's half pence"—with the words "Floreat Rex" on the obverse and "Ecce Rex" on the reverse—were probably intended simply to commemorate that event, and do not appear to have circulated as money in the old country. In infant West Jersey, however, there was a shortage of small coinage, and the Assembly at Burlington, of which Newbie was a member, in May, 1682, passed the following act:

For the convenient Payment of small sums, be it enacted that Mark Newbie's half pence, from and after the Eighteenth instant, pass for half-pence current pay of the province, provided he, the said Mark Newbie, give sufficient security to the Speaker of the House for the use of the General Assembly from time to time, that he, the said Mark Newbie, his Executors and administrators, shall and will change the said half-pence for pay equivalent upon demand; and provided also that no person or persons be hereby obliged to take more than five shillings in one payment.

As required by the act, Newbie put up as security to the province a tract of three hundred acres, conveying it to Samuel Jennings and Thomas Budd as commissioners. The first Jersey banker died in the following year, but the coins apparently continued to circulate for some time, when, having served their purpose, they were called in and redeemed. Only a few specimens remain, the highly-prized treasures of numismatists.

The main portion of Haddon Township, as at present constituted, lies between the White Horse Pike and Cooper's Creek, skirting the northeastern boundaries of the boroughs of Oaklyn and Collingswood. Of this, the greater part is occupied by the town of Westmont, lying on both sides of Haddon Avenue and served by Cuthbert and Westmont stations on the Atlantic City Division of the West Jersey and Seashore Railroad. This village was originally called Rowandtown after the Rowand family, who owned the farm on which it was situated. John Rowand at one time conducted a blacksmith shop in the village and Jacob Rowand opened the first store in this vicinity. When the Camden and Atlantic Railroad was built, the station for the village was called Glenwood, a name that clung to the place until 1887, when by vote of a town meeting, it was changed to Westmont. The latter name is said to have been derived from a popular race horse of the day.

Here, in 1872, James Flinn, a former employee of the Lucas Paint Works, established the Crystal Lake Paint and Color Works, afterwards known as the Westmont Paint Works, located on a sheet of water formed by damming the headquarters of the main branch of Newton Creek, from which a dependable water-power was procured. On the same stream, lower down, at what is euphoniouly known as "Boogey's Bridge," opposite the end of Lee's Lane, Collingswood, stood the settlement known as Atmore's Dam, the site of an inn noted in Colonial annals as a centre of the social and political life of Newton Township. Cuthbert Lake, the site of the Newton or Webster Mill,

west of the railroad and south of Cuthbert Road, is now but a pleasurable memory in the minds of elders who recall it as the "old swimming hole." The late E. H. Cutler, however, deeded its bed, along the main branch of Newton Creek, to the township whose authorities contemplate its restoration as a recreation centre.

In 1883 the first religious society in the town was organized under the name of the Shiloh Baptist Church, the forerunner of the present Grace Baptist Church, which now shares the spiritual activities of the growing suburb with the First Methodist Episcopal congregation. The first impetus toward its latter-day growth was given to it in the latter eighties, when Dr. J. N. Hobensack laid out a considerable tract in lots which had a rapid sale. A modern school, an efficient and well-equipped volunteer fire company, sewage system and sewage disposal plant, and the conversion of dirt streets into concrete highways place it in a position to make a bid for the population which is flowing into Camden County in anticipation of the completion of the Delaware River Bridge. The opening of the Westmont National Bank on April 11, 1924, under the presidency of Alfred M. Matthews, long head of the township commission, completes the round of urban facilities.

Pensauken Township.—By an Act of the Legislature approved February 18, 1892, Pensauken Township was taken from Stockton Township, and includes the northwestern corner of Camden County, save the borough of Merchantville; it is bounded by Camden City, the borough of Collingswood, from which it is separated by Cooper's Creek, and Delaware Township.

The towns and villages within its borders include Pensauken, Jordantown, Bethel, Delair, Fish House, Morrisville, Delaware Gardens, Amon Heights, and a number of new suburban developments on the immediate outskirts of Merchantville, such as Merchantville East, North Merchantville, and Merchantville Terrace.

The Delaware bank of the township, familiarly known as the Pea Shore, was long a favorite resort of Philadelphians seeking out-of-door diversion, and is still used for that purpose to a minor degree. The first company of convivial spirits from the Quaker City to make its headquarters here was the Tammany Pea Shore Fishing Club, which was instituted before the Revolution, the present club house being built in 1809. Others which may be mentioned include the Mozart Club, 1869; the Beidemann Club, 1878, and the Sparks Club, 1884. The fisheries here were of considerable importance in the early days, being handed down as valuable inheritances through the Woods, Coopers, Fishes, Brownings, Evauls, and Morgans. Indeed, as late as 1886, in the district between the Pensauken and Cooper's Point, 28,000 shad were taken during the season.

Industries, outside of the Pea Shore Brick and Terra Cotta Works of Augustus Reeve, the Fairview Brick Works of Hatch & Brother, also at the Pea Shore, and a brewery on the Burlington Pike at Pensauken Creek, which afterwards became the Middleton grist mill, and the Knickerbocker Container Co., recently located near Delair, where relatively unimportant, agriculture being the predominating occupation, save for such lands as were increasingly taken up for real estate development.

Pensauken, probably the largest town, lying immediately east of Merchantville on the Pennsylvania Railroad, occupied what was originally farm land belonging to the Cattell family and William Pigeon. The first lots were offered for sale about 1878, but growth was comparatively slow until the beginning of the twentieth century, and now houses are springing up on all sides.

Jordantown, about a mile to the east on the road leading from Merchantville to Fork Landing on Pensauken Creek, was laid out in 1840 on the old Rudderow lands, but grew slowly, though it is now a considerable village. In former times it was the scene of "Bush Meetings," as they were called, revivals held in the surrounding groves which were cleared of underbrush for that purpose.

Bethel, at the intersection of Cove Road and the Burlington Pike, had its origin in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1844, the Bethel Methodist Episcopal Church was built as the outgrowth of meetings which had been held in the home of George Horn, on the Burlington Pike, near Dudley, between 1813 and 1830, and thereafter in the Union Schoolhouse on the Burlington Pike.

The first dwellings on the present site of Delair were built by Jacob L. Gross, a lawyer of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, who came to the region in 1868, purchasing ten acres from the Browning Estate and a like area from Isaac Adams. In 1885, Bertram L. Bonsall, then publisher of the Camden Post, and John Zimmerman, purchased the remaining one hundred and eleven acres of the Adams farm. The name Delair was suggested by Colonel Isaac S. Buckelew, who fashioned it from Delaware-air. The new promoters laid out the town on a liberal scale, planting Carolina poplars every twenty-five feet along wide avenues, and in a short time sold a large number of lots. The population in 1920 was about four hundred.

Fish House, on the Delaware about two miles above Camden, at the terminus of Cove Road, is a hamlet of about one hundred people; Morrisville, on the Burlington Pike above Bethel, is of similar proportions, while Amon Heights and Delaware Gardens, along the Burlington Pike, are comparatively new, but flourishing suburban sub-divisions.

The main pumping station of the Camden Water Works is located at Morris, east of River Road and not far from the county line at Pensauken Creek.

Voorhees Township—This township, which was incorporated by Act of March 1, 1889, comprises that portion of old Waterford lying below the Evesham Road and north of the south branch of Cooper's Creek, being bounded on the east by Berlin Township.

The first settler in this region was probably George Matlack, who came thither early in the eighteenth century to occupy a portion of the lands which his father, William Matlack of Burlington County, had purchased in the vicinity of Kirkwood. His house stood on the south side of the Haddonfield-Berlin Road, and he was afterwards joined by his brothers, Richard, John, and Timothy, the latter the father of the noted Timothy Matlack, of Revolutionary fame. The family holdings at one time included more than 1,500 acres, and the brothers all built houses in the vicinity of the present Glendale, where John Collins, a grandson of Francis Collins, one of the Haddonfield pioneers, also made his home.

The township is still predominantly rural. In the southwestern corner, along the line of the Atlantic City division of the Pennsylvania, Ashland, which has been a post village for two generations, and Osage, of more recent origin, are taking their places as growing communities in the Camden suburban circle. Glendale, a hamlet on the Haddonfield-Berlin Road, about two miles from Kirkwood, was a trading center of some importance before the coming of the railroad. Ephraim Tomlinson, the owner of Laurel Mills at what is now Laurel Springs, was the first merchant of the village, and soon

after this Josiah C. Engle opened up a second store. The latter also was the pioneer in this section in growing strawberries on a large scale, his success attracting many others to the culture of berries and small fruits. In 1855 a Methodist congregation was formed for religious and educational purposes.

Since the recent incorporation of Gibbsboro as a borough, the only other settlements in the township are Kresson, in the northwestern corner, and an extension of West Berlin, on the eastern border.

Clementon Township.—Incorporated by the Act of February 24, 1903, Clementon Township occupies the upper central portion of Camden County, being bounded on the west by Magnolia Borough and Centre Township; on the south by Gloucester Township; on the east by Winslow Township, and on the north by the townships of Berlin and Voorhees. The Borough of Laurel Springs, erected in 1913, lies almost in the geographical center of the township.

Clementon, the township seat, is situated on the Reading Railroad about twelve miles from Camden. Among the first settlers in this region was Andrew Newman, who, about 1735, developed the water power along the north branch of Timber Creek and built several saw and grist mills. These passed into the hands of William Lawrence, who built a portion of the old Gibbs house, and from him to Christopher Kneiser, a German redemptioner at one time in his service. About the beginning of the nineteenth century, the property was purchased by Samuel Clement, of Haddonfield, from whom the town takes its name, and some business associates, who operated the mills and constructed an eight-pot glass furnace on the adjacent hillside. The product of this industry was both flat and hollow glassware. The glass works were discontinued a little less than a century ago and sometime later the saw mill was abandoned, leaving the grist mills as the only industry. The mills had various owners until 1872, when they were purchased by T. B. Gibbs and L. W. Snyder from Isaac Tomlinson. Following the completion of the railroad, an attempt was made to develop the land adjacent to the station by dividing it into small building lots. Little progress was made for a number of years, about twenty-five residences, two stores and a post office comprising the village in 1886. In the latter year, a movement was started beginning with the building of the Town Hall from which the little hamlet has developed into a full fledged borough with a population, exceeding fifteen hundred inhabitants, numerous stores, a national bank, and a volunteer fire company, organized in 1908, and now equipped with a motor-driven truck and a chemical engine. Five churches within the town and its neighbor, Clementon Heights, minister to the spiritual needs of the community, while a large public school, covering the grades from the fifth to the eighth, provide ample educational facilities.

To the visitor, however, the most attractive features of the plan is the beautiful pleasure park. Here thousands of people during the summer season find congenial recreation and exceptional bathing in the lake.

Signal Hill to the south, one of the highest spots in South Jersey, served as a base station in the geological survey of the State, the crow's nest among the lofty pines affording a splendid outlook over the surrounding country until within comparatively recent years.

To the east of Signal Hill, and south of the railroad, at Pine Valley, a mile below the Clementon station, lies one of the finest golf courses in the United States, including within its bounds several attractive country man-

sions. The adjacent flying field is another point of attraction and, lying on the direct air-line between New York and Washington, is bound to see much service in the coming development of commercial aviation.

Kirkwood, formerly known as White Horse, is situated on the Camden and Atlantic Division of the West Jersey & Seashore Railroad and extends from the White Horse Pike northward to Cooper's Creek. It was around the old "White Horse Tavern," or "Sign of the White Horse," that the hamlet grew up. The inn was established by Ephraim Hillman towards the end of the eighteenth century, and in the days before the completion of the Camden and Atlantic Railroad was an important place on the road between Philadelphia and the several seashore points. It was one of the stopping places for the stage coaches and charcoal wagons enroute to and from the interior. Historically, it played an important part in the contest over the location of a new county seat for old Gloucester County in the election of 1825. The court house at Woodbury, having been condemned by the Grand Jury as "insufficient," the Legislature directed that an election should be held to determine where the new buildings should be located. Camden was an active competitor for the honor, and at a meeting of the inhabitants of Waterford and Gloucester townships held at the White Horse Tavern, adopted resolutions urging its selection. In the protracted fight for the choice of a place for the county buildings for the newly formed county of Camden, 1845-1848, White Horse was an unsuccessful contender.

When the Camden and Atlantic Railroad was completed, much of the former prestige of White Horse was lost, as practically all of the travel from the seashore was diverted to the steam road. The railroad station was first called White Horse, and later changed to Marl City, when the marl beds in the vicinity were exploited by the Kirkwood Marl and Fertilizer Company. The present name of Kirkwood was adopted after the post office at White Horse had been abandoned.

The water power here, long used by small saw and grist mills, was developed by Joel P. Kirkbride, who came into the possession of the property in 1850, and built an extensive flouring mill. The mill pond served as a source of natural ice, and during the eighties the railroad company developed the stately grove at the water's edge into a popular picnicking resort under the name of Lakeside Park.

Lindenwold, adjoining Kirkwood to the east, was founded in 1885, the town plot then comprising the ninety-acre farm of John A. Ellsler, bordering on Lakeside Park, and a one hundred and forty-acre tract to the south, extending to the White Horse Pike. It was promoted by the Penn Guarantee Trust Association, whose secretary, Winer Bedford, constructed the first building in the town. For a time after February, 1886, Frank T. Coe published the "South Jersey Advertiser" here, that journalistic effort marking the first entrance of business into the town. In its inception it was regarded, primarily, as a summering place, but while it has lost none of its attractions in that respect, it is rapidly gaining in all-the-year-round population. A Congregational Church is located within the town limits.

Stratford, south of Kirkwood, and extending from the White Horse Pike over to and beyond the Atlantic City Branch of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, by which it is served, covers ground which was cultivated as late as twenty-five years ago as the Jacob Lippincott farm and before that, was generally known as the Warner Farm. Today it has a population approaching a thousand souls. The origin of its name is obvious—from the birth-place of Shakespeare. The town supports a Methodist Church.

Somerdale, a more recent addition to the suburban communities along the Atlantic City Branch of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad and the White Horse Pike, is the sole remaining inhabited place of any importance, though Brownsville, on a tributary of the North Branch of Timber Creek, a mile south of Laurel Springs, and Watsontown, on the White Horse Pike, a mile from Clementon, may be mentioned as hamlets of considerable age.

Berlin Township.—This township was created by an Act of April 11, 1910, being part of the territory taken from Gloucester Township in 1859 and added to Waterford Township. The boundaries are briefly described as follows:

Beginning at a corner in the middle line of the road leading from Tansborough to Taunton where it intersects the boundary line between the townships of Winslow and Waterford; thence extending in a northeastwardly direction along the middle line of said road to a point where it intersects the boundary line between the counties of Burlington and Camden, and thence to the end.

The township includes the village known, until 1871, as Long-a-coming, and which figured in the prolonged contest over the location of the county seat. It was actually chosen by the voters of Camden County as the shire town, and it was only by political trickery and legal activity that it was deprived of this honor. Settlers arrived in the vicinity early in the eighteenth century, some to till the soil and others to engage in lumbering in the surrounding forests. The main road between Philadelphia and the lower seacoast passed through this settlement, which at an early day became one of the regular stops for the stages, traders from the seashore, and charcoal burners from the nearby pine regions. Sometime before 1760, Samuel Scull became heavily interested in land in this locality and erected a tavern near what is now the upper end of the village, while Joel Bodine, before 1800, had an inn at the other end of the village. About the beginning of the nineteenth century the Gloucester Township elections for members of the State Council and Assembly were opened on the first day at Joel Bodine's (Long-a-coming), and at Mary McConkey's (Blackwoodtown) on the following day, indicating that the number of settlers in this vicinity was rapidly increasing.

The industries of the region in the early part of the nineteenth century included the tannery of Samuel Shreve, who also conducted a general store, and the charcoal works of Thomas Wright. When the Camden and Atlantic Railroad established a station here in 1856, the village consisted of several groups of houses clustered around the four country stores which were spread out on the Egg Harbor road for a distance of a mile or more. The Land Improvement Company, connected with the railroad, laid out a town plot and disposed of many lots at public auction, but though the erection of several fine houses resulted, growth was comparatively slow, climbing in thirty years to five hundred population in 1886.

The population in 1924 of Berlin and of the contiguous village of West Berlin is about 2,500, and expansion has been accelerated by the improvement of the White Horse Pike and the approaching completion of the Delaware River bridge. The United Fire Company of the two towns furnishes adequate fire protection. Berlin has four churches: The Centenary Methodist Episcopal, organized in 1866, although a Methodist Church is mentioned in the records of the church as early as 1843; the First Presbyterian Church, which dates its beginning back to 1766; the Berlin Baptist Church, organized in

1874; and the Protestant Episcopal Mission of the Good Shepherd. West Berlin is served by the Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church; Trinity Lutheran Methodist Episcopal; the Protestant Episcopal Mission of the Holy Trinity; and the Roman Catholic Church of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel.

The township lies on the South Jersey watershed, five streams, including the Great Egg Harbor River, having their sources within the radius of a mile. Eight converging roads, five spreading fanwise to the east and three to the west, make Berlin an important regional center.

The Berlin National Bank, organized in 1910, occupies a portion of the block of ground purchased by the Freeholders of Camden County as the site of county buildings during the struggle over the location of the county seat. Another reminder of the olden times is the Berlin Cemetery, which dates its existence to a time prior to 1766, in which year Samuel Scull dedicated three acres for burial purposes, conveying title to Michael Fisher, David Roe, Peter Cheeseman, Northrop Marple, and Henry Thorne, as trustees of the newly formed Presbyterian Church, which had a log structure on the premises as its place of worship.

CHAPTER VIII.

BOROUGHES.

Merchantville.—(Incorporated by Act of March 3, 1874, from a portion of Stockton Township.) Until the middle of the nineteenth century the territory now covered by Merchantville was entirely rural, a considerable part of it comprising the estate of the Rudderow family. The genesis of the borough and its name is to be found in the fact that, in 1852, four merchants of Philadelphia—Frederick Gerker, Matthias Homer, John Louty, and Samuel McFadden—built residences along Maple Avenue near its junction with Cove Road. About the same time Patrick Cunningham, formerly located on the Burlington Turnpike, took up a tract west of Browning Road and on the south side of Maple Avenue, which had then just been transformed from a dirt road into the Camden and Moorestown Turnpike. On his lands Cheney run had its source in a natural spring, which was walled as a source of the family supply. Located in a fine stand of pine trees, it was popularly known as "the well-in-the-woods," from which it is easy to trace the name of Wellwood, now applied to the vicinity. Of the old landmarks along the Mt. Holly stage road, the Curtis farm house at Lexington and Maple avenues, built in 1798, which had been in the possession of the Spicers during the eighteenth century, was the last to disappear.

Railroad service was established in October 1867 after a struggle of over forty years by the people residing along the Mount Holly Road to secure this much desired improvement. Up to that time the village had virtually stood still. Toward the close of the Civil War, however, new residents, mostly Camden and Philadelphia business men, began to build suburban homes in the vicinity, being attracted by its favorable location, on a ridge one hundred feet above the level of the Delaware. The number of inhabitants in the village became so numerous that by 1866, a post-office was felt to be a necessity. Through the influence of Alexander G. Cattell, who had just taken his seat in the United States Senate and who had been a resident of the village for three years, a post office was opened in the small store of Charles W. Starn, on Maple Avenue near Chapel Road. Mr. Starn was succeeded, as postmaster, by Richard C. Schriener, Mrs. Richard C. Schriener, Elijah Shinn,

Gottlieb C. Mick, W. E. Phelps, William Macfarlann, Maurice B. Rudderow, and Walter Ball. Since February 1, 1911, the office has functioned as a branch of the Camden post office, Mr. Ball taking the title of Superintendent.

The first school in the town was erected in 1863 on the Bartine property, at the corner of Chapel and Maple avenues. For a time this small frame structure was also used for religious purposes and is looked upon as the birthplace of the Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church. It also served as a place for public assembly until the building of Merchantville Hall, on Maple Avenue west of Centre Street, which accommodated public meetings and entertainments from 1870 until 1893, when Messrs. Collins and Pancoast, enterprising merchants of the town, erected a spacious public hall at Centre Street and Chestnut Avenue.

Expansion of population during the latter sixties and early seventies was not accompanied by adequate public improvements, a fact which led to sharply expressed differences with the authorities of Stockton Township and the growth of a sentiment for separation. After several stirring public meetings, George Crump, Colonel James P. Mead, Thomas C. Knight, Joseph Bayliss, Edwin J. Spangler, and John Homer, were selected as a committee to draft a charter for the village and engineer its enactment by the State Legislature. Nothing since has equalled the speed with which they accomplished their mission. On the day of their arrival in Trenton, on March 1, 1874, the charter was given its first and second readings by the Assembly, and the next morning it was enacted by both houses of the Legislature and signed by Governor Parker before sundown.

At the subsequent election, Matthias Homer was chosen Burgess, a position which he filled for thirteen years; and the first councilmanic body included Elijah G. Cattell, Thomas C. Knight, Joseph Bayliss, Christian E. Spangler, D. Tenney Gage, James Millingar, and Edwin S. Hall. John Homer, who was named Borough Clerk, served in that capacity for twelve years. The tax revenues of the borough for the first year amounted to \$3,105.50, from approximately four hundred residents. Today, with a population of about 3,700, the tax assessment is \$166,626.03.

In 1887, when the population numbered about seven hundred, water was piped to the residences. Gas was introduced two years later by the Merchantville Gas Company, the plant being located on Park Avenue, beyond the borough limits. After some experiments with electric lighting by Gottlieb C. Mick in a small structure next to Pancoast's Hotel, at Maple Avenue and Centre Street, a generating station was erected on Wellwood Avenue, north of the railroad, in 1890. Like the gas plant, this was later absorbed by the Public Service Corporation. Street railway service became a reality in September, 1892, when the Camden Horse Railroad Co. began operations over a single track. The initial fare of ten cents to Camden was soon modified by the sale of monthly tickets. Absorption by the Camden & Suburban Railroad Company, electrification and double-tracking followed in 1893.

Protection against fire came with the organization on May 2, 1888, of the Niagara Fire Company, which in 1889 built a commodious fire house. Its first hose wagon was formerly the prized possession of the Niagara Hose Company of Philadelphia, while the alarm bell in the tower which has, since 1896, denoted the direction of fires, had previously done similar duty in the headquarters of the Camden Fire Department at Fifth and Arch streets.

In 1898, passage of a uniform sidewalks ordinance rectified long-stand

complaints on that score and with the extension of hard-surface paving gave the tree-lined streets of the borough a model appearance. That other essential of a modern community, an adequate sewer system and sanitary disposal plant was finally completed and put into operation in the spring of 1910.

The earliest financial institution in the town was the First National Bank, which opened its doors on October 31, 1906, at 13 South Centre Street, and now having as friendly rival the nearby Merchantville Trust Company, which began business on August 20, 1923.

The first church erected in the borough was the Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church, incorporated March 11, 1865, by David S. Stetson, A. G. Cattell, Matthias Homer, Elijah G. Cattell, Isaac Starn, Charles W. Starn, James C. Fenn, Isaac Hinchman and Joseph H. Starn. After holding services for a time in the school on the Bartine property, work was begun on a chapel which was dedicated in March, 1866, by Bishop Matthew Simpson. To its first pastor, Rev. Robert S. Harris, is attributed the origin of "Children's Day," a fact which is memorialized by a beautiful stained glass window in the granite edifice which replaced the old chapel at Maple and Chapel avenues, on May 9, 1894.

The First Presbyterian Church had its birth at a meeting held in the home of John Peace late in 1870, as a result of which weekly religious services were held in Merchantville Hall, the preaching being done by the Revs. V. D. Reed and L. C. Baker of the First and Second Presbyterian Churches of Camden. Later the Rev. Robert Ellis Thompson was engaged as a permanent supply, and during his tenure the church was admitted to the West Jersey Presbytery and definitely organized on March 14, 1872, with fourteen members. The original church building, at Maple Avenue and Centre Street, was completed and dedicated on June 11, 1876, and a new chapel was added to the facilities of the congregation in December, 1893.

The first Episcopal services in Merchantville were held in the home of Henry A. Macomb on December 2, 1872, and was followed by worship in other homes. Grace Church was organized in April, 1873, though it was not until five years later that its first home, a frame building at the corner of Centre Street and Park Avenue, was completed, services in the meantime being held in Trinity Methodist Episcopal Chapel and in Merchantville Hall. In July, 1890, this structure was removed to Maple Avenue above Centre Street, where, in 1894, it was replaced by the present stone edifice. The Rev. Richard George Moses was the first permanent rector, holding that position until his death, in January, 1906; Henry A. McComb was the first Sunday School superintendent, serving as such for more than forty years.

Organization of the First Baptist Church took place on January 25, 1890, in a building on Park Avenue, east of Centre Street, William J. Coxey, of Camden being the prime mover in the formation of the congregation, which originally numbered thirty-three members. Samuel S. Merriman was chosen pastor, with Joseph C. Randall as clerk, Reuben C. Scudder as treasurer, and Joseph R. Wiltshire and John Griffiths as deacons. A lot was immediately purchased at the southeast corner of Centre Street and Rogers Avenue and work begun on a frame church which was dedicated June 22, the same year. In 1901 a larger plot at the northeast corner of Centre Street and Walnut Avenue was purchased, and there, on April 22, 1906, the present structure, Gothic in architecture, was dedicated.

Though two of the first five residents of Merchantville, Frederick Gerker

and Patrick Cunningham, were Catholics, efforts to establish a mission of that faith were vain, until, in September, 1903, Bishop McFaul, of the Diocese of Trenton, yielded to the solicitations of Messrs. John J. Burleigh and Francis A. Cunningham and sent the Rev. P. J. Clune to make a beginning. The first Mass was celebrated on October 4 in Merchantville Hall, which continued to serve as a place of worship until the completion and dedication of St. Peter's Church on Maple Avenue on April 28, 1908. A fire, on January 6, 1924 destroyed the roof and damaged the interior, to such an extent that services of the parish, which includes Pensauken and Delair as well as Merchantville, have been held during the operation of making repairs in the motion picture theatre at Maple and Park avenues.

The story of the Friends' Meeting in Merchantville is comparatively short. In 1895, under the auspices of a committee from the Haddonfield and Salem Quarterly Meetings, meetings were held weekly in various places in the borough, and six years later the small brick edifice on Maple Avenue east of Centre Street was erected. This meetnig has always been an independent meeting, that is not under the direction or auspices of either of the Orthodox or Hicksite branches of the Friends. After 1914, the meetings were held once a month instead of weekly and finally in January, 1923, the property was sold to the Delaware and Atlantic Telephone and Telegraph Company.

Merchantville Inn, which after serving for some years as a summer boarding house now serves a year-round patronage, was originally erected in 1867 by Alexander G. and Elijah G. Cattell as a building in which their brother, the Rev. Thomas W. Cattell, could establish an academy for boys. The latter had formerly conducted the Edge Hill School at Princeton, New Jersey, and the new institution, which was called the Oak Grove Academy, was conducted by him successfully for several years before he was called to Oxford, Pennsylvania, to serve as Dean of the faculty of Lincoln University. After several attempts by other pedagogues to duplicate his success, the building was transformed into a hotel, at first known as Oak Grove Inn. On September 5, 1892, it narrowly escaped destruction by fire, the third and fourth floors being heavily damaged.

The East End Hotel on Maple Avenue at the far end of the town, has had an existence of more than a century. Originally it was a popular tavern on the Mount Holly stage road and was known as "The Half Moon." The earliest known proprietor was a Mr. Cattell who conducted the hotel until 1825, when Charles Buzby came into possession of the property and re-named it "The Spread Eagle." Around the hotel was a cluster of eight or ten houses and a store, to which the name Waterford was given in the early days. houses and a store, to which the name Waterfordville was given in the early days.

Haddonfield.—(Incorporated April 6, 1875, under Act of March 24, from Haddon Township.) Haddonfield, one of the oldest towns in West Jersey, is located on lands taken up in 1683 by Richard Mathews and Francis Collins. The lands of the former may be roughly defined as lying north of Ellis Street and extending to Cooper Creek, while the Collins holdings adjoined to the southwest, running from the head of the middle branch of Newton Creek to the south branch of Cooper's Creek.

The King's Highway, or Salem Road, which had been laid out as a public highway by the Legislature in 1681, ran through the Mathews tract and the portion lying on the easterly side was sold to William Lovejoy, a blacksmith, in 1691, passing into the hands of John Kay in 1710, while the westerly por-

tion was acquired by John Haddon of London in 1698. Several other large tracts on the north side of Cooper's Creek were also owned by John Haddon, and it was to take care of his interests that his younger daughter, Elizabeth, then only nineteen years of age, crossed the Atlantic in 1701. At first she made her home in the house built by John Willis at Cole's Landing, but after her romantic marriage to John Estaugh, a Quaker missionary, whom she had previously met in her father's London home, they erected the mansion long known as the Elizabeth Haddon House and by them called "New Haddonfield." At that time, John Kay had his residence near Cooper's Creek, where he managed the "Free Lodge Mill," afterwards known as Evans' mill, and Francis Collins had built the Mountwell mansion. With the building of the Friends' Meeting House near the intersection of the "Ferry Road" and the King's Highway in 1720, the embryo village began taking form.

Other early residents of Haddonfield included John Gill, a cousin of Elizabeth Haddon; Timothy Matlack, father of the Revolutionary patriot; Jacob Clement, progenitor of a family famous in the annals of the town; Thomas Perry Webb, probably the first village smithy; Thomas Redman, proprietor of the first drug store; Thomas Champion, tailor; Mathias Aspden, whose son acquired a large fortune as a Philadelphia shipping merchant and whose will was twenty years in litigation; and Hugh Creighton, who long conducted a hotel at the premises now known as "The Indian King." This tavern had at least one predecessor, the inn built by Elizabeth Haddon on the south side of Tanner Street.

The Indian King was the scene of several sessions of the Legislature during 1777, and within its walls was created and organized, on March 18, of the same year, the Council of Safety, conferring upon Governor William Livingston and a Council of twelve large powers in carrying on the war. This body met again in Haddonfield on May 10 and again from the 5th to the 25th of September.

Haddonfield was also the site of the Hessian encampment on the night before the Battle of Red Bank, October 22, 1777, the ill-fated Colonel Donop making his headquarters in John Gill's house. The old Friends' Meeting House, which long ago disappeared, was then pressed into service as a hospital for the wounded of both sides. A Scotch regiment encamped in the village during a portion of the following winter, and later it was the headquarters of Major Simcoe and his Queen's Rangers, sent out from Philadelphia to check the foraging operations of Major General Anthony Wayne. Wayne's forces, however, moving from Mt. Holly, soon caused him to retreat, and the Continental troops even ventured to attack the fortifications which the British had thrown up about the Camden ferries. Haddonfield again saw the presence of the invader on the evacuation of Philadelphia, in June, 1778, when Howe's discomfited army was four days and nights in passing through the village.

Aside from their Revolutionary traditions, Haddonfield and "The Indian King" had an association with a romantic character in American history. Among the visitors to the inn and home of Hugh Creighton was Dorothy Payne, whose parents had adopted the beliefs of the Friends and settled in Philadelphia, where, in 1791, she married John Todd, a wealthy Quaker lawyer. After the death of her husband, during the yellow fever epidemic of 1793, she abandoned the faith of the Friends and entered fashionable society. Many a Haddonfield swain fell victim to her charms on her frequent visits to their out-door parties in the summer and quilting bees and sleighing frolics



THE OLD AMERICAN HOUSE AT HADDONFIELD.
(In this hotel the Continental Congress held many sessions, and
here "Dolly" Madison once held sway.)



Friends Meeting-house, Haddonfield.

in the winter. Her successful suitor, however, was a brilliant Virginia Congressman, and in 1794 she became "Dolly" Madison, in later years famed as the "First Lady of the Land."

Fire protection in Haddonfield antedates the Revolution, having its origin in a meeting of the male inhabitants of the village, held March 8, 1762, at which time a fire company was organized under the name Friendship Fire Company. The original membership roll included Samuel Clement, Thomas Redman, William Griscom, John Matlack, Jr., Isaac Kay, John Hinchmau, Robert F. Price, John Langdale, Jacob Clement, John Gill, Thomas Champion, James Davis, John Githens, Samuel Clement, Jr., Thomas Cummings, Edward Gibbs, Hugh Creighton, Joseph Collins, Caspar Smith, Benjamin Hartley, Benjamin Vanleer, Thomas Redman, Jr., Thomas Edgerton, Ebenezer Hopkins, Thomas Githens, and William Edgerton, each of whom was obligated to furnish two leather buckets, the association providing six ladders and three fire hooks. The Company maintained its organization intact until February 21, 1857, when at a meeting in the home of Samuel Githens, it was absorbed into the Haddonfield Fire Department, with Richard W. Snowden as president. Upon the incorporation of the borough, it passed under the control of the borough commissioners and is now known as Hadden Fire Company No. 1.

The first school house in the village was built by the Friends in 1786 on the southwest corner of the burying ground, where a school is still maintained by the Society. For a number of years all town meetings and elections were held in this brick structure. In 1809, the "Grove School House" on Grove Street was built on land donated by William E. Hopkins. In the Town Hall on Haddon Avenue, which was built in 1854, several school rooms were fitted up and served the community until the completion of a commodious stone school house in 1869. These rooms were later utilized for the colored pupils of the town. At present the school needs of the borough are served by the Elizabeth Haddon School, at Redman and Peyton streets, and the Haddonfield High School, at Chestnut and Lincoln streets.

The first record of postal service in the town is found in the appointment of John Clement as postmaster on July 12, 1803. Mails, however, arrived at irregular intervals until a regular stage route between Haddonfield and Camden was established in 1824, with bi-weekly service.

The Haddonfield Library was organized among members of the Society of Friends on March 5, 1803, with James Hopkins as chairman and Stephen M. Day as secretary, a frame addition to the school house serving as headquarters. Apparently it furnished the villagers solid reading, for among its articles was one declaring that the trustees "shall not admit any atheistical or deistical books, and as the Society of Friends advise against the reading of plays, novels and romances, it is further declared that in making choice of books of those denominations, care shall be taken not to admit such as are of vain, immoral or corrupting tendency." In 1855 the library merged with the Haddon Institute, formed the year before to establish a lecture course and encourage cultural studies. The latter organization, however, was short-lived and the books were soon returned to the library company, which in 1875 was re-incorporated.

For more than a century, religious activities in Haddonfield were confined to the Society of Friends. In the summer of 1817, however, John Sisty, a Philadelphia merchant and ordained Baptist minister, began to preach on the second and fourth Sundays in the Grove School House. As a result, a

Baptist Church was regularly organized on June 11, 1818, with ten members, of whom Charles Kain, Joseph Evans, Isaac Smith, Zaccheus Logan, and David Vanderver were selected as trustees to take title to a lot purchased from the heirs of Elizabeth West. A neat brick meeting house was dedicated in November of the same year, the congregation having been then increased by the addition of four new members. The ceremony of baptism, in the early days, was celebrated at Evans' Mill Pond, and it is recorded that the cold was never too severe, or the storm too great to prevent the carrying out of the holy ordinance, Mr. Sisty often walking out into the water with the thermometer hovering about zero. After a service of twenty years, Mr. Sisty resigned as pastor in 1837; in 1839, the church was incorporated; in 1852, after prolonged opposition on the part of the older members, the old church was torn down and a new one erected, to be succeeded in turn by the handsome Gothic structure on King's Highway East, designed by Isaac Percell, of Philadelphia, in 1886. The Baptist churches at Moorestown, Marlton, Blackwood, and Berlin, as well as the short-lived church on Collings Road in what is now Collingswood, all traced their origin to the Haddonfield congregation.

The first sermon preached in Haddonfield under Methodist auspices was by John P. Curtis in 1820, use of the Baptist Church being proffered by the Rev. John Sisty. Other services followed at intervals in the Grove School House, which was at all times available for religious purposes, without regard to creed. In 1830, a regular class or society was organized with thirty-one members, including Richard Stafford and his wife, the first residents of Methodist persuasion in the town. In August, 1835, a church erected in the east part of the town was dedicated by the Rev. R. E. Morrison, then in charge. This structure served the needs of the congregation until 1857, when a brick house of worship was reared on the lot which had been acquired at the corner of Grove Street and King's Highway, then called Main Street. The contract for the present edifice on Mansion Avenue near King's Highway West, was awarded to James W. Draper on July 15, 1911.

The Grove School House also served as the cradle of Grace Episcopal Church, whose origin dates to September 5, 1841, when the Rev. Andrew Bell Patterson, rector of Trinity Church of Moorestown, began holding services there. In March of the following year a lot was purchased and the laying of the corner stone was planned for Monday, April 4th with Bishop Doane presiding. Owing to a severe rain storm, the ceremony was postponed for a week, when Mr. Patterson officiated. The building was consecrated by Bishop Doane on September 29th; the congregation was chartered, April 20, 1843, and admitted to the convention soon afterward. Until 1850 the rectors of Moorestown directed the flock; then it became a charge of the Church of the Ascension at Gloucester, but in 1854 with the installation of Rev. Samuel Hallowell, it became independent of other parishes. Growth soon made an addition to the church necessary; in 1872 a rectory was built on an adjoining lot, and in 1885 the auditorium underwent extensive alterations, pending the accumulation of funds for a new structure.

The first religious meeting of the Presbyterians of Haddonfield and vicinity was held in Jacob Fowler's Hall at the northwest corner of the Haddonfield Pike and the King's Highway in April, 1858. These meetings were continued from time to time under the direction of Rev. Daniel Stewart and Rev. Samuel J. Baird but no definite action to organize a regularly established congregation was taken until 1871. In that year a petition was presented to the Presbytery at Salem for permission to organize a church. On

November 22, 1871, under the supervision of a committee appointed by the Presbytery twenty members were organized under the title The Presbyterian Church of Haddonfield. After having held their meetings in the Town Hall and later in a portion of the store of B. F. Fowler for two years the congregation was able to purchase a lot on the King's Highway for a church building, the cornerstone of which was laid July 12, 1873 and the new addition occupied in November, 1874, although the church was not dedicated until April 15, 1882, during the pastorate of Rev. Julius C. Werner. The original elders were: Joseph B. Tatem and David Roe, and the first pastor the Rev. Edwin H. Newberry, who were installed November 14, 1872. In 1905, Mr. and Mrs. Henry D. Moore proposed to the congregation to erect a memorial to their son Gilbert Henry Moore in the form of a new church building. This was promptly accepted, the cornerstone being laid June 9, 1906, and the edifice dedicated January 21, 1908. The activities of the congregation have extended beyond the limits of the borough and include the church at Ashland which was taken over in 1917 and the chapel at Woodcrest dedicated January 23, 1921. This is one of the largest churches of the Presbyterian denomination in New Jersey and under the able leadership of Rev. Robert Hugh Morris, D.D. has now a membership of over one thousand.

Christ Methodist Protestant Church, at Belmont Avenue and Prospect Road, was organized in Batesville or East Haddonfield on February 9, 1913, with seventeen members. Meetings were held there for a short time and then transferred to the hall on the third floor of the building at the corner of Haddon Avenue and King's Highway East. The society worshipped in this room until May, 1915, when the chapel on the present site was completed. Recently the chapel has been enlarged to provide room for the Primary Department of the Sunday School. The membership of the church at the present time is between fifty and sixty.

The first officers of the borough commission of five members, elected April 6, 1875, were John H. Lippincott, Joseph F. Kay, Alfred W. Clement, Nathan Lippincott, and Samuel P. Hunt. Since its incorporation the town limits have remained unchanged, save for the inclusion, under the act of March 18, 1916, of a small portion of Delaware Township on the easterly side of Evans' Mill Pond, the object being to bring the mill rights in their entirety under the control of the borough. The headquarters of the borough government have up to this time been maintained in the old Town Hall, on Haddon Avenue, near the King's Highway. On March 21, 1924, a town meeting authorized the commissioners to purchase the Pharo property, at No. 242 King's Highway, having a frontage on that thoroughfare of one hundred and thirty feet and four hundred feet in depth. On this site the municipal offices of the future will be erected, the residence now on it being used in the meantime to house all official activities.

Chesilhurst—(Incorporated under general Act, November 26, 1887, by referendum held October 18, 1887.) Occupying the highlands between Waterford and Atco along the lines of the Pennsylvania, the town was plotted in 1884 by Wade & Simpson, of Philadelphia, who owned all of its 1,270 acres. Active work on its development was begun in the following summer, with the idea of making it a popular suburb. The first house was built for N. R. Gatchell in the fall of 1885, and was soon followed by the residence of Charles Heacock and the site of J. H. Richter. The next spring J. K. Cope opened a hotel, and the discovery of brick clay in the vicinity led to

much activity. About four-fifths of the five thousand lots in the town plot were reported sold by the fall of 1886, by which time more than a score of dwellings were erected. But the early promise of rapid growth was not realized; the distance from Philadelphia was too great for the commuter of the day, and it attracted principally the small fruit and berry grower, the soil being particularly adapted for that purpose. The only industries have been a small manufactory of market trays and another of wire milk baskets. The town, which had a population of two hundred and eighty-seven in 1920, contains one public school and two churches, Methodist and Lutheran. Its healthful situation gives promise of expansion in the ever-widening reach of the suburban sweep in Camden County.

Collingswood.—(Incorporated under general Act by referendum, May 22, 1888, from Haddon Township.) Collingswood is situated on that portion of the lands taken up by the Newton colony early in 1682 by Robert Zane and Robert Turner, including also the easterly portion of Thomas Thackara's survey. The bulk of the so-called Turner tract consisting of five hundred acres, was originally taken up by George Goldsmith upon representation to the commissioners that he was acting for Thomas Starkey, but when the latter failed to furnish the "rights" to complete the title, Goldsmith applied to Robert Turner for assistance, and the latter allowed the survey to be entered against his share, giving Goldsmith one hundred acres for his services. The Turner tract passed to Isaac Hollingsham in 1693.

On Thomas Sharp's map of the Third or Irish Tenth, now Camden County, made in 1700, two houses are shown on the present site of the borough—that of Robert Zane, on Newton Creek, east of the present White Horse Pike, and that of Isaac Hollingsham, also on the creek near the bridge which now crosses to Bettlewood.

The history of the town can be traced through the Zane family. Esther Zane, granddaughter of the pioneer, married Richard Collins (later changed to Collings) and their daughter, Rebecca, married Jonathan Knight, the father of E. C. Knight, through whose generosity the people of Camden County are indebted for the beautiful spot known as Knight's Park. It was due to the energy and foresight of the Collings family that the many acres of farm land now converted into building lots received its greatest impetus.

The first attempt at development was made about 1850, when Isaiah Stone purchased a small tract north of Browning Road from the Cooper estate and built a number of houses in a settlement to which the name of Stonetown was popularly accorded. Other groups of houses sprang up further along the Haddonfield Pike, and in 1871 the village was made a station on the Atlantic City branch of the Pennsylvania Railroad. The present borough, however, did not take on a very progressive atmosphere until the early "eighties."

In 1882, J. Stokes Collings opened a store, which also served as a post office on his appointment as the first postmaster of Collingswood. He soon had a competitor in business in Elmer E. Magill, who is also credited with being the first of the modern builders of the town, laying out its first street, Irvin Avenue, and erecting thereon a number of residences. In 1885, the railroad company built a fine station at the Collings Avenue crossing and, about the same time, Richard T. Collings, Mr. Magill and others purchased forty acres south of the railroad and laid it out into building lots which were rapidly sold.

The greatest impetus to growth, however, came with the dedication of Knight Park on May 12, 1893—a park of some seventy acres presented to the town by the heirs of E. C. Knight, in accordance with the oft expressed intention. This event, at which addresses were delivered by General William J. Sewell, Mayor J. Leighton Westcott of Camden, Judge John Clement of Haddonfield, and others, attracted much attention to Collingswood as the possessor of the first public park lands of any extent in Camden County. To Knight Park, beautifully landscaped, may unquestionably be traced its subsequent development.

The first borough commission, elected in May, 1888, comprised Chalkley Parker, Elmer E. Magill, E. E. Molineaux, Joseph T. Mathias, W. Quigley, Josiah Stokes and R. T. Collings, Mr. Parker being selected as president. His successors in the presiding officer's chair were Josiah Stokes, R. T. Collings, Howard L. Merrick, and Henry R. Tatem. During the latter's incumbency, in the spring of 1896, a new borough act converted the form of government into a Mayor and Council, Mr. Tatem being sworn in as Mayor, and became the popular choice for the post at the succeeding election. A. K. Roberts, C. H. Barnard, D. P. Fries, George Lippincott, and Thomas W. Jack followed in that office, and in 1917 the commission form of government under the Walsh Act, was adopted, the style since that time being a commission of three members, the present incumbents being Joseph W. Westcott (Mayor), A. K. Roberts, and P. G. Knebel.

Collingswood has been a "no-license" town since 1873, the "drys" carrying it consistently in the biennial Local Option elections provided for in the Act of that year. Sunday closing has also been a cardinal policy, though challenged, unsuccessfully on several occasions, during the term of Mayor Collings, by enthusiastic golfers. Perhaps the hottest fight through which the borough passed was that against the Citizens' Water Company in 1905-6, which approached the status of a bloodless civil war, rending friendships and ranging relatives against each other during the eighteen months of its duration. The water supply, which came from the pumping station near Merchantville, was found to be highly contaminated, but the water company officials steadfastly refused to recognize the protests of the citizens of Collingswood. As a result of threats and partial initiation of municipal competition, the opposition ceased.

Celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the erection of the borough, extending over the "week end," including October 2, 3 and 4, 1908, was a gala time in Collingswood, Governor J. Franklin Fort delivering the principal address at the opening exercises in Knight Park on Friday. Saturday was marked by a pretentious parade, athletic meets, a children's carnival and an elaborate pyrotechnic display, and Sunday by a union song service by the massed church choirs in the park.

After an existence of twenty-three years, it was found that there was no record of the incorporation of the borough in the County Clerk's office at Camden. To avoid any legal complications, a bill was promptly pushed through the Legislature of 1911, validating the incorporation as of May 22, 1888, and all acts subsequent to that date.

The sewer system and sewer disposal plant, located on Newton Lake in West Collingswood, which had been operated privately, were taken over by the borough in 1923. Water from artesian wells at Merchantville is supplied by the General Water Company, though there has been renewed discussion of erecting a municipal plant. Gas and electricity are furnished by

the Public Service Company, which also owns the trolley and bus service operating on Haddon Avenue and on Richey Avenue, West Collingswood.

The first school within the limits of the borough was held in the Barton House, built in 1789, which, until recent years, stood on Haddon Avenue, between Knight and Harvard avenues. The next was the Champion School, erected just over the present borough line at West Collingswood station by the Newton Union School Society, formed on May 17, 1821. With the proceeds of a sale of shares at five dollars each among the residents of the vicinity, a brick school house was erected and named for the president of the organization, Samuel C. Champion. In 1838, with the passage of the public school act, the structure was transferred to the school committee of Newton Township, and satisfied the educational needs of the small community until 1882, when a larger, one-room frame structure was built on the site of the present High School. The old structure, in after years, housed the infant congregation of Christ Episcopal Church, West Collingswood, and is now still in service as a community center for that portion of Haddon Township known as West Collingswood Heights. The borough is now served by a model high school and six elementary schools, with an enrollment of 3,000 pupils and manned by a teaching force of eighty, and a modern junior high school is in course of construction on the rear of the high school grounds on Collings Avenue. The public school system is supplemented by an up-to-date parochial school.

Outside of the Newton Friends' Meeting, which has been treated under Haddon Township, the first religious edifice in the borough was a Baptist Church erected in 1843 on the north side of Collings Avenue, then known as the Gloucester Road, west of Richey Avenue. This congregation, though zealously nurtured by the Rev. John Sisty, of the Haddonfield Baptist Church, had a brief life. After the settlement of Stonetown, on the Haddonfield Pike, its activities were transferred thither and a small frame chapel built opposite the present Embury Church, which by common consent was supervised by Methodist workers from Camden. To this structure, in which R. T. Collings taught Sunday School for several years, the present First Methodist Episcopal Church traces its beginnings. This congregation, now the strongest in the New Jersey Conference, was organized in 1886 and soon afterwards built a frame house of worship at Dayton and Park avenues. Having outgrown its accommodations soon after the dawn of the twentieth century, work on a handsome stone edifice was begun and, pending its completion, in 1904, services were held in the Reed residence on Stokes Avenue. The Westmont Church, the West Collingswood Methodist Episcopal Church, organized in 1902, and the Embury Church, in the Browning Road section, which has just celebrated its sixth anniversary, are all daughters of this flourishing congregation. It also takes a leading part in the supervision and support of the Methodist Home for the Aged, at Haddon and Zane avenues, first opened in September, 1891.

Second among the denominations to erect houses of worship in Collingswood were the Episcopalians, who organized a parish in 1887 and built Holy Trinity Chapel, an unpretentious frame structure on Collings Avenue, west of Haddon Avenue, which has since been replaced by a fine stone edifice on Haddon Avenue. Two years later a Baptist congregation was organized; it too rapidly outgrew its original meeting place, at Haddon and Washington avenues, and has been for some years housed in an attractive stone house of worship, at Maple and Frazer avenues. The Collingswood Presbyterian Church, organized in 1902, was next in the field, followed by St. John's

Roman Catholic Church in 1903, and St. Paul's Lutheran in 1905. In the train of the Methodist pioneers in West Collingswood, there came Christ Protestant Episcopal Chapel in 1907, and since that time both the Lutherans and the Presbyterians have established congregations in that section.

Need of fire protection became apparent early in 1894, when the community had left the one thousand population mark far in the rear, and a public meeting resulted in the organization of Collingswood Fire Company No. 1, with twenty-six charter members, Walter Boyce being the first president. Incorporated in March, 1905, the company soon afterward built a commodious hall on Collings Avenue, which also houses the municipal offices, and its modern equipment now includes an efficient motor-driven pumper, a hose and chemical truck and a hook and ladder. West Collingswood Fire Company No. 1 was organized in November, 1894, in the old match factory on Comly Avenue, being incorporated on January 25th following. Its first piece of apparatus was a truck made by one of its members, R. K. Tobert. In 1899, a hose carriage was purchased from the Hancock Fire Company of Norristown. The present motorized equipment is equal to that of any volunteer company in the State.

Banking facilities were first furnished by the Collingswood National Bank, organized in 1905 through the efforts of George B. Oliver. Opening its doors on November 20th, its business grew by leaps and bounds, and on March 4, 1907, the present handsome banking house was put into service. Under the present president, Edward S. Sheldon, M.D., its accommodations were further enlarged in 1922, when a trust department was added to its facilities. The latter year also saw the creation of the Collingswood Trust Company and of the Memorial Bank of West Collingswood, both of which are experiencing healthy growth. Two free libraries and sixty stores complete the round of urban conveniences.

Often referred to by realtors as "the fastest growing borough east of the Mississippi," that appellation is justified by census statistics which show a population of 1,663 in 1900, of 4,795 in 1910, and of almost 9,000 in 1920. That phenomenal rate of growth has since been maintained and a conservative estimate now places the number of residents in excess of 11,000, making Collingswood eligible for entrance as the third city of Camden County.

Essentially a residential community, there is but one manufacturing enterprise of importance—the textile machinery works of J. J. McCloskey, occupying the former plant of the Enterprise Wall Paper Company along the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Woodlynne—(Incorporated March 19, 1901, from Haddon Township). Woodlynne, lying in the pocket formed by Camden, Fairview and Collingswood along the north branch of Newton Creek, was formerly the farm of Charles M. Cooper. Its development was undertaken in 1892 by the New Camden Land Improvement Company, who christened the tract Lynnewood. That name, however, had already been pre-empted by a North Jersey community, a difficulty which was bridged by the simple expedient of reversing the syllables.

In 1895, the directors of the Camden Horse Car Company, organized the Woodlynne Park Association and took over a portion of the tract containing the Cooper Mansion as the site of an amusement park. This enterprise had a popular existence for about fifteen years, but in 1910 the land, becoming too valuable for such purposes, was cut up into building lots. The Mary Marshall Memorial Church, a fine religious edifice, is now rising at Cooper and Woodlynne avenues on a portion of the old park plot.

The first census after its incorporation, that of 1910, gave the town a population of five hundred; that number rose to 1,515 in 1920, and is at present increasing at an even faster rate, spurred by a program of extensive improvements initiated under the direction of Mayor William Cramer.

Haddon Heights.—(Incorporated March 2, 1904, from Haddon and Centre Townships.) The first attempt at development in this section was made by Charles H. Hillman, who in the nineties bought a portion of the farm of Benjamin A. Lippincott and laid it out into building lots. While casting about for a name for the prospective settlement, Mr. Lippincott suggested Prospect Ridge, but Hillman, whose forbears had been among the earliest settlers at Haddonfield, decided upon Haddon Heights, thus both memorializing his ancestral home and indicating the topographical lay of the land.

Growth at first was slow, but about 1900 the locality caught the eye of builders catering to the suburban drift which had begun to set in. Additions to the town plot were successively made by Frederick Fries, who began building on Seventh and Eighth avenues and Sycamore Terrace; by Young & Diebert, who operated the Sycamore Terrace, West High Street, South Park and Tenth Avenue, and by Moore, Pollock & Redner, who were active on Eighth Avenue. At this time the site of the National Bank, on Station Avenue, was still a fertile cornfield, and the intersection of the White Horse Pike and the King's Highway was known as Baker's Corner.

With the incorporation of the borough in 1904, Benjamin A. Lippincott was elected the first Mayor and a program of improvements, calculated to attract a high grade of residents, initiated. A fire company was organized the same year with forty charter members, with Charles Mathers, as first chief. A chemical engine constituted the original fire-fighting apparatus, but the company now has a motor pumper, hose truck, hook and ladder, chemical engine and motor-cycle. The beginnings of a police force were also made in 1904 with two uniformed men, since enlarged to a chief and seven patrolmen.

The Presbyterians erected the first church edifice in the town, at Seventh and Green streets. This movement was followed in rapid succession by the building of the Roman Catholic Church of St. Rose of Lima at King's Highway and Fourth Avenue, the Protestant Episcopal Church of St. Mary's at Green Street and the White Horse Pike, the Baptist Church at White Horse Pike above Station Avenue, the Christian Scientists' Church at White Horse Pike and Station Avenue, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church at Clement's Bridge Road and Fourth Avenue.

Educational facilities are provided by a high school, graded school and parochial school, and a new high school of the most modern type is now under construction and will be occupied at the beginning of the fall term, 1924.

The mercantile establishment opened by Evaul Brothers at the north-east corner of White Horse Pike and Station Avenue was the pioneer among the forty stores that now serve the community. The free library was established in 1906 and the Haddon Heights National Bank in 1909. The municipality owns and operates a sewer system fourteen miles in extent, together with a modern disposal plant planned to take care of a population of 5,000.

The first Federal Census of the borough that of 1910, enumerated 1,452 inhabitants; that number was slightly more than doubled in the next

decade, and is now set at no less than 4,000. Much of this rapid expansion may be attributed to the liberal policy of the developers, who provided not only wide streets, but compelled all buildings in the strictly residential streets to be set well back from the property line, resulting in a wide sweep of lawn and shade trees that makes an instant appeal to the eye.

Audubon.—(Incorporated March 13, 1905, from Haddon Township.) The beginnings of Audubon may be traced by John O. Logan, a retired official of the Standard Oil Company, and Oscar W. Stager, of the Reading Railroad, who about 1894 purchased sixty acres of land from William Bettle and organized a land development company with H. D. LeCato in active charge. This tract was situated west of the White Horse Pike, lying on both sides of the Atlantic City Railroad. Transportation to the plot was then limited to the railroad, and in order to get service the promoters were compelled to donate the land for a station and then build the structure itself.

About five years later, when the population numbered about three hundred, Mr. LeCato himself purchased from Mr. Bettle an additional one hundred and sixty acres lying east of the White Horse Pike, becoming the leading factor, as he still is, in the development of the town.

The original frame-work of government consisted of a Mayor and Council, with Charles Schnitzler as the first head of the new municipality. In 1920 this system was supplanted by a borough commission of three members.

Trolley service was first extended to Audubon in 1904, and its effect, together with increased railroad service at both Orston and Audubon stations, stimulated by competition, was almost immediately apparent in the accelerated growth, the census of 1910 showing 1,343 inhabitants. The following decade was one of phenomenal expansion, 4,640 residents being enumerated in 1920.

The first church in town was that erected by Mr. Logan at Merchant Street and the White Horse Pike, housing a Presbyterian congregation, and now known as the Logan Memorial Church. The Methodists next built a house of worship at Graisbury and Wyoming avenues, a structure which was soon followed by the Holy Trinity Lutheran Church on White Horse Pike near Lafayette Road.

Audubon Fire Company No. 1 was organized in 1906 and has since been joined in friendly rivalry by the Defender Fire Company, giving the town efficient protection against fire. A proposal for municipal control and maintenance of this service is now under discussion, the financial burden of so extensive a plant proving a severe tax on the resources of the volunteer companies.

Three modern school buildings provide adequate accommodations for children up to the high school grades, who are then educated at the expense of the borough at one of the neighboring high schools. A national bank, a free library and thirty-five retail stores supply the conveniences of communal life, and though the community is essentially a residential one, it has two industries of some importance, the Audubon Wire Cloth Company and the Twentieth Century Concrete Block Company. Like its neighbors in the Camden circle of suburbs, Audubon has a model sewage disposal plant and through its feat of laying eighteen miles of concrete paving in the past three years lays claim to being the best paved borough in the county.

Oaklyn.—(Incorporated March 13, 1905, from Haddon Township.) The major part of the present borough covers two real estate developments pro-

jected before 1890. Of these the first was that laid out on the farm of Joseph C. Hollingshead, west of the White Horse Pike and extending from Audubon to Newton Lake, to which the name of "Oakland the Beautiful" was given by the promoters. The other, east of the Pike and skirting Lake Newton, was a portion of a farm owned by Edward Bettle, president of the Bettlewood Land Company which undertook its improvement. This was a part of the land originally taken up by William Bates in 1681.

That part of the latter tract lying on the Pike is notable as the site of the Philadelphia and Camden race course, laid out in 1836 by a group of Virginia sportsmen who purchased the farm which was then owned by Samuel C. Champion. The one-mile gravel track, surrounded by a high board fence, was the scene of many a stirring contest. The spring and fall meets attracted horsemen from all over the Union and in its earlier career was a fashionable event. The race in 1845 at which Fashion, "the Queen of the Turf," won back her laurels from Peytona, was long the talk of the sporting world. About this time the activities of the gamblers and other disreputable characters gained the ascendancy at the track, causing great scandal to the respectable residents of old Newton Township. Public meetings were held in protest to a continuation of the race track and Judge Carpenter called the attention of the Grand Jury to the nuisance being maintained as one which "would reflect disgrace upon the dark ages." The Legislature of 1846, passed an Act prohibiting horse racing for "money or other valuable things." In 1847 the property was sold to Samuel Bettle who razed all buildings and returned the ground to agricultural uses. Subsequently the tract was divided between his sons, Edward taking the northern half and William the southern.

On the incorporation of the borough, Harry Fisher became the first Mayor, being succeeded by Charles M. Edgar, Anthony Rohmer, and George Bossler, the latter displaced in the summer of 1920, when the provisions of the Walsh Act were accepted and a commission of government installed. The first commission, consisting of Walter B. MacMullen (Mayor), Conrad Bart and Nathan S. Batten, held undisputed sway until the municipal election of May 13, 1924, when dissatisfaction over rising taxes, caused by an extensive program of improvements, resulted in their defeat in a hard-fought contest which brought to the polls seven hundred and seventy-five of the eight hundred and thirty-six eligible voters. The successful candidates were Charles C. Duges, Charles M. Edgar and William J. Purdy, but a recount later unseated the last named in favor of Mr. Batten.

The population of Oaklyn, given as six hundred and fifty-three in 1910, grew to 1,148 in 1920, and may now, with the rapid development of the past few years, particularly in the Manor section, west of the Reading tracks, be safely stated at 1,600. To the grade school which now serves the community will shortly be added a Junior High School, nearby Collingswood furnishing accommodations for pupils in the more advanced grades.

Oaklyn Fire Company No. 1, whose organization antedates that of the borough, is still in active service, its rival in volunteer ranks, the Welcome Fire Company, formed about 1911, no longer answering alarms, though still maintaining its organization for social purposes.

Laurel Springs—(Incorporated April 2, 1913, from Clementon Township.) Laurel Springs was laid out by John Albertson in 1895 and was named by the late Samuel Cord, its derivation being obviously traced to the nearby Laurel Mills, owned and operated for generations by the Tomlinson

family. Indeed Joseph Tomlinson, who came to this country in 1686 as an apprentice to Thomas Sharp, one of the Newton pioneers, and who is said to have built old Newton Meeting House, was one of the earliest settlers in this region, and the homestead on the north branch of Big Timber Creek is still in possession of his heirs.

For a number of years after the town site was plotted, Laurel Springs was regarded chiefly as a summer resort, attracting a considerable number of cottagers from Philadelphia and Camden during the summer months. By 1906, sentiment for a separation from Clementon Township gained considerable headway and an Act having that purpose in view was passed by the Legislature, one of its provisions being that the step must have the approval of a majority of the voters of the territory affected. Fear that such a step would result in increased taxation, however, brought about its defeat in a referendum at the polls, and it was not until May 1, 1913, when a second referendum which was held under a law adopted on April 2, 1913, that the erection of a borough government for Laurel Springs was approved. Joseph W. DuRand was the first of the line of Mayors.

By 1920 the population of the town had reached nine hundred and eleven and is now something in excess of 1,100. It contains a score of stores, a national bank, four churches—St. Paul's Presbyterian on Park Avenue, St. Lawrence's Roman Catholic on White Horse Pike, Baptist in East Laurel Springs, and the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Atonement, and educational facilities are provided through a modern graded school. Fire protection is afforded by Company No. 1, located on Maple Avenue, and Company No. 2 at Stone and Beech avenues. The Country Club in an attractive situation on picturesque Laurel Lake is the Mecca of scores of city folks from early spring until late fall.

Magnolia.—(Incorporated by Act of April 14, 1915, from Clementon, Centre and Gloucester Townships.) The history of Magnolia can be traced back to the cross-road hamlet which sprang up at the junction of the Egg Harbor Road (now White Horse Pike) and Evesham Road more than a century ago. From the color of the surrounding soil, the name of Greenland was long applied to the little settlement, although the upper portion also bore, for a time, the name of Frederickville, after Frederick Hines, a weaver and early resident. The original settlers in the region included Joseph Webb, also a weaver, and John Albertson and Samuel Barrett, farmers.

Years after the Narrow Gauge, later the Reading Railroad, was opened, the McKittrick, Strang and Albertson farms covered virtually all of the territory included within the present borough, the first move toward modern development being made by George Brooke, of Birdsboro, Pennsylvania, in 1889. The first attempt to secure incorporation was balked by the Legislature of 1913, but the demand was successfully renewed by the Magnolia Civic Association in 1915, when a new Legislature was elected. Back of the movement for separation was the feeling that the town was being ignored by the township committee in the matter of improvements. Bisected by Evesham Avenue, about half the residents were residents of Clementon Township and the other half fell to Centre Township. One side enjoyed good roads and lights; the other had no such conveniences. The program of the Civic Association, headed by Harry B. Wolohon, called for the creation of a new township, with initial rateables of about \$400,000; this pro-

posal, however, was opposed by others, among whom John J. Albertson was the leading spirit, who advocated a borough form of government, covering a smaller area with an assessed valuation of \$200,000. The latter view prevailed, and at the referendum accepting the legislative decision, held on May 12, 1905, Harry B. Wolohon was elected the first Mayor, being succeeded at the end of his term by Thomas A. Graham. It is generally overlooked that Gloucester Township contributed to the erection of Magnolia. Such, however, is the fact, a corner of the Albertson farm, included within the original limits, lying in that township.

The Methodist Church at Magnolia traces its history back more than a century to a time when the first meetings of the Society were held at Snow Hill, in a chapel shared with the colored brethren of the vicinity. About 1813, however, Samuel Barrett set aside an acre of ground on the Evesham Road for church and cemetery purposes and there, two years later, a small frame meeting house was erected, which served the spiritual needs of the hamlet until 1867, when a larger house of worship took its place. As late as 1886, the congregation numbered but forty souls and shared the services of a pastor with Glendale. Its growth has since kept pace with that of the community, which now also supports churches of Baptist, Episcopal, and Lutheran persuasion.

The population of the town, given as 1,245 by the 1920 census, now exceeds 1,500; two schools, one on Lincoln and the other on Adams Avenue, give instruction to pupils up to high school age, when they are matriculated at Haddon Heights; a free library at Evesham and Atlantic avenues supplies educational and recreational facilities to adults as well, and an adequately equipped volunteer company furnishes protection against fire.

Barrington—(Incorporated March 27, 1917, subject to referendum of April 17th, from Centre Township.) Barrington is a town of about 1,600 population, lying along the Reading Railroad, between Haddon Heights and Magnolia. As a hamlet along the Clement's Bridge Road, it was once known as Dentdale, because of its location in the valley between the White Horse Pike and the Mt. Ephraim Pike.

Its active development dates back to the nineties, since which time it has become growingly popular with thrifty mechanics and artisans of Philadelphia and Camden as a place of abode. Agitation for independent governmental existence set in as the thousand-population mark was reached, and the bounds which were set down in the Act of 1917 set it up as one of the largest of the boroughs, comparable in area with Collingswood, Haddonfield and Audubon.

The first borough government which consisted of a Mayor and seven Councilmen was headed by Edward Dold. John S. Roberts was the next Mayor but died before the completion of his term. Mr. Roberts was very popular in the community and in his honor the Roberts Memorial Community House was erected through popular subscription and dedicated April 27, 1924. The present Mayor is Robert Stone. Agitation for the adoption of a commission form of government is now under way and will be voted on August 12th.

In addition to the First Methodist Episcopal congregation, which formerly met in the Fire Hall, at Second and Haines streets, but now assembles in the Community House, organized religion is represented by the First Presbyterian Church, on Clement's Bridge Road, and by the Christians Gathered Unto the Name of the Lord, who worship in Gospel Hall on Kingston

Avenue. For some years the Presbyterians had the field to themselves.

The fire company, under the leadership of Chief Benjamin Hudson, is now erecting a new hall in the rear of the present structure in which a recently purchased motor pumper will be housed early in the coming summer.

The educational facilities are taken care of by two graded schools already in operation and a third one now under construction. These schools carry the pupils through the eighth grade.

On December 1, 1923, a National Bank was opened in Barrington. Its strategic location on the Clement's Bridge Road, adjacent to the railroad station and not far from the White Horse Pike, makes it the natural banking center for the countryside from Lawnside, through Magnolia and over to the growing communities along the Mt. Ephraim Pike. The president of the institution, Alfred P. Page, who was the partner of Jehu Eyre in the original building boom of twenty years ago and is now developing the new section of the town-site between the railroad and White Horse Pike. Further extension of the populated area is following the opening of the Barrington Park subdivision along the Bellmawr Road, and residents of the borough are confidently looking forward to a population of at least 2,500 when the Federal census agents make their next enumeration.

Tavistock.—(Incorporated February 16, 1921, from Centre Township.) This borough covers the ground of the Tavistock Country Club, which thus enjoys the unique distinction of ordering and controlling its own affairs without outside interference of any kind. The principal officers are members of the club, minor posts being filled by employees.

Lying below Haddonfield, between the Warwick Road and the West Jersey and Seashore Railroad tracks, the distinguishing feature of the boundary line is that it extends to the easterly line of the railroad property, thus including the entire right of way within the limits of the borough and securing for the treasury the undivided revenue accruing from the tax levied against second class railroad property.

Title to the tract within the limits of the borough of Tavistock is traced back to the trustees of Edward Byllinge from whom William Welsh of London bought four hundred acres of unlocated land in the Third Tenth. On March 26, 1685, he sold this right to Thomas Cox of Whitechapel, County of Middlesex, England, who on August 13, 1685, gave a power of attorney to Francis Collins to have the land laid off and surveyed. Pursuant to these instructions, Thomas Sharp on 6th month, 14, 1688, re-surveyed the tract now within the bounds of Tavistock borough. From Thomas Cox the title descended by will to his son John of the Parish of St. Martin's in the Field, County of Middlesex, England, and in 1734, the latter sold it to his nephew John Cox, grocer of London. None of these owners had seen the property and the last owner, therefore, decided to have it re-surveyed, commissioning John Gill to cause the work to be done. John Gill in 1741, bought the tract, which, the re-survey showed contained only "353 acres or thereabouts," for the sum of ninety pounds. In 1748, the land was transferred to John Gill, 2nd, the son of the first John Gill, the progenitor of the Gill family in New Jersey. Soon after acquiring the estate, John Gill, 2nd, erected a house and moved therein. This is confirmed by a deed of transfer for lands adjacent to the original tract dated 1752 in which it is stated that he was then living there. A part of the original house is still standing near the commodious home of the Tavistock Country Club, though much changed from its original appearance. Fortunately, however, there are still many

of the smaller fireplaces, the built-in corner cupboards and smaller closets in the chimney breasts together with the old fashioned wide board floors remaining, to give a quaint and picturesque appearance to this ancestral home.

The property was occupied in succession by the eldest son, the last occupant of the Gill family being John, 4th. After the removal of John Gill, 4th, who married Sarah Hopkins, to Haddonfield, the old house knew only tenants. William H. Gill became, by descent, the owner and it was bequeathed by him to his daughter Mary Gill, wife of Johns Hopkins of Baltimore. After the death of her husband, Mary Gill Hopkins built a summer home on the tract which she called "Tavistock," after the house of the Gill family in England. Mary Gill Hopkins, dying, the property came to her sons, Johns Hopkins and William Gill Hopkins of Philadelphia, from whom it was purchased by Frank B. Middleton, Jr., in 1920 and later transferred to the Tavistock Country Club.

Brooklawn.—(Incorporated March 11, 1924, subject to referendum of April 5th, from Centre Township.) Lying along the Delaware River, this community had its birth in 1918 in the urgent necessity of furnishing living quarters for the workers of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey yards of the Pusey & Jones Shipbuilding Company, located along the lower Gloucester City waterfront. This enterprise was promoted by Gustav Hannevig, and financed by the Emergency Fleet Corporation with the name of Noreg Village.

Four hundred and fifty-nine homes of varied architecture, supplemented by a commodious community house, were erected on the Sinnott and Browning farms at a cost of \$3,500,000. As at Fairview, money was not spared in making the town both attractive to the eye and substantially liveable. Water was piped from Gloucester and an up-to-date sewage disposal system installed, the streets were laid with a hard surface paving, adequate fire protection provided, and a graded school established—in fact, the village was supplied with all the essentials of communal life. Until May, 1923, the village, which had been re-christened Brooklawn, after the closing of the shipyards, was operated and maintained by the government. It was then sold at public auction by Joseph P. Day, most of the residents purchasing their domiciles on the liberal terms extended by the government. The return to the Federal treasury was approximately \$2,000,000—something more than one-half the original cost.

Sentiment in favor of conducting the affairs of the town entirely independent of Centre Township gained immediate strength and an appeal to the 1924 Legislature met with a favorable response. When the proposal was submitted at the polls on April 5th, there was but one vote in opposition, two hundred and eighty-five ballots being marked "Yes." The subsequent campaign for the election of borough officials was marked by a bitter contest between the Citizens' Committee, backing a slate headed by Charles G. Horner, and the Better Government League, which supported a ticket headed by William V. Hill. A heated canvass marked the pre-election contest, neighbors being arrayed against neighbors with all manner of charges and counter charges prevailing. The interest had been so thoroughly aroused that at the election which was held on May 3, 1924, five hundred and one voters out of a total enrollment of five hundred and fifteen, cast their ballots for one or the other set of candidates. When the smoke of battle cleared away, Horner was shown to have polled two hundred and fifty-

seven votes as against two hundred and forty for Hill. On the face of the returns the Better Government League elected four councilmen, namely: John L. Murray, Charles L. Mirick, Norman Leslie, and William Z. Owens; also R. W. Riley as assessor, while the successful candidates on the Citizens' Committee ticket, other than the mayor, were, Wilbur Davis and W. C. Kean for council and Edward C. Davis for tax collector. A recount before Supreme Court Justice Katzenbach, however, seated Frank Righter (Citizens' Committee) with 239 votes, and threw Charles E. Mirick, John F. Mawley and William Z. Owens, of the Better Government forces, into a triple tie with 238 votes each. The sixth place in the Council was eventually filled by Mayor Horner, who named Kenneth A. Ward to the vacancy, thus recognizing the justice of his opponents' claim to the seat and dividing the Council evenly between the two factions.

Gibbsboro.—(Incorporated on March 8, 1924, subject to referendum of April 11th, from Voorhees Township.) Gibbsboro is a village of about eight hundred population, situated a mile and a half northeast of Lucaston, on the West Jersey and Seashore Railroad, which is the nearest railway station. It is of importance as the site of the Lucas Paint Works, established by John Lucas, about 1853. This location was chosen because the water in the ponds at the head of Cooper's Creek had the qualities necessary for several paint specialties which he originated. The site was originally located by Enoch Cove in 1731 and a saw mill built on the small branch of Cooper's Creek. Around the mill a few huts or houses were built for the workmen and for a time the place assumed considerable activity. As the labor got scarcer the mill was abandoned and the few remaining workers turned to farming. With the coming of John Lucas a new industrial life began. Gradually the lands adjacent to the works were acquired in order to protect the water supply so essential to the industry. At present the plant employs about three hundred men. A lyceum association with an extensive club house provides entertainments and lectures for the community.

The Episcopal church of the village dates its history back to a time shortly after the founding of the paint works, but now divides the field with a Methodist and a Catholic congregation. One graded public school at present supplies the educational needs of the community.

At the first election for borough officers, held on May 27th, the Rev. Thomas Wingate, pastor of the Episcopal Church and one of the prime movers in the incorporation of the town, was elected Mayor, with the following composing the first Council—Philip Lanard, Arthur Fulleylove, Wm. Cunningham, Lucius W. Parker, Charles L. Ackerson and Wm. E. Roberts. As an independent governmental entity, it is expected that the Lucas interests will transform Gibbsboro into a model town.

GLOUCESTER COUNTY

CHAPTER I. OLD GLOUCESTER COUNTY.*

The first European settlement on the Delaware River was in the year 1623 when Captain Cornelius May built a log fort at the mouth of Big Timber Creek and left a few families there when he departed from the river.

On January 5, 1633, Captain Peter DeVries "sailed before the little fort named Fort Nassau, where formerly some families of the West India Company had dwelt. Some Indians had assembled there to barter furs." DeVries, to whom we are indebted for this earliest mention of Gloucester County now extant because of the sale of the records of the West India Company for scrap paper in 1821, anchored off the fort for several days, but it is unfortunately impossible to tell from his account exactly where the fort was located, although it was plainly visible from his ship on the river. He sailed out of Delaware Bay February 20 for the English settlement at Jamestown, Virginia. DeVries had left some settlers at Swanendale on the west side of the Delaware on a former voyage in 1630, but they were all murdered by the Indians during his absence. The massacre of the thirty-two colonists left on the west side of the river by DeVries has been frequently misstated by local historians as a massacre of the May settlement at Fort Nassau. The latter was in frequent communication with the Dutch settlement on Manhattan Island and when DeVries was on the river in the winter of 1632-3 the families of Fort Nassau were absent. The original settlement consisted of twelve men, four of whom had their wives with them whom they married on the high seas on their voyage with Captain May from Holland to America. It is, therefore, an undisputed fact that the very first white settlement in Gloucester County was composed of sixteen adults who occupied the Fort of the Dutch West India Company very near to the present town of Gloucester. It has been claimed that when Fort Nassau was rebuilt, it was on the opposite side of Timber-Kill or Great Timber Creek, so named because of the large trees on its banks. After the settlement by the English it was re-named the Gloucester River. As one of the committee, appointed by Governor Edge to erect the monument to commemorate Fort Nassau on behalf of the State of New Jersey, I tried through the Department of State to get information from Holland and Sweden about the location of the settlement, which was the first one not only in Gloucester County, but on the Delaware, but all my efforts were fruitless. The Swedish Government wrote that Amandus Johnson had carefully searched their records. He published a map showing the fort on the south side of the creek, but while that location seems to have been the most probable one, I have never found anything to substantiate it except other maps that are also questionable.

The city of Gloucester held a celebration last summer (1923) to commemorate the three hundredth anniversary of the settlement at Fort Nassau.

The Dutch traded with the Indians without competition until 1638,

*The early history of Gloucester County, as prepared by Frank H. Stewart, has followed a path less well worn than that usually taken in reviewing local history, since the greater part of his writings has never been published and constitutes a wealth of material of Gloucester County history of a date prior to 1823. The conventional history of the county can be found in several volumes, while these pages give the student easy access to facts and figures long immured in the worn and faded record books of one to three hundred years ago.

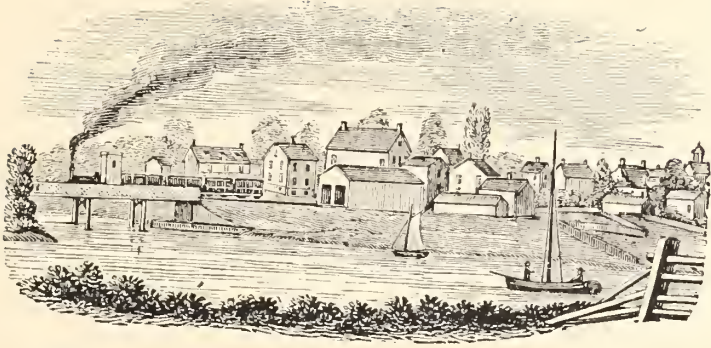
when the Swedes arrived, but nothing remains of record today about Gloucester County beyond an occasional purchase of land from the Indians or the name of some creek, that concerns the historian, until the arrival of the settlers of Newton Township late in the year 1681. John Clement and Isaac Mickle have so ably described the settlement of the Irish Quakers in old Gloucester County that very little more can be written at this time of the earliest events. Gabriel Thomas, in 1686 boastfully proclaimed the town of Gloucester as a fine and pleasant place, visited by the young people of Philadelphia in quest of strawberries and cream in the summer time. The establishment of the County Court and buildings caused Gloucester to become the first and most populous town in the county. For over one hundred years it had the prestige of its early start and environment. The eventual settlement of the interior and the settlements on the seashore caused it to lose the County Court to Woodbury and the pre-eminence of Gloucester historically speaking was gone. It, however, must forever be considered as the first settlement and town, and today has the reputation of being a well-governed, progressive place of excellent location for homes and industry.

The land between Rancocas Creek and Timber Creek called the third or Irish tenth from Pensaukin Creek south, was purchased from the Indian Kings Jackickon, Katamas, Peanto, Sekappie, and Rennowigwan on September 10, 1677. That from Timber Creek to Oldman's Creek, called the fourth tenth was bought from the Indian Sachems Mohocksey, Tatameckho, and Apperingues on the 27th of the same month. The consideration in both deeds was the usual assortment of duffels, kettles, guns, match coats, ammunition, knives, axes, looking glasses, pipes, jews-harps, fish hooks, and rum, that the Indians loved so much to their great detriment.

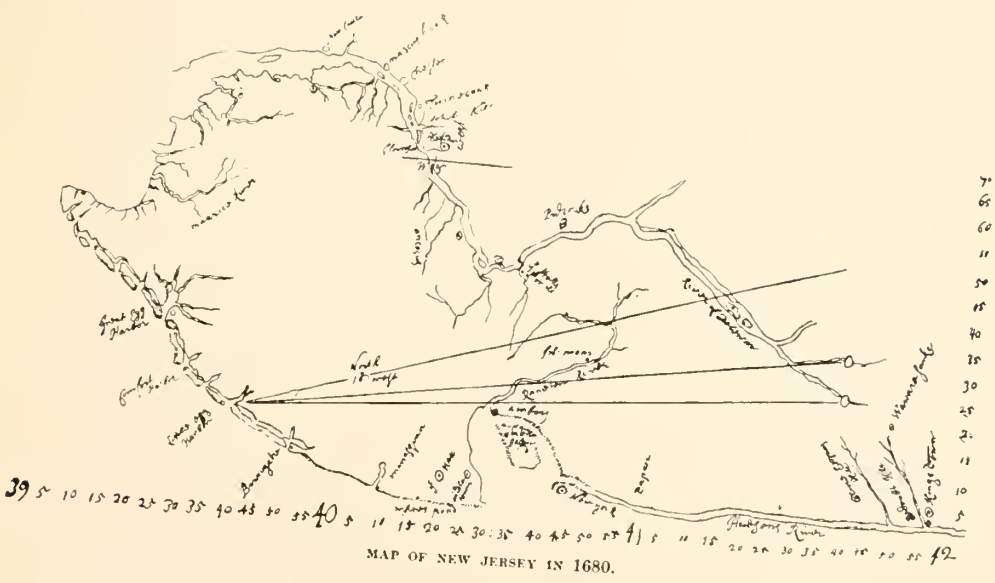
The first court book of Gloucester County which begins with the date of May 28, 1686, is in a very bad condition due to the fact that the ink used has eaten through and practically destroyed some of its earliest and most important pages, and the further fact that sometime within the last quarter of a century it has been "repaired" by pasting cloth on one side of each sheet. The result is that only one-half of the remaining records are visible when intact.

The Board of Freeholders has already taken steps to purchase some fire proof safes to safeguard the ancient county records and also are about ready to rebind and repair many decrepit volumes, including the first court record book and the marriage record books beginning in 1795 in accordance with my suggestions. There are literally tens of thousands of small pieces of paper stored in boxes and in closets in the basement, dating back to the very origin of the county, which if preserved, which now seems likely, will ever be a source of delight to the historian, genealogist and antiquarian.

The members of the General Assembly under the Proprietary Government May 13, 1685, according to Leaming and Spicer, were: Robert Turner, Thomas Sharp, Samuel Cole, Samuel Carpenter, Richard Russell, Richard Arnold, and William Albertson, for the third tenth; and Peter Dalbo, and William Warner for the fourth tenth. The Justices chosen for the third tenth were Francis Collins and Thomas Thackara; Andrew Robertson was chosen for the fourth tenth. Robert Zane was chosen constable for the third tenth and Anthony Nealson below to Oldman's Creek. The Highway Commissioners for the third tenth were William Bates, Thomas Sharp, and Francis Collins.



OLD VIEW OF WOODBURY



At the session of the West Jersey Assembly held November 25, 1685, ten members represented the fourth tenth, which was equal to the representation in the third tenth. Richard Lawrence was chosen as an additional Justice for the fourth tenth. On May 12, 1686, Lawrence asked to be dismissed because he was very deaf and seventy years of age. The fourth tenth proposed John Wood in his place and Wood was chosen May 14. John Kay, Thomas Gardner, Jr., and Andrew Robinson, Jr., were chosen as Rangers for the third and fourth tenths. On the 15th, permission was given to the third and fourth tenths to hold courts; the Salem-Burlington Road surveyors were appointed and the road ordered made possible for travelers and cattle before October tenth next. Two fairs were authorized for Salem to begin 29th of 7th Mo. (Sept.) the other 1st 3 mo. (May) 1687, and to continue yearly with privileges like the Burlington fairs. Henry Treadway was appointed to receive the last tax within the fourth tenth.

The minutes of the West Jersey Assembly from the 12th to the 15th of May, 1686, were brought to light for the first time by Dr. C. E. Godfrey in a paper read before the Camden County Historical Society, November 21, 1922.

The General Assembly of New Jersey in May, 1704, passed an act concerning the public highway from Amboy to Burlington and thence to Salem. In part it read as follows: "And from Burlington to Hollingshead's Ferry over Northampton River; and from thence to Cropwell Creek; from thence over Coles' Branch; from thence to Howell's Mill on Cooper's Creek (all as the road is now laid out); from thence (as near as conveniency will allow) in a direct line to the bridge over Gloucester River branch; then (as is already laid out) to the bridge over Gloucester River; from thence along the road to Great Manto Creek, and so to Stephen Jones's; from thence to Wallo Dalboes, so over Raccoon Creek and in a direct line to Oldman's Creek bridge; from thence to the new bridge at Ivy Point, and so into Salem town." Another road ran from Burlington to the Ferry Point for Philadelphia.

The above act was not approved but it is of value in tracing then existing roads. On 7th 9 mo. 1704 a different act was passed and the same will be found printed in pages 30 and 31 of the Journal and Votes of the House of Representatives of the Province of Nova Cesarea or New Jersey, printed in 1872. A map showing the ancient roads, bridges, ferries, taverns, and locations of the earliest settlements would be a valuable contribution to the history of West Jersey.

In old documents reference is occasionally made to deer parks. There was one near Woodbury which the late John G. Whitall thought was back of what is today known as the Craft farm on the Hessian Road.

On the court minute book of the December, 1781, term, there is an impression of the county seal ordered by the Board of Freeholders. On the outside of the upper part of the seal the inscription "County of Gloucester" appears and under it the latin words *Fiat Justitia* (meaning let justice be done). Properly centered below the circular inscriptions is a pair of balanced scales on a cross bar poised on a standard.

Population of Old Gloucester County.—In 1699 there were one hundred and twenty-four freeholders which would indicate a total population of about five hundred persons. In 1726 there were twenty-one hundred and twenty-five white and one hundred and four negroes or slaves. In 1737 the total population was three thousand two hundred and sixty-seven of which sixty-seven were negroes.

In 1745 there were thirty-five hundred and sixteen and one hundred and eighty-seven negroes. In 1784 the population had increased to ten thousand three hundred and forty-nine white persons and three hundred and forty slaves of whom forty-six were taxable under the Federal law. There were nine hundred and seven householders and three hundred and thirty-seven single men. There were thirty-one merchants or shop keepers, seventeen fisheries, sixty saw mills, twenty-six grist mills, three fulling mills, one furnace, one forge, thirty taverns, five tan yards, fifty-two ferries, forty-five vessels and boats, thirty-six riding chairs, and one covered wagon.

In 1790 the population numbered 13,363, in 1800—16,115, in 1810—19,744, in 1820—23,089, in 1830—28,431, of whom 8,164 lived in that part of the county which was taken to form Atlantic County in 1837.

Indians.—There was never any massacre of the people of Fort Nassau by the Indians despite the oft repeated statement to the contrary. Campanius, writing of the place, said the Fort was utterly destroyed by the Indians and all who were therein murdered or driven away. It is true that when DeVries visited the place in 1632 he found it abandoned, but there was no evidence then that the people had been murdered, as at Hoornekill on the other side of the river near the bay. DeVries should be more authentic than Campanius because the latter never saw the place.

Thomas Sharp said the Indians were loving and kind. The language of the Indians of Southern New Jersey is well preserved in one of the record books of Fenwick's Colony, now deposited in the State House at Trenton.

The Indians of old Gloucester County, judging from records that have survived, were never great in numbers either before or after the arrival of the English-speaking settlers. To them we are indebted for the following names of creeks and places: Pensaukin, Almonesson, Cohawking, Mantua, Arwames, Absecon, Rancocus, Raccoon. Squaw, papoose, tomahicken, and pone, are also Indian words.

Richard Whitaker was indicted, tried, found guilty, and fined three pounds 10th mo. 1693, for selling a bottle of rum to certain Indians at Thomas Buckman's house, near Cooper's Creek, in September, 1692, contrary to the laws of the province. John Ireson was also "presented" at the same time for selling rum to the Indians on several different occasions.

The Indians were never endowed with any ambition for hard work and, according to the words of one of the missionaries sent over to New Jersey by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, were a wild and roving people. (See 1920 Year Books, First National Bank, Woodstown). John Ladd's account book, extracts from which have already been published, shows that in 1726 an Indian named Jeremy worked for him. Jeremy agreed to work for Ladd six months for eight pounds. He is credited with wild turkeys, geese and ducks, deer, etc., and mentioned as spending time at taverns and with other Indians.

At the March term of Court, in 1733, an Indian native by the name of Lockquees brought suit against Benjamin Worthington, laborer, for an overdue account for merchandise for which he had not been paid.

The Overseers of the Poor of Greenwich Township were ordered by the Court in 1748 to provide for an Indian, then of great age, who had been abandoned by the other Indians while sick and without means of sustenance and support.

In an unrecorded deed of Samuel Harrison and his wife, Abigail, to Joseph Ellis, dated April 30, 1759, survey of which is recorded in Liber H,

folio 166, September 14, 1758, in the Surveyor General's office at Burlington, mention is made of ten acres of cedar swamp on the eastwardly side of Great Egg Harbor River at the mouth of a small branch next below the place called the Indian Path.

Samuel Mickle's account books show some business transactions with the Indians when he was a merchant in Woodbury, 1779-1792. (See Stewart's H. and G. Miscellany No.'s 1 and 2; also notes on Old Gloucester County.) Thomas Store, an Indian, was confined in Woodbury Jail in 1802. The Gloucester County Board of Freeholders paid for the nursing and funeral expenses of Betsy Hill, an Indian woman, in 1821.

The archives of Old Gloucester County contain very little information about Indians, although camp sites are plentiful along the banks of its streams, and work places of the arrow-makers are occasionally found. I recently noticed a lot of stone flakes and chips a short distance to the northward of the Red Bank battlefield monument. One of the best known camp sites was on Mantua Creek near the famous Tatum white oak which, conservatively speaking, was over eight hundred years old when accidentally set on fire and destroyed a few years ago. In old church and Friends' meeting records one may find reference to attempts to Christianize and provide for the poor Indians, whose death knell was sounded when the civilized white man first appeared on the Delaware River.

New and Old Names of Towns.—Williamstown—formerly Squancum; Paulsboro—formerly Crown Point; Mt. Royal—formerly Sandtown and Berkeley; Berlin—formerly Long-a-Coming; Westville—formerly BucktaVERN; Glassboro—formerly Glasstown and Glassworks; Clayton—formerly Fisler-ville and Fislertown; Jefferson—formerly Cox's Hill and Allenboro; Pineville—formerly Pine Tavern; Swedesboro—formerly Raccoon Creek; Bridgeport—formerly Lower Raccoon Creek; Woodbury—formerly Woodbury Creek; Downer—formerly Foglebury, Pine Fields, Hewitt Town, Whitneyville; New Sharon—formerly Horseheads; National Park—formerly Red Bank; Aura—formerly Union; Hardingville—formerly Red Lion; Grenloch—formerly Spring Mills, Bateman Mills; Richwood—formerly White Horse, Five Points, Mt. Pleasant, Campbell's Cross Roads; Mantua—formerly Smith's Landing, Carpenter's Landing; Barnsboro—formerly Lodgetown; Thorofare—formerly Flyatem Town.

Teatown, the spot where Elizabeth Haddon traditionally "popped the question" to John Estaugh, is on the old King's Road to Salem near Parkville Station. Dutchtown was on the Woodbury to Swedesboro Road about two miles north of the latter place.

Hillmantown was another town in Gloucester Township that has disappeared from the memory of men. A century ago, or thereabouts, it was a boom town. It was probably in the neighborhood of Chew's Landing on the north branch of Timber Creek. Two of its main streets were named Market and Chestnut. Jacob Troth and his wife Rebecca deeded to the trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Hillmantown a lot on August 11, 1813, in trust for the use of the church, the constitution, and rules of which said no colored or black person, male or female, could become a member.

The Birth of Atlantic and Camden Counties.—There was an effort made for the formation of a new county on the seacoast that resulted in a petition being signed in Galloway Township dated April 3, 1785, by eighty-two per-

sons of that township protesting against a new county being formed of a part of Burlington and a part of Gloucester with Clamtown (Tuckerton) as the county seat.

After the destruction of the Court House at Gloucester several petitions were circulated and signed by the voters of the Egg Harbor section of Gloucester County to the effect that a new county be struck off and that the petitioners be put to no expense for rebuilding the Court House at Gloucester and that Great Egg Harbor, Galloway and the intended township of Turkey Hoe comprise the new county. Several of the residents who had protested against the formation of a new county from the lower parts of Burlington and Gloucester counties signed the new petitions of a year later dated May 15, 1786.

The petitions alluded to the great distance to Court and other public business of the county; also the expense and inconvenience of attending the same. They stated that offenders often escaped unpunished for want of a proper place to confine them within a reasonable distance. On account of the Jail and Court House at Gloucester having been destroyed by fire and rendered useless they contended with a great deal of justice for exemption from the cost of rebuilding county buildings that were so inconveniently located for their use. Some of the principal signers were Edward Bowen, Robert, Daniel, Jonas, and Nehemiah Morss, William and Robert Burnett, Micajah, Nathan, and Enos Smith, Nathan, David, and John Dennis, Alexander Benit, Richard Collins, Thomas Rinnard, John Steward, John McCollom and Thomas Clark, Jr.

There were over one hundred signers to the different petitions asking for a division of the county. The original papers are at the State House at Trenton. In October, 1919, a petition was filed at Trenton asking for the privilege of voting on the question of removing the Court House, Jail and public offices from Woodbury to Camden. Committees were appointed at a meeting held at the Court House November 22nd, to remonstrate against the idea of making Camden the County Seat. The petition to the legislature was withdrawn and the new Surrogate's office was built. The foundations were laid March 4, 1820, and the Gothic type building of two rooms, one of which was fireproof, was completed on May 19th following and the clamor for another County Seat was stifled until February, 1825, when the conflict was again settled by a vote which showed a majority of eight hundred and seventy-six votes, out of a total of forty-one hundred and sixty votes, in favor of Woodbury. The Egg Harbor voters favored Camden by a majority of one hundred and fifty-nine votes. The agitation commenced by the citizens of the seashore section of Old Gloucester County in 1785, finally resulted in the formation of a new county for their benefit over half a century later.

When Atlantic County was set apart from Gloucester County by act of Legislature in February, 1837, the Almshouse properties, Court House, and Jail and other county properties were valued at \$32,128.00. The debts of the county were \$7,932.55 and an adjustment was made with Atlantic County on the basis of these figures and the populations of the two counties based on the population as shown by the census of 1830.

Camden on account of the advantages gained by use of its ferries was naturally a convenient place for the transaction of public affairs and finally encouraged by the efforts of the people of Atlantic County succeeded likewise and became the County Seat of Camden County, which was created

March 11, 1844. It included the townships of Camden, Waterford, Newton, Union, Delaware, Gloucester, and Washington and an agreement was made for the two counties to use the old Gloucester County Almshouse at Blackwood. In May, 1860, the Board of Freeholders of Gloucester County purchased the one hundred and seven acre farm of Restore Lippincott near Clarksboro at sixty dollars an acre and the inmates were removed from the old to the new Almshouse in March, 1861.

The remaining townships of Gloucester County were Deptford, Greenwich, Woolwich, Harrison, and Franklin. Mantua Township was taken from Greenwich in March, 1853.

Washington Township was struck off of Deptford Township in 1836 and Monroe from Washington in 1859. They were both re-annexed to Gloucester County from Camden County with the exception of the Almshouse property, February 20, 1871.

Clayton Township was formed from a part of Franklin Township, February 5, 1858.

West Deptford Township was taken from Deptford March 1, 1871.

CHAPTER II.

HAPPENINGS OF THE GLOUCESTER COUNTY COURTS 1686-1700.

The first Court held in Gloucester County was convened at Gloucester on the first day of the seventh month, (September) 1686. The second was held at Red Bank on the tenth day of the tenth month, (December) 1686, which was an adjournment from the first day of the same month, when there were not enough of the Justices present to hold a Court.

The third Court was held at Gloucester on the first day of the second month, (May) 1687, when the first tax was laid by the Grand Jury and Justices. The order of the Grand Jury was tersely put in the following written language recorded on a scrap of paper which historically considered is of the utmost importance: "We ye Grand Jury doth order and agree that fifty pounds be levied upon the County of Gloucester for the defraying of public charges of the said County, to say, upon all lands in possession and all handicraft men that hath no land and all laboring men by their polls that hath no land." Signed by "Henry Wood, foreman, Gloucester, ye 1-2 mo. 1687."

On the Court record book the tax is set forth more fully to the effect that every owner or possessor of land should be taxed one shilling for each hundred acres. Every person keeping cattle within the county, whether oxen, horses or cows, over two years of age, two pence per head. All free men without lands or cattle should pay the sum of two pence and all men being sixteen years of age should pay for their own heads one shilling per piece. Assessors appointed for the purpose were Richard Heritage, John Kay, Thomas Sharp, Andrew Robeson, Jr., and Anthony Neilson. The Treasurers to whom the tax was to be paid before September 29th following were Henry Wood and Anthony Neilson. The taxes were payable in either silver money or cereals at the following prices per bushel: Wheat 4s; rye, 3s; barley, 3s; oats, 2s; Indian corn, 2s 6d; buckwheat, 2s 6d; Indian peas, 5s.

The Justices were Andrew Robeson, Francis Collins, Thomas Thackara, and John Wood. The fourth Court was held at Red Bank with the same Justices, on the first day of the fourth month, 1687. The Courts alternated between Red Bank and Gloucester in accordance with the consent of the

Provincial Legislature with the exception that Gloucester was substituted for Newton when the Proprietors, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Third and Fourth Tenths, afterwards designated as Gloucester County, established what Mickle called a Democratic Commonwealth, on May 26, 1686, at the Town of Gloucester. Mickle and others, including myself, were misled by Leaming and Spicer, who omitted the minutes of the New Jersey Legislature showing that the members of Assembly from the Third and Fourth Tenths requested that they be given power to hold Courts.

It is due to Dr. C. E. Godfrey and Charles S. Boyer that the facts have been substituted for the fiction regarding the method of procedure which was adopted. It is now known that there was no "wilful compact" or anything else that was irregular in the establishment of the Courts of Old Gloucester County or the agreement adopted in connection therewith. So many of the histories of the county contain the text of the agreement that it is considered superfluous to again reproduce it in print.

The first recorded law suit between individuals, on the docket, was that of Thomas Howell against Richard Wright, Sr., and Richard Wright, Jr., all of Cooper's Creek, on the twenty-third of the second month, 1687.

William Royden was authorized to establish a ferry from his house to Philadelphia in 1688.

Under date of 1st 1st Mo. 1687-8, there is a document signed by Elizabeth Frampton, relict widow of Wm. Frampton, deceased, to the effect that Samuel Coles of East Jersey sold to her husband a bill of Exchange and that he was to be paid for it in rum. He kept this bill for a considerable time and not having rum to pay returned the said bill with a valuable consideration to take ye said bill.

James Atkinson was fined ten shillings for neglecting to appear as a juror at the June term of Court, 1688, held at Gloucester. The fine was remitted by Court order Dec. 1, 1690.

In 1690 there was a locality in Gloucester County known as the Lower Hook, Richard Lawrence and Thomas Green had suits brought against them as of that place. Suits were also brought against Isaac Pearson of Upton and Dennis Lynch, ship carpenter of Cooper's Creek in 1690 and John Ireson and John Itholl of Steel's Branch in 1691.

The Burlington-Salem Road, which has so often been confused by local historians with the King's Highway or road is, often mentioned in our most ancient records. The following writ is of interest:

To ye High Sheriff of Gloucester County.

"Whereas ye Free Assembly of this province did formerly enact that ye highway from Burlington to Salem should be marked and made good with bridges for travelers, cattle, etc., and did appoint several persons to be surveyors under a penalty and within a certain time limit, etc., Martin Holt, Edward Eglinton, Thomas Gardner, John Test, and ye occupiers of Jones Sandiland's plantation have made default and now accordingly at a court held at Gloucester, on ye 1st day of 2 mo. 1687 were fined each and every one of them six shillings, etc., which they have neglected or refused to pay, etc."

A warrant for the collection of the fines was dated 19th of 9 mo. 1690, signed by John Reading, Clerk.

Dan Reading, Sheriff, indorsed the warrant that no goods were found at Edward Eglinton's, John Tests and the occupiers of the Sandiland planta-

tion, and that Thomas Gardiner and Martin Holt had execution issued on them November 24th and 25th, respectively.

December 18, 1693, Roger Corsard old and decrepit in want of both diet and clothes petitioned the Justices sitting at Gloucester for assistance because of the approach of winter.

William Matlock was fined twenty shillings for neglecting to serve as a juror and the High Sheriff was ordered by Thos. Gardiner, James Albinson and John Hugg Justices to take the goods of and sell enough of them before the sixth day of October 1694 to pay the fine. John Wood, High Sheriff appointed Thomas Bull his deputy for its collection, 17th Nov. 1694 and on March 1st, 1694-5 the warrant was endorsed by the Sheriff that he had seized an iron pot, a frying pan and a pewter dish from Will Matlock and his wife.

March 1, 1694.—The inhabitants between Great Mantua Creek and Berkley River requested that the district be made into a township to be henceforth called by the name of Greenwich to which the Bench agreed. Peter Matson was appointed overseer of highways from ye mouth of Gloucester River to ye head of Great Mantua Creek. John Reading for the town of Gloucester and Thomas Shakle and Richard Heritage from Pensaukin Branch to Samuel Spicers. The roads were ordered laid out conveniently and well marked.

May 12 1694.—The Legislature of West Jersey allotted the inhabitants of Egg Harbor to the Jurisdiction of Gloucester County and on May 26th Arthur Powell was attested Constable of the Township of Weymouth which was another name for either a part of or the whole of Egg Harbor.

At the term of Court held June 1st, 1695, the township lines were described and constables were appointed for them in conformity with the law just passed. The township divisions were as follows:

From Pensaukin alias Cropwell River to ye lowermost branch to Cooper Creek shall be one constabulary or township. From said branch of Cooper's Creek to ye southerly branch of Newton Creek bounding Gloucester shall be another constabulary or township.

From ye Newton Creek branch to ye lowermost branch of Gloucester River shall be another constablewick or township. From said branch of Gloucester River to Great Mantoos Creek shall be another township.

From Great Mantoos Creek to Barclay River another township. For ye year ensuing Edward Burroughs is nominated constable in ye uppermost township.

Jeremiah Bates, constable in Newton Township and William Bates and Thomas Sharp for regulating and laying of highways. Elias Hugg, constable for Gloucester Township.

William Chester for ye next below called ————

Joseph Cozens for Greenwich. To all of which ye Bench assents. There is nothing to substantiate the theory of the well informed historian Isaac Mickle that Deptford and Waterford Townships inherited their names from across the sea.

Deptford is undoubtedly a variation of Deepford, because that is the way the name was spelled in old sheep skins and in my opinion the townships of Deptford and Waterford were given their names because of the fords on the water courses that formed their boundaries before bridges took the places of fords.

Seamercy Adams sued Nathaniel Star for seven pounds and eleven shillings for diet, washing and nursing.

At this term of Court (June 1, 1695) John Reading was licensed to operate a ferry over Gloucester River (probably from his house) to Gloucester and from Gloucester to Wicaco at stipulated prices for men, horses and cattle.

William Cooper succeeded his son Daniel Cooper at the same rates for ferriage a few months after the license was given to Daniel who for some reason quit keeping a public house at his ferry, which seemed to be a necessary adjunct to all of the ancient ferries.

The Grand Jury in December 1696 ordered and appointed John Somers to keep the ferry over Great Egg Harbor for all passengers either single or with horses or cattle, at the rates and prices already fixed by the General Assembly.

There was a neighborhood quarrel that lasted in the courts for a couple of years between Samuel Harrison and his wife Sarah of one part and Edward Eglington and Elizabeth, the wife of Joseph Tomlinson, defendants of the other part. The dispute was over a bottle of molasses and a piece of beef. It was agreed "that James Atkinson, Thomas Thackara, Samuel Spicer and John Wood should hear all parties and under their hands and seals give in their award for ye ending of all differences from ye beginning of ye world to ye day of ye date hereof." The defendants said they were sorry and each was ordered to pay one-half of the costs.

Joseph and Elizabeth were the ancestors of a large number of persons now scattered over the United States, none of whom have ever determined when or where Joseph and Elizabeth were married or who her parents were. In 1700 they lived on the farm as tenants where the battle of Red Bank was afterwards fought. There was one Walter Tomlinson who in 1690 lived up Cooper's Creek in Gloucester County and it is possible that he and John Tomlinson of Burlington County were brothers of Joseph, who was a Justice in 1698 and prominent in the early annals of Old Gloucester County. (See Clement's First Settlers in Newton Township.)

Justice Joseph Tomlinson succeeded Major Jacob Spicer as a Judge when the Major went on the expedition to Canada in 1711.

Licenses were granted to the following for keeping "ordinaries" at their dwelling houses in 1696: Griffith Morgan; John Brown, at Upton on Gloucester River; John Hartman, at Gloucester; Matthew Medcalf.

Rates were fixed for the ferry of Elias Hugg over the mouth of Gloucester River to Philadelphia. The next year a road was ordered to be laid from his house up to the old road. The Egg Harbor Road and bridges were ordered to be made and mended for about ten miles from Gloucester.

March 1, 1696-7 Joseph Tomlinson was King's Attorney, Joshua Lord, Sheriff; John Reading, Clerk; John Wood, Coroner. Griffith Morgan was presented for turning or stopping the King's Road and marking out another. He promised to clear the old road and lay bridges within fourteen days. A bill from Thomas Revell for 8£ 6s, was ordered paid.

In 1697 a road was ordered laid out from the falls of Oldman's Creek to the mouth of Gloucester River. Andrew Robeson and W. Dalbo were directed to lay the same. Isaac Hollingham was granted a license for an ordinary (Inn or tavern) and Joseph Tomlinson acted as Deputy Sheriff because of the illness of the High Sheriff.

The bridge between the two branches of Gloucester River was presented and ordered repaired.

John Hugg, Jr., John Ashbrook, James Whitall and Samuel Taylor were indicted for killing for their own use five swine in the woods above Upton.

William Rakestraw of Philadelphia, brewer, sued Garrett Van Imma and his wife Margaret, August, 1697.

On December 11, 1699, John Richman was taken before Joseph Bramon a Justice of Gloucester County and upon examination confessed himself to be a covenant servant belonging to Mrs. Worledge of Salem and lately brought by her husband out of England and also that he had absented himself from the service of his mistress (who was a widow) without her leave or license for about fourteen days.

In September, 1700, Steven Jones was granted a license for his house on the Salem Road.

Assemblymen were allowed three shillings a day, including one day for going and another day for coming, from Burlington the place of meetings.

Thomas Kendall and Daniel Cooper were presented for selling liquor by small measure without license.

CHAPTER III.

RECORD BOOKS AND LOCAL OFFICERS.

Newton and Deptford.—The lack of care in the preservation of the township record books of Old Gloucester County has resulted in their almost total destruction. Forty years ago, the earliest book of Deptford was in existence and copious extracts from it were made by Cushing and Sheppard. Six years ago I tried to find it and the last known place of deposit was in the rafters of a chicken house, where it apparently met its doom.

The Newton Township record book mentioned by Clement in his history of that township, at one time was also thought to be destroyed, but a few years ago I discovered it among the papers which he left by will to The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. This book is now surrounded by all the safe guards that can be given to a priceless record and historians of the future can glean from its yellow pages an idea of the Township government.

The first entry in it was made on the twelfth day of the first month, called March, 1723, by Thomas Sharp, who was chosen Clerk of the meeting held that day when he was instructed to buy a book in which to keep the records. The first meeting was held at a place in Newton not mentioned, but later on nearly all of them were held in Haddonfield. What has become of the still earlier records of the township, will probably never be known.

Thomas Sharp recorded the estrays in the form of horses and cattle and his successors, sheep and other domestic animals. The book seems to be continuous for over sixty years and shows a complete list of all the township officers.

The Overseers of the Poor in 1723 were John Gill and Joseph Cooper and year after year the attention paid to the poor by this township where the Quakers predominated, is particularly noticeable.

On December 24, 1755, Elizabeth Estaugh, the most wonderful woman that ever lived in Old Gloucester County, sold one-half of an acre of ground to Robert Friend Price and Thomas Hinchman, Overseers of the Poor, for the purpose of a public burial ground which in 1783 was exchanged with John Estaugh Hopkins for one-quarter of an acre adjoining the Friends Burial Ground, considered to be more suitable because of soil conditions.

On July 31, 1756, it was agreed at the Town Meeting held in Haddonfield to raise twenty-five pounds for the use of the poor of the township. Single men were taxed two shillings six pence each. Thomas Redman was assessed ten shillings and Mathias Aspden twelve shillings as shop keepers. Isaac Kay and Jacob Albertson were assessed ten shillings and five shillings respectively for their grist mills.

Josiah Harvey five shillings for his fulling mill; Daniel Cooper and Benjamin Cooper seven shillings six pence each for their ferries. The latter was also taxed two shillings six pence for his flat and wood boat and the balance of the twenty-five pounds was collected from the householders.

In 1769 a tax on dogs was collected by the township to pay the damages sustained by David Branson, Vespasian Kimble, Benjamin Graysbery, and Jonathan Knight caused by sheep-killing dogs.

One of the long missing record books of Deptford Township beginning March 8, 1809, and continuing until March 9, 1864, was recently found in an attic of a farm house and presented to the Gloucester County Historical Society.

The annual township meeting of the year 1809 was held in the Court House at Woodbury when the following were chosen: James B Caldwell, Moderator; David C. Wood, Township Clerk; Colonel Joshua L. Howell, Judge; Edward Brewer, Charles Ogden, James Matlack, Inspectors; Samuel L. Howell and Randall Sparks, Clerks to count the votes. The Township Committee was authorized to buy an acre of ground opposite the township burying ground belonging to John Kean and wife if possible at a reasonable price and on proper credit. The meeting adjourned to meet later at 7:00 P. M. at the house of Hezekiah Heppard, inn keeper, when a chest to contain papers of the township was ordered. The said chest was to be kept in the Court House.

It was resolved that a committee of fifteen members be appointed under the name of The Whirligig Society with authority to suppress all riots and whirligig all gamblers, showmen, and such characters as are commonly styled fair plays that may happen to intrude upon the peaceable, moral, and respectable inhabitants of the Town of Woodbury as has been done heretofore to their great detriment and degradation.

The following were appointed for the ensuing year: Oliver Davis, President; Simon Sparks, Samuel Ladd, Mark Brown, John Shivers, Joseph Hilman, David Daniels, Samuel Estlack, Abel Rulon, Robert Roe, William Simson, Daniel Packer, Enoch R. Allen, Samuel Wheaton, and Job Brown.

At two o'clock in the morning of March 9th the committee appointed to count the votes at the town meeting were ready to report but the Moderator of the town meeting being absent a great rumpus was created because there was no one to receive the report. The dispute and debate spread an alarm through Woodbury until about five o'clock when a new Moderator was nominated and chosen in the person of Charles Ogden, in the place of Mr. Caldwell who said he was too indisposed to attend the meeting which had continued throughout the night. The election resulted in the following persons being elected as the Township Officials for the ensuing year:

Joseph Hinchman, Assessor; John Rambo, Collector; Henry Roe, Samuel Wood, and Job Brown, Commissioners of Appeals; Joshua L. Howell, Amos Cooper, Freeholders; Asa Gibbs, Biddle Reeves, Surveyors of Highways; Henry Roe, Paul Cooper, Overseers of the Poor; John Cade, Andrew Ware, Constables; Thomas Wood, George Ward, Francis French, William Nicholson, Amos Clark, Samuel C. Wood, Overseers of the Roads; William

Tatum, Jr., Judge of Elections; Thomas Bee, James Saunders, Savil Wil-son, Samuel Ladd, Biddle Reeves, Township Committee; Mark Brown, Poundkeeper.

The bonds of the two constables for the amount of five thousand dollars each in keeping with the legislative act of March 15, 1798 are copied in the minutes book in full. Each year a list of stray sheep, cattle, horses, and other farm animals and the places where they were found was recorded in the township book. The schooling of poor children, the killing of sheep by dogs, burial of poor persons, township elections, free burial ground near Woodbury and the Strangers' Burial Ground are the principal things of interest in the book.

In the year 1810 two thousand dollars was ordered raised for use of the township roads and it was recorded that the streets of Woodbury and the hills adjoining were almost impassable. Five hundred dollars was allowed for the road from Amos Cooper's house to the top of the hill over Woodbury Creek to Amos Campbell's house, provided the inhabitants would raise twenty-five dollars for every hundred dollars appropriated by the township.

At the annual Town Meeting held March 3, 1813, James Matlack was chosen Moderator. The seventh section of the law, probably a recent one, was read and it was decided to form a Society for the Suppression of Vice and Immorality. Fifty copies of the Preamble and Resolutions were ordered printed and Amos Cooper, James Matlack, and Samuel Webster were appointed a committee for that purpose. The preamble read as follows:

As vice and immorality prevail at the present to a considerable degree among us—when the appearances of Divine Judgment are marked by recent calamitous events—the pestilence which walketh in darkness in our vicinity are indications of guilt and danger too visible to be mistaken and too alarming not to be felt. The portentous and diverse visitations of the Justice of the Supreme Being together with the low state of Religion and the prevalence of iniquity in various forms and degrees give us great reason to use our best endeavors for the promotion of Morality and Virtue. Wherefore resolved by the inhabitants of the Township of Deptford in town meeting legally assembled that a committee of the said Township be and hereby is appointed consisting of the following persons, viz: John Reeve, Joseph Clement, James B. Caldwell, Richard Snowden, James Matlack, Esq., James Saunders, Amos Cooper, Esq., Nathaniel Todd, John Tatum, Jr., Franklin Davenport, Charles Ogden, Phineas Lord, Jonathan Brown, Edmund Brewer, Henry Roe, Biddle Reeves, Joseph Reeves, Aaron Wood, Joshua Lord, William Cooper, Marmaduke Wood, William Tatum, Jr., Samuel Whitall, William Howey, Levi Hopper, James Davis, John G. Whitall, Paul Cooper, John Turner, Isaac Collins, James Cooper, Andrew Dilks, Joseph Dilks, Esq., Edward Turner, John Tice, Esq., James Hopkins, Esq., James Jaggard, Esq., John Rambo, Moreton Stille, John S. Whitall, Peter String, Joseph B. Smallwood, William Nickolson, John Marshall, Esq., John Swope, George Ward, Thomas Bee, Benjamin W. Wilkins, and William Jones.

This committee was requested to present and bring forward agreeable to law, before any Justice of the Peace in the Township all and any person whom they might find guilty of vice and immorality—and that they, the inhabitants above mentioned, would defend all persons who shall convict the guilty, within the limits of the said Township.

A copy of the preamble and resolutions was ordered sent to each Township in the County of Gloucester.

At the meeting of March 9, 1814, a post and rail fence was ordered placed on the top of the stone wings of the bridge over Woodbury Creek to prevent travelers driving off the bridge. In 1814 an agreement was made with the owners of the Quakers' Graveyard at the upper end of Woodbury Street who intended to build a stone wall or pavement along the public road, to pay for one-half of the cost of a permanent gutter as far as the graveyard extended. (See Mickles' Diary.)

In 1814 the Dog Tax received amounted to \$165.00.

In the year 1822 the Township Clerk was allowed for his services five dollars for the year, (1822). The annual 1822 election was held at Paul Sears' Inn at Squancum. The members of the Township Committee were allowed one dollar and fifty cents per day while engaged in the township business.

Township Officers in 1716 and 1734—In the returns made by the various townships for the year 1716 and thereafter until the year 1721, two Trustees were reported for each township. In the latter year the Trustees were displaced by Freeholders in the County Court records.

The Justices for 1716 were John Kay, John Hugg, John Mickle, Constantine Wood, and Amos Ahead.

The Sheriff was William Harrison, the Coroner Amos Ahead, and the Clerk Thomas Sharp. In that year (1716) the inhabitants of Greenwich and Deptford Townships apparently did not hold a town meeting or at least did not make any choice of officials and the Court therefore appointed them for the two townships in question.

The township officials in 1716 for the seven townships, including Gloucester Town, were as follows:

Deptford Township—Overseers of Highways, Peter Matson, John Brown; Trustees, John Rambo, Henry Wood; Overseers of Poor, John Hopper, George Ward; Assessor, Richard Chew, Jr.; Surveyors of Highways, John Cooper, James Lord; Collector, John Rambo.

Gloucester Township—Overseers of Highways, William Sharp, Nathaniel Chew; Trustees, Joseph Tomlinson, John Hillman; Overseers of Poor, William Clark, Richard Chew; Assessor, Joseph Tomlinson; Surveyors of Highways, Joseph Tomlinson, John Hillman; Collector, Abraham Porter.

Greenwich Township—Overseers of Highways, Stephen Jones, Gabriel Dalbow; Trustees, David Vaneman, Manus Holme; Overseers of Poor, Frederick Hopman, Richard Bickham; Assessor, George Lawrence; Surveyors of Highways, Joseph Lyddon, Samuel Paul; Collector, Peter Long.

Waterford Township—Overseers of Highways, John Jones, Samuel Burroughs; Trustees, John Inskeep, Samuel Coles; Overseers of Poor, John Inskeep, Samuel Burroughs; Assessor, John Gill; Surveyors of Highways, Samuel Coles, Thomas Spicer; Collector, Samuel Coles.

Egg Harbor Township—Overseers of Highways, Daniel Hazens, Daniel Ireland; Trustees, John Somers, Joseph Leeds; Overseers of Poor, Will Lake, John Adams; Assessor, Joseph Leeds; Surveyors of Highways, Jeremiah Adams, Jonathan Adams; Collector, Thomas Risley.

Newton Township—Overseers of Highways, John Dale, Joseph Cooper, Jr.; Trustees, Joseph Cooper, Jr.; William Alberson; Overseers of Poor, William Alberson, John Whitall; Assessor, Tobias Griscom; Surveyors of Highways, Ezekial Siddon, Tobias Griscom; Collector, John Wright.

Town of Gloucester—Overseers of Highways, Hardin Goodwin; Trustees, William Harrison, Abraham Albertson; Overseers of Poor, John Siddon; Assessor, Will Harrison; Surveyors of Highways, John Mickle, Richard Bull; Collector, John Siddon.

In March, 1733-4 the clerks of the various town meetings of the different townships of the county reported the results of the elections by the Freeholders, inhabitants and householders as directed by law. These local

elections throughout the county were by a majority vote and those elected were as follows:

Greenwich Township—Overseers of Highways, John Enockson, Hance Steelman; Freeholders, Samuel Shivers, Thomas Bickham; Overseers of Poor, Matthew Tomling, Thomas Denny; Constable, Jacob Mattson; Assessor, Alexander Randall; Surveyors of Highways, Robert Zanes, Esq., Samuel Shivers; Collector, John Jones; Town Clerk, Alexander Randall.

Town of Gloucester Township—Overseers of Highways, Samuel Harrison; Freeholders, John Mickle, William Harrison; Overseer of Poor, Joseph Gregory; Constable, John Thorn; Assessor, John Thorn; Surveyor of Highways, John Brown, Abraham Albertson; Collector, John Mickle.

Waterford Township—Overseers of Highways, Jacob Horner, Henry Jones; Freeholders, Josiah Hay, John Shivers; Overseers of Poor, John Matlack, John Cock; Constable, Jonathan Axford; Assessor, Thomas Coles; Surveyors of Highways, Thomas Stock, Thomas Spicer; Collector, William Coles; Town Clerk, Thomas Coles.

Gloucester Township—Overseers of Highways, Samuel McCollock, Richard Chew; Freeholders, John Hinchman, Isaac Jennings; Overseers of Poor, William Clark, Thomas Chew; Constable, Josiah Alberson; Assessor, John Tomlinson; Surveyors of Highways, Joseph Tomlinson, John Hillman; Collector, Gabriel Hugg; Clerk, Isaac Jennings.

Egg Harbor Township—Overseer of Highways, David Conover, Ive Belange; Freeholders, James Steelman, Jr., Return Badkuck; Overseers of Poor, Andrew Steelman, John Steelman; Constable, Elisha Steelman; Assessor, Amos Ireland; Surveyors of Highways, James Steelman, Jr., Return Badkuck; Collector, John Leeds; Clerk, Thomas Risley.

Deptford Township—Overseers of Highways, Moses Ward, Michael Fisher; Freeholders, John Brown, Mantua Creek, George Ward, Sr.; Overseers of Poor, Richard Rickman, Robert Down; Constable, Edward Richardson; Assessor, Constantine Wood; Surveyors of Highways, Constantine Wood, John Ladd, Jr.; Collector, Thomas Wilkins; Clerk, Thomas Wilkins.

Newton Township—Overseers of Highways, Samuel Sharp, John Brick; Freeholders, James Hinchman, Timothy Matlack; Overseers of Poor, Joseph Kaighn, Tobias Halloway; Constable, Joseph Mickle; Assessor, Joseph Cooper; Surveyors of Highways, Joseph Ellis, William Alberson; Collector, Joseph Mickle; Clerk, John Kaighn.

Vital Statistics—The records of the births and marriages that were according to law intended to be kept evidently did not meet with public support, because there was only four births recorded and but few marriages. They were as follows:

John Burroughs the son of John Burroughs and Jane his wife, was born ye fourteenth day of March 1687.

Children of Jacob Ryland, Joy, born June 13, 1709; Margaret, born December 25, 1712; Jacob, born November 16, 1715.

Samuel Taylor and Elizabeth Ward were married the thirteenth day of First Month, 1687.

Edward Burroughs and Mary Tanner were married the twenty-third of Sixth Month, 1690.

John Hillman and Margaret Ward were married the sixth day of First Month, 1692-3.

George Ward and Hannah Waynwright were married November 16th, 1697.

John Seeds and Hannah Minor were married January 5, 1703.

Garrett Vanenima and Margaret Johnson were married in October, 1716.

John Langley and Susanna Wainwright were called before the Court for a marriage contrary to law because the declaration of intention was not written fourteen days before the ceremony, which must have been in the presence of a number of persons, because William Warner and John Tatum both testified that they were present at the marriage. The Court ordered them to consummate their marriage in conformity with the laws of the Province and all fines except the Court charges were remitted. In this incident, which happened in 1694, we can surmise that the effort to regulate marriages was a real one but just how effective, it is now quite hard to determine.

Joseph Eastlack and Ann Powell on March 1st, 1698, also found themselves in trouble because of their so-called clandestine marriage. They threw themselves on the mercy of the Court which remitted all fines but required them to pay the costs of the suit.

Early Wills and Administrations—5th 7 mo. 1689, Jonathan Waywright produced an inventory of the goods and chattels of his late deceased father Jeoffery Waynewright and asked to be appointed administrator, which was done.

December 1, 1694, Henry Treadway and William Chester requested the privilege of administering the estate of John Driver.

Joseph Tomlinson produced the will of Daniel Darnell for probate.

March 1, 1694, Isaac Wood produced the last will of his father, Jonathan Wood and probated the same with the Clerk.

The Gloucester County Ear Mark Book—Under the earliest Provincial Laws of West New Jersey, hogs over one year old running at large were considered wild game if not ear marked. When the proprietors, Freeholders and inhabitants of Gloucester County on May 26, 1686, established their courts by permission of the Legislature, they ordered "That all persons within ye jurisdiction aforesad bring into the next Courte ye marks of their Hoggs and other Cattell in order to be approved and recorded."

It is evident that between the dates of May 26th and September 1, 1686, the recording of ear marks did not receive the attention of the inhabitants that the Court expected because on the latter date which was that of the first court the following was written upon the minute book:

"Notwithstanding all persons having hoggs within the county of Gloucester were summoned to appear at this court and give in the marks of their hoggs and other cattell in order to be approved and recorded, yet there appear to be many that appeared not and made any return of their marks and therefore the Clerk was ordered to warn in those that had made default, to his own house, and there take account and register their marks by several summons written and fixed in the most usual and public places in this county before the last day of 8th month next." This was written by the same person who wrote the ear mark book and was probably one of two men, i. e., Thomas Sharp or John Reading. The name of John Reading, in the Ear Mark Book, seems to be that of his signature.

This seems to have immediately been done by the land owners of Old Gloucester County and the names recorded in the ear mark book are a practical directory of the principal citizens of the county from its earliest days beginning 7th mo. 1, 1686.

The ear marks were often adopted by others besides the original recorders who by death or removal were considered as having no further use for them. It can be readily understood that no two could be alike or near enough alike to confuse identification, and changes were sometimes made to rectify the possibility of confusion. Each ear was described as right or left, whole or cropped, and such words as a half penny, half moon, swallow tail, square fork, hole, slit, spade, notch, etc., etc., made it possible for each person to have an ear mark recorded that was entirely different from that of every other person. The illegal hunting and shooting of hogs often resulted in the sportsmen of the time being indicted, convicted and fined in the Courts. On the first pages of the book preceding the names of persons and descriptions of ear marks, the following appears: "The names of such persons that gave in the marks of their Hoggs at the Court held at Gloucester the 1st of 7th mo. 1686, which were those approved of, ordered to be registered, and a public registry thereof to be kept by the Clerk of ye said Court."

It therefore seems that the virtual recording of and approval of ear marks commenced September 1st, 1686, or within five months of the establishment of the third and fourth tenths, afterwards called Gloucester County, with courts and local government the same as Fenwick's tenth (Salem Co.) and the first and second tenths (Burlington Co.)

The first three ear marks recorded were those of the three Justices of the first court of Old Gloucester County.

Ear Marks—Francis Collins, afterwards the ear mark of Joseph Collins. Thomas Thackara. Jno. Wood, afterwards taken on January 22, 1770 by James Brown of Woodbury. Henry Wood. Samuel Coles. Samuel Spicer. John Taylor, later the mark of John Cooper. Thomas Howell. Daniel Howell, later taken by Jonathan Bellews (or Boleton) 6th of 8 mo. 1715. Thomas Chaundrs. Henry Sise. John Ashton, afterwards the mark of John Smallwood. Jonathan Wood. Robert Turner. George Goldsmith, later the mark of Isaac Jennings. James Atkinson. Robert Zane, later used by John Wills. William Alberson. Thomas Sharpe. Richard Arnold, Isaac Hollingham took this mark.

John Hugge, Samuel Harrison had this mark. John Reading, John Gill used this mark. William Warner. John Browne, Levi Peirse ye grandson in law of John Brown took this mark March 28, 1732. William Salsbury. Andrew Robertson, Jr. Anthony Neilson. Wooley Dalbo. Peter Dalbo. Benja Braman. Israell Helme. Lacye Coleman. John Henderik. William Cobb, no mark described. Mathew Medcalfe, Jacob Medcalfe 4 mo. 26, 1722 had this mark of his fathers for his own. John Test at Jeoff Wainwrights. Jno. Ladd, at his death his mark was taken by his son John and later taken by Hannah Ladd, his widow.

William Hunt. Richard Lawrence. John Anderson. William Sharman. Richard Russell. William Cooper. Robert Tate later John Thorns. Martin Holt. Hance Peterson. Wooley Derickson. Hance Hopman. John Matson. John Orrion. Juste Justeson. John Hopman. Frederick Hopman. Thomas Mathews. Thomas Gardner, used afterwards by John Derickson, of Greenwich Township. Charles Springer, John Anderson. Lacye Halton. Mons Janson. Thomas Denny. John Ithell. Phillip Paule. John Hugg, Jr. Samuel Taylor. John Ashbrook. John Burroughs. William Bates.

Marcus Lawrence. Daniel Reading. Thomas Gibson, later became

the mark of Joseph Gibson. Andreas Anderson. Isaack Pearson. Elthen Cornok. James Thomas. John Tatum. John Willis. Thomas Buckman. James Whiteall. Moses Lakin. John Parker. Robert Parker. Joshua Lord. Edward Burroughs. John Rambo. John Siddon. Isaac Wood. Katherine Howell, afterwards the mark of Jonathan Bell. Andrew Hopman, later that of Lawrence Hopman. Wooley Peterson. Paule Pawlson. Phillip Paul. George Webb. Henry Treadway—Robert Zane to alter his mark by order of Court. Samuel Tomes. Archibald Mickell.

Henry Wood. Jacob Cozens. Charles Crosswait. Thomas Nixson, his former mark to be void. Henry Johnson. Joseph Tomlinson, the right ear two slits and ye left cropt. Richard Heritage. William Chester. Thomas Nixson. Israel Ward. John Ireson. John Willis, later that of Robert Zanes. Thomas Bull. Elias Hugg. George Ward. Garratt Vanima. John Worthington.

Charles Crosswait—former mark void, also that of Andrew Hopman to be void. William Ward. John Hedger. Joseph Tyndal. Richard Bromly. Phillip Paul. Robert Lord—Elthan Cornocks mark to be void. Edward Williams, a half moon on each side of both ears. Robert Parker. William Sharp. James Ward, taken by his son Moses February 21, 1745.

John Richards. John Hutchinson. Peter Long. Richard Bull. Michael Laycon. Peter Cock. George Green. John Roe. John Hinchman, John Hinchman, Jr., took his father's mark January 9, 1767. Joseph Nicholson. John Haddon—Thomas Sharp's mark to be void; Sharp probably had no use for the mark and let Haddon have it as a favor. John Gray—John Willis mark to be void. Edward Clements. William Laton. Henry Wood. John Dole, taken by his son Joseph Dole 1st mo. 14, 1720.

Ephraim Bee. Isaac Sharpe. William Bryan. William Smith. Thomas Stevens. Samuel Driver. John Hillman. John Rakestraw. William Tatum. Constantine Woods. John Hopper. Charles Smith. Jonathan Ladd—Rich. Arnolds mark void. John Cock. Nicholas Laycon. John Spey. Jacob Clement. John Eastlack—Mark Holts mark to be void. (All of the entries, descriptions and drawings of ear marks are in one handwriting, with the exception of some inserts).

John Richards, July 7, 1706. Thos. Ashbrook, Feb. 19, 1707. Edw. Eglington. Joseph Eastlack. Amos Ahead, John Ashton's mark void, Mar. 29, 1708. David Brin, April 2, 1708—Robert Down took this mark in 1720. Thomas Bee—the former mark of John Henderik. William Hampton, Oct. 5, 1708, formerly the mark of John Burroughs. John Hinchman, March 7, 1709.

Erick Cox, August 12, 1710. Ralph Sutton, 6-2 mo. 1710. Joseph Lid-don, Feb. 24, 1710-11. John Atkins, Feb. 2, 1710-11. James Lord, March 30, 1711. Lawrence Cocks, May 25, 1711. Benjamin Richards, July 18, 1711. Luke Gibson, Sep. 7, 1711. Michael Lycon, Nov. 10, 1711. Joseph Heritage, Feb. 13, 1741. Davis Wenwright, Dec. 7, 1711. John Lord, Dec. 17, 1711.

John Ladd, Jr., Feb. 14, 1711, formerly the mark of Sam'l Tomes. Robert Bryan, April 7, 1712—Robert Minors mark. Patrick Flaningham, April 21, 1712. Philip White, April 25, 1712. Valington Howell, April 25, 1712. John Van Ema, May 2, 1712. Nathaniell Chew, Sept. 25, 1712. Joseph Langly, March 24, 1712—taken by Joseph Perce, 1759. John Brown, March 24, 1712.

Robertt Zane, 6-5th mo. 1715. Samuel Harrison, 21-5th mo. 1715—the

old one of old John Hugg taken by Moses Ward, 1756. Jonathan Bolton, 6-8th mo. 1715. Isaac Hollingham, 10-3rd mo. 1715—formerly used by Richard Arnold and later used by Joseph Lee. John Thorn, 10-2nd mo. 1715.

John Inskeep, 21-December 1715. William Harrison, 12-10th mo. 1715. William Thorn, 21-10th mo. 1715, afterwards the mark of Wm. Arell. John Smallwood, 2-1st mo. 1715. Richard Gray, 10-2nd mo. 1716. John Gibson, 25-2nd mo. 1716. Thos. Holden, 20-4th mo. 1716, altered March 15, 1725. Timothy Eghrison, 9-6th mo. 1716. Joseph Yong, 9-6th mo. 1716. Will Hewitt, 9-6th mo. 1716. Isaac Jennings, 11-6th mo. 1716.

Jonathan Belton, 6-8th mo. 1716, the mark of Katherine Howell deceased. John Gill, 19-8th mo. 1716, the mark of John Reading. Robert Minor, 15-11th mo. 1716, the mark of Patrick Flaningham, of Tobias Bright, June 15, 1730 and of Daniel Cooper December 8, 1741. Arthur Powell, 28-11th mo. 1716. Joseph Collins, 28-11th mo. 1716, the mark of his father. Joseph Hymands, 10-12th mo. 1717, John Richards mark. Obadiah Gibson, 15-11th mo. 1732, taken by Hab. Ward.

William Alberson, 11-12th mo. 1717. William Hunt, 14-12th mo. 1717. Jonathan Sell, 8-2nd mo. 1718. Lawrance Hopman, 19-4th mo. 1718. John Hill, 19-6th mo. 1718. Robertt Champion, 27-9th mo. 1719. John Dukomanser, 17-3rd mo. 1720. Thomas Atmore, 11-4th mo. 1720. Joseph Cooper, 21-5th mo. 1720. George Birch, 12-7th mo. 1720. Daniel Cooper, 8th December, 1720—the mark of——Bright who had removed from the Province.

William Dickinson, 12-7th mo. 1720. William Cooper, 12-7th mo. 1720. Alexander Randell, 21-1st mo. 1720. Simeon Ellis, 13-9th mo. 1721. Simon Breach, 26-8th mo. 1723. Joseph Lee, 12-10th mo. 1723—formerly that of Isaac Hollingham. William Vaughn, 7th May, 1724. Peter Long. Gervas, March 3, 1725—it not being known who this person was, it was taken by Wm. Calling December 12, 1728.

Nathaniell Tylor, March 7th, 1725. Thomas Holden, March 15, 1725. Abraham Chattwin, April 4th, 1726. John Matson, August 20th, 1726—after the decease of Matson this mark was taken by Benjamin Ward, July 19, 1758. William Chester, Jr., May 20, 1755—taken by James Honnepay May 20, 1755. William Arell, 23rd August, 1726. Geo. Whitbrook, 11th August, 1726—taken by consent of William Ward by Obadiah Gibson, June 15, 1732.

Will Ward, 9th April, 1731. George Howell, 28th Aug. 1727—taken by Wm. Van Irling April 11, 1750, also by John Down. William Calling, 12th Dec. 1728—taken by Thos. Jones, May 17, 1757. Christopher Taylor, 18th December 1728—taken by Wm. White April 24, 1759. Edward Richardson, 27th December, 1728—the mark of George Bird, deceased. Levy Pierce, 20th May, 1775. John Pierce, 20th May, 1775. George Pierce, Feb. 19th, 1776.

CHAPTER IV.

RECORDS OF THE GRAND JURY, JUSTICES AND FREEHOLDERS OF OLD GLOUCESTER COUNTY.

1694-1823.

The Grand Jury of Old Gloucester County prior to the year 1715 assessed county taxes, appointed assessors collectors and the county treasurer. It also exercised jurisdiction and control over the court house, jail and prisoners; laid out roads and built bridges, etc., all in harmony with the

laws of the Colony of New Jersey with the concurrence of the "bench" or Justices. It is quite probable that the entries concerning the years 1701, 1694, 1704, and 1705 were made after the meeting of 12th of 1st month, 1705-6 which meant March 12th, 1706, because in those days the year according to their reckoning began on March 25th. The entry concerning the tax "Duplicates" of the year 1694 following the single entry on the first page dated 1701, when considered in connection with the first one of 1706, surely indicates that Thomas Sharp, the clerk, made a permanent record of some of the proceedings a few years after they occurred.

In 1715 the Justices and Freeholders, due to a change in the law, succeeded the Grand Jury in Old Gloucester County. The first minutes of the Justices and Freeholders were dated 5th day, second month (April 5th) 1715. The Justices continued to meet with the Freeholders until November 24, 1797, when a change in the law must have taken place that eliminated the Justices from activities afterwards performed by the Freeholders alone. In the early days of Old Gloucester County the Grand Jury, and later the Freeholders, usually held but one meeting a year.

Book A of the Gloucester County Board of Freeholders has on the first page:

The Grand Jury held at Gloucester ye 7th day of ye first month Anno Domini, 1701, Doe order yt Thomas Sharp and John Wood, Treasurers of ye last county taxe doe bring in the accompt to ye next Grand Jury of ye Disposall of sayd taxes in order to learn whatt remaines in Bank.

On the next page are the 1694 "duplicates," of Andrew Robeson for £25 5s 6d. Thomas Sharp for Newton, Waterford, and Gloucester £42 14s 2d of which 18-16-0 was unpaid (in 1701). William Warner, Dedford Township, 23-8-11. John Kay for the upper part of ye county 32-00-01.

John Reading, Matha Medcalfe, and John Shay were debited with sums paid to them and Thomas Sharp's account is credited with thirteen pounds, four shillings and six pence for cash paid assemblymen for wolves' heads as per order of Court.

In the account of William Warner, Henry Treadway was paid one pound for killing wolves and Will Chester was paid fifteen shillings for use of dogs.

At a meeting of the Grand Jury held at Gloucester, 13th day of 7th mo. 1704, a tax was laid on each hundred acres of land. Each horse and mare exceeding one year old. Neat cattle exceeding one year old. Sheep exceeding one year old. Each free man in hired service or otherwise. Each negro over three years old.

On December 19, 1704 the Grand Jury ordered an additional tax for the county for charcoal and three match coats for the prisoners so long as she shall have occasion for it and then to be reserved for the county's use. Matthew Medcalf was allowed 12s 6d and John Shay £8-12-4 for their expenses when Lord Cornbury was at Gloucester; John Siddons 6 shillings for a coffin for a murdered child.

There is a memorandum that on 13th day of 1st month, 1705, there was fifteen pounds, three shillings and five pence due from Greenwich Township. This memorandum appears to be the account of George Lawrence.

The Grand Jury ordered a pair of stocks to be built before next court under the direction of Matthew Medcalf.

September 12, 1705, the Grand Jury ordered another tax on land, horses, cattle, negroes over 12 years old, freeman, etc. Matthew Medcalf was ap-

pointed Treasurer. Thomas Williard, Assessor and Collector for Waterford Township. Will Albertson for Newton, John Siddon for Gloucester. Thos. Nixson for Dedford. Charles Crosswait, Junior, for Greenwich. John Somers, Assessor and Collector for Egg Harbor or New Waymouth Township.

At Gloucester 12th of 1st mo. 1705-6. John Reading and Matthew Medcalf were asked to bring in and balance their accounts for the year 1694 for tax raised to build the Court House and Prison. Thomas Sharp affirmed that this had been done before and Reading and Medcalf considered it a hardship to again require it.

1st mo. 12th 1705-6 John Shay, late Sheriff, was allowed 2s 6d per week for keeping the prisoners 123½ weeks, amounting to £15-11-3. Thomas Sharp and John Kay, Treasurer and Collector of the old County tax were ordered to pay the balance due him (Shay) if they had that much in their possession before the next term of County Court.

September 12, 1705. It was decided that Assemblymen should be paid five shillings for every day's service in the Assembly.

John Kay and John Heritage, the latter on behalf of his father, were ordered to bring in their duplicates of the County tax raised in 1694 and make up their accounts with the next Grand Jury which shall be at Gloucester.

Secretary Bass was allowed forty shillings for his services in swearing in officers of the County. 4th mo. 1706, the Clerk was allowed twenty shillings for 6 warrants and going to Burlington for the County of Gloucester. 10th mo. 1706, John Ashbrook was allowed money for keeping prisoner Christian Bell 45 weeks, and 15 weeks more board on 2nd mo. 1707. A shift, a pair of stockings, and a petticoat were bought for her use.

In 1707 another tax was laid to be paid in money or country produce. Wheat 4s 6d bushel. Rye 3s. Indian Corn at 2s 6d to be delivered and brought to the County Treasurer's dwelling house by the respective inhabitants within the time allowed. Matthew Medcalf, County Treasurer, was allowed five pence per pound with a reasonable charge for receiving and paying of the corn, etc.

Thomas Williard was Assessor and Collector for Waterford; Wm. Albertson for Newton; John Siddons for Gloucester; John Ladd for Dedford; Robert Hodgson and Charles Crossway for Greenwich; John Summers for Egg Harbor, with allowance of one shilling in the pound for assessing and collecting—with concurrence of ye Bench.

John Ashbrook was Sheriff, 1707.

1708, 8th mo. an addition was ordered to the Court House and Prison. That it be joined to the old one, to be made of stone and brick, 12 feet in the clear and two stories high, with a stack of chimneys joining the old house and that it be uniform from ye foundation to the Court House.

Another tax was laid as usual, to be paid in current silver or country produce—corn, rye, etc., to be delivered as before.

Matthew Medcalf was again appointed County Treasurer and was allowed six pence per pound for receiving and paying the corn and money.

The Assessors were: Samuel Cole, Waterford; William Albertson, Newton; John Siddons, Gloucester; John Ladd, Dedford; Wm. Dalbo, Greenwich; John Somers, Egg Harbor.

They were allowed six pence per pound for assessing, with concurrence of the bench.

1st mo. 14, 1710. Secretary Bass was allowed 40 shillings for his time

coming from Burlington to qualify the Justices of the County. Thomas Sharp was appointed to succeed Matthew Medcalf, who was removed by death.

17-10 mo. 1712, Joseph Cooper and Thomas Sharp were appointed by the Grand Jury to let out work for addition to prison and Court House according to orders of Grand Jury, 8th month, 1708, with the concurrence of the Bench, Joseph Cooper was Foreman of the Grand Jury.

March 10, 1712-3. The Grand Jury ordered that the upper part of the Court House and Prison be taken down and removed to ye place appointed, which was in ye center of ye Market Place and also that there be another room built of brick and stone 24 ft. in length, 12 ft. in bredth in ye clear and a chimney at each end and the remaining part of ye old prison to be connected to the use of the same works according to the direction of Thomas Sharp and Joseph Cooper, appointed for the same. Peter Long, Foreman.

17th 4 mo. 1713, John Hugg was Foreman of Grand Jury. One constable in every Township was allowed six shillings old currency for his work in their respective Townships in connection with tax assessments. Richard Bull and John Hugg are mentioned in connection with the Jail and Court House matter. Reference is also made to the Canada tax.

The addition to the Court House and Prison during the years 1712, 13, 14, and 15 cost £14 0s 0d for stone paid to William Southersbee. For drawing stone paid to Isaac Hollingham £1 10s 00d. Joseph Tomlinson was paid £2 13-4 for shingles, etc. John Thackara was paid 3 shillings for carrying shingles. Jacob Clemons, Samuel Sharp, Secretary Bass and Samuel Harrison's names appear among those paid small sums.

14-1 mo. 1713, Peter Long was paid 15 shillings for killing a panther.

15th 7 mo. 1713, Thomas Williard was paid for painting ye court staff.

In 1715, fifth day of the second month (April) the first minutes of the Justices and Freeholders are recorded. They succeeded the Grand Jury and Bench. Justices present: Richard Bull, John Inskeep, George Lawrence, John Rambo, Joseph Tomlinson. Freeholders: John Kaighn, Peter Long, John Ladd, Jacob Clement, Jacobus Culin, Joseph Cooper, John Shivers.

In 1715 the stocks were mended, constables staves were painted, a lock was bought for the new Prison and Stephen Jones was paid 15 shillings for a wolf's head.

March 4, 1716. The tax to pay for the expedition to Canada is mentioned.

22nd 1st mo. 1719. Peter Scull and James Steelman of Egg Harbor were fined one pound for not being present at the meeting. Taxes were raised, for killing wolves, panthers and red foxes, every year or two.

Under the date November 21, 1721 the Sheriff, Josiah Kay was allowed, for executing James More, the horse, saddle and brass pistol of the criminal. Another allowance was made to Sheriff Kay for the execution of Christian Bell, alias Logan, and other fees, for the sum of £9 8s. Joseph Hugg was allowed for expenses at ye special Court for "dyating" Christian and drink for ye Watchers, etc. £2 19s 6d.

Allowance was made to David Jamison, Chief Justice, for his service at ye Special Court £10 15s. Clerk of the Court £2. Walter Thomas 15s; Wm. Harrison, Joseph Cooper, Jr., Samuel Shivers, Jacob Medcalf, and Will Cooper two pounds per piece for pursuing and taking James More, £10 15s. Thomas Perry for smith work 10s. Samuel Coles for expenses about hand cuffs and other expenses in pursuing and taking James More, £6. Francis

Jones for "dyating" Christian 14s. Total £62 12s 6d. Christian Bell was a woman and an old offender.

1721, Justices present: John Key, John Mickle, Amos Ahead. Freeholders, Waterford: Joseph Bate, George Matlock; Gloucester: John Hugg, Abraham Porter; Gloucester Town: Wm. Harrison, Francis Jones; Newton: Joseph Cooper, Jr., Wm. Cooper; Dedford: Richard Chew, Peter Matson; Greenwich: Edward Eglinton; Egg Harbor: Israel Ward.

Gloucester Town was represented by Freeholders the same as the townships and may have been considered a township.

From this date on I check with "Notes on Old Gloucester County" for items of interest not extracted, by the late George Pierson, County Treasurer of Gloucester County.

26th 1st mo. 1723, Justices present: John Kay, John Mickle, Samuel Ward Samuel Coles. Freeholders, Waterford: Samuel Burrows, Samuel Dennis; Newton: John Hilman, Joseph Cooper, Jr.; Town of Gloucester: Wm. Harrison, Francis Jones; Gloucester Township: John Ashbrook, Wm. Sharp; Dedford: Con. Wood, John Cooper; Greenwich: Rob. Garrard, Mathias Mattson; Egg Harbor: James Steelman, Richard Sumors. Wm. Harrison was chosen to succeed Thos. Sharp as clerk of the Board.

25th March, 1724, the Freeholders were: Waterford: Samuel Harrison, John Cocks; Newton: Joseph Cooper, Thomas Sharp; Gloucester Town: John Mickle, Wm. Harrison; Gloucester Township: John Hinchman, John Ashbrough; Dedford: Constantine Wood, John Brown, of Mantua Creek; Greenwich: Hermanus Helme, Oake Helme; Egg Harbor: Israel Ward, James Sumors.

Justices: John Hugg, John Inskeep, Abraham Porter, John Rambo, Isaac Jennings, David Vannimia; John Kay, chosen Clerk.

The Commissioners of the Loan Office brought in money as follows:

Samuel Coles	£85	8s	6d
Thos. Spicer	£85	8s	6d
Joseph Cooper	£85	8s	6d
	£256	5s	6d

This money was cancelled, bound up, numbered and sealed in three bundles as the law directed. Certificates were given to the Commissioners of the Loan Office for the same.

The 1725 Freeholders were the same as those of 1724.

The Justices were Alexander Randle, David Vanneman, Abraham Lydon, John Hugg, Isaac Jennings.

The Court House and Prison were a constant difficulty and are mentioned in practically every record of the Meetings of the Freeholders. Shutters were ordered placed on the two front windows of the Court House, and on the window on the back and side shutters to the belfry to preserve the house from the rain beating in. Irons were ordered for securing prisoners, also locks for the prison doors.

11th day 3rd month, called May, 1726. Freeholders: Waterford: John Cock, Joseph Bate; Newton: John Kaighn; Gloucester Township: John Ashbrough, William Sharp; Gloucester Town: John Mickle, Wm. Harrison; Dedford: Constantine Wood, John Brown; Greenwich: John Young, Jacobus VanCulin; Egg Harbor: Peter Steelman, Richard Somers.

Joseph Cooper, Samuel Coles, and Thomas Spicer, Loan Commissioners, each brought in £85 11s 4d bills of credit to be cancelled; each lot numbered

4, 5, and 6, respectively. Joseph Cooper produced 29 certificates for wolf and panther heads and for whelps of wolves amounting to £20 15s and also 27 certificates for fox heads which amounted to £2 14s. A tax was laid for mending Timber Creek bridge, £20 and £20 for killing wolves, panthers and red foxes, £40 in all.

May 12, 1726, John Hinchman was allowed 22 shillings 6 pence and Joseph Hugg six shillings for burying two persons, and Amos Ashead 45s for burying four persons.

September 12, 1726, endeavor was made to have Philip Sing, prisoner, removed by Samuel Coles, High Sheriff to Burlington.

May 10, 1727, Justices present were John Inskip, Abraham Leaden, Abraham Porter, Isaac Jennings. Freeholders: Waterford: John Cock, Alexander Morgan; Newton: James Hinchman, William Cooper; Gloucester Town: John Mickle, William Harrison; Gloucester Township: John Ashbrough, Joseph Tomlinson; Dedford: John Brown, Jonathan Ladd; Greenwich: Stephen Jones, Joseph Topliss; Egg Harbor: Robert Smith, Jeremiah Adams, Jr.

John Hinchman, Coroner, was allowed 45s "for burying four corpse found upon our shores."

April 12, 1728, Justices present: John Hugg, Samuel Ward, Abraham Porter, Alex. Randle, Isaac Jennings, Thomas Risley, James Hinchman. Freeholders: Gloucester Town: John Mickle, William Harrison; Gloucester Township: Richard Cheeseman, Wm. Hampton; Waterford: Timothy Matlack, John Cock; Waterford: Jos. Cooper, Jos. Cooper, Jr. (Probably Newton Township. F. H. S.); Egg Harbor: Israel Ward, Jeremiah Adams; Dedford: Constantine Wood, John Brown, of Mantua Creek; Greenwich: Mathias Matson, John Jones. John Ladd, Clerk.

1729, Freeholders were: John Mickle, Wm. Harrison, Samuel Burrows, Robert Zane, John Kaighn, Henry Sparks, Richard Cheeseman, Constantine Wood, George Ward, Samuel Driver, Nathan Locke, Will Cordery, and probably two more not mentioned as being present.

The Taverns taxed in 1727 were: James Wild, Thos. Perry, Will Cooper, Anna Tylee, Ann Hugg, Robt. Gerard, Christopher Taylor. Ferries taxed: Cooper's Ferry, Gloucester Ferry. The Loan Office Commissioners made their annual report.

Freeholders present 1730: Wm. Harrison, John Hinchman, John Tomlinson, John Brown, Jonathan Ladd, Hans Steelman, Jacob Cozens, Wm. Cooper, John Kaighn, John Cock, Alex. Morgan, Edw. Doughty, and Edw. Sommers.

October 13, 1730. A negro named Ceasar was tried and executed, expenses of which amounted to two pounds ten shillings. Ceasar was brought from Salem.

In 1732, John Brown of Gloucester, and Sarah Norris were taxed as merchants.

The mills taxed were: Borton, Coles, Childs, Kays, Mullicas, Shivers, T. Cheesmans, R. Cheesman, Geo. Wards, Griffiths, Vannemans, Somers.

Taverns taxed: Perywebb, Medcalf, Griffith, Enoch Ellisons, Tatems, Gerrards, Taylors, Wheeldons, Richard Chew at Egg Harbor.

Ferries taxed: Gloucester, Medcalfs.

There were frequent items for "burying dead bodies."

John Ladd, Jr., was elected Clerk for 1732.

Merchants taxed in 1733: John Brown of Gloucester, Sarah Norris, Timothy Matlock, Michael Fisher, C. Taylor.

Mills taxed: Bennets, Coles, Childs, Geo. Wards, J. Couzens, S. Shivers, Stillmans, Breaches, Kays, Wares, Richard Cheesman, Griffiths, Israel Wards, Somers, Fishers.

Taverns taxed: T. Perryweb, Medcalf, E. Ellison, Wheeldon, Tatems, Griffiths, Gerrards, Sarah Bull, Taylors, Medcalfs Ferry.

1733, Justices present were: John Kay, Jas. Hinchman, John Ladd, Jr. Freeholders: Gloucester: John Mickle, Wm. Harrison; Gloucester Township: Jos. Tomlinson, Sam'l McCollock; Newton: Tob's Holloway, Jos. Kaighn; Waterford: Sam'l Coles, Thos. Ellis; Deptford: Const. Wood, Geo. Ward; Greenwich: Sam'l Shivers, Thos. Bickham. The Board met at Ann Wheeldon's Tavern.

May 8, 1734. "Ordered that a pair of stocks and whipping post be erected at Gloucester before the prison window." A pair of hand cuffs and a pair of shackles were ordered.

June 15, 1736. A watch house and work house was ordered erected before the front of the prison at Gloucester, a well dug and a pump set therein.

The Taverns or Public Houses taxed were: Benj. Peters, Thos. Wilkins. Ellisons, John Hough, Marg'y Perrywebb, Wm. Gerrard, Wm. Tatem, Jos. Gregory and his ferry, Humphrey Day and his ferry, Thos. Thorn.

Mills taxed: Wm. Wards, Jacob Couzens, Fishers, Richard Cheeseman, John Breach, Thos. Coles, James Childs, Summer's, Sam'l Shivers, Gerrards, Geo. Ward (2), Andrew Ware, Isaac Kay, Bennets, Steelmans.

Merchants taxed: Abraham Chattin, Sarah Norris, Timothy Matlock, Mich'l Fisher. The ferry over Cooper's Creek was also taxed. A window was ordered put in the north side of the wall of the prison in the Debtors part. The Meeting was held at the house of Joseph Gregory. Wm. Tatem, was Sheriff.

In 1738, Freeholders were: Edward Higby, James Hinchman, Timothy Matlock, John Hinchman, Isaac Jennings, Joseph Yonge, Thos. Bickham, Josiah Key, Sam'l Coles, John Thorne, Samuel Harrison, George Ward, John Wood, Elias Steelman.

Justices: John Ladd, Jr., John Key, Robert Zane, Alexander Morgan.

The watch house was turned over to the high sheriff to be occupied by a person to keep the court house swept and cleaned, and look after the doors and windows of the court house.

John Ladd, Jr., was clerk of the board from 1732 to 1738. In 1739, the Justices present were: John Kaighn, Joseph Coles. Thos. Wilkins. Freeholders present: Wm. Harrison, Samuel Harrison, George Ward, John Hinchman, Isaac Jennings, Thos. Coles, Wm. Ellis, James Hinchman, Wm. Wilkins, Amariah Ballinger, Hance Steelman, Abel Scull, Nehemiah Leeds.

Taverns or Public Houses taxed: Benj. Peters, Robert Gerrard, Henry Sparks, Jacob Ware, Sarah Bull, Thos. Servisel, Gabriel Friend, Hugh Curwell, Enoch Ellison, Isaac Hollingham, Daniel Cooper, Sarah Norris.

Mills taxed: Sam'l Shivers, Andrew Hoffman, Robert Gerrard, James Childs, George Ward (2), Andrew Ware, John Peterson, John English, Wm. Wards, Jacob Cousens, Jonathan Fisher, Elisha Smith, Luke Gibson, Rich. Cheesman, Henry Roes, James Somers (2).

Ferries taxed: Jacob Wares, Dan'l Coopers, Benj. Coopers.

The Sheriff was paid for board of prisoners as usual. - Timber Creek bridge repairs were again mentioned. The Board met at Sarah Bull's Tavern. A messenger was sent out to "warn" the Freeholders of the meeting. He probably traveled over two hundred miles.

May 12, 1742, the Justices present were: James Hinchman, Isaac Jennings, John Kaighn, Thomas Coles, Thos. Wilkins.

Freeholders present: Waterford: Alexander Morgan, Wm. Ellis; Newton: Ebenezer Hopkins, Robert Stephens; Gloucester Town: Wm. Harrison, John Mickle; Gloucester Township: John Hinchman, John Tomlin; Deptford: John Wood, George Ward, Jr.; Greenwich: Alex. Randall, Wm. Wilkins; Egg Harbor: Richard Risley, Edward Doughty. Sam'l Spicer, Clerk.

June 1742, Samuel Harrison, High Sheriff, was reimbursed for firewood purchased for the prisoners and also for gloves, halter and expenses of a "tryal." John Ladd, Clerk. Another list of taxables was recorded in which Wm. Hugg appeared as owner of a ferry. Alexander Randall, Clerk, May 8, 1745.

May 14, 1746, Justices present: James Hinchman, Isaac Jennings, Simeon Ellis, Thomas Wilkins. Freeholders: Gloucester Town: Wm. Harrison, Jacob Albertson; Greenwich: Alexander Randall, Samuel Shivers; Waterford: Richard Matlock, John Burrough; Newton: Samuel Clement, Isaac Smith; Deptford: Edward Richardson, William Wood; Gloucester Township: John Tomlinson, Sam'l McCollick. Wm. Wood, Clerk.

May 13, 1747. Justices present: John Ladd, Isaac Jennings, John Knight, Simeon Ellis. Freeholders: Alex. Morgan, Richard Matlock, Robert Stephens, John Tomlinson, George Ward, Jr., Wm. Harrison, James Whitall, Sam'l McCollough, Wm. Mickle, Joseph Ellis, Alex. Randall, who was also chosen Clerk, and Peter Risley. Charges for dieting King's prisoners by the Sheriff were allowed. Wm. Ward was Clerk in 1749.

For several years no Freeholders were present from Egg Harbor. In 1750 Francis Battin appeared as a Freeholder from Greenwich Township. His birthplace like that of Archibald Moffett is not known. 10-5 mo. 1750.

The Taverns taxed were: Benj. Cooper, John Steelman, Dan Cooper, John Hinchman, Arch'd Ingram, Andrew Sloane, Widow Gerrard, Morris Conner, Benj. Lodge, Margery Webb, John English, Richard Chew, Wm. Hugg, Widow Cowgill, Wm. Sill, Thos. Wilkins, Timothy Rane.

Stores and Shops taxed: Mathias Aspdin, James Tolman, James Lees, Sarah Wilson, Joseph Wilkinson, Wm. Gerrard, Wm. Shoot, Jr., Thos. Redman, John Blackwood, Michael Fisher, Benj. Lodge, Jacob Spicer, Wm. Watson, Matthew Gill.

Ferries taxed: Wm. Hugg, Benj. Cooper, Dan Cooper, Timothy Rane.

Mills taxed: Sam'l Shivers, Jacob Cozens, John Franklin, John Goslin, Richard Harril, Luke Gison, Peter Cheesman, John Thorn, Wm. Gerrard, Sam'l Huet, Jonathan Fisher, John Ladd, Jonathan Blackwood, Henry Roe, Richard Cheesman, John Hilman, grist, John Hilman, saw, Jacob Albison, John Atkins, John Borton, Elisha Smith, John English, John Cutler, Hannah Cole, Emrick Robardson, John Price, Doughtys. The taverns, mills, and ferries were taxed approximately £1 each; shops from 2s 6d to £2 for Aspdins.

The Freeholders for the years 1750-60 were: Samuel Colc, Richard Matlack, Ebenezer Hopkins, Robert Stevens, John Thorn, John Tomlinson, Henry Roe, James Whitall, David Cooper, Francis Batten, Wm. Mickle,

Wm. Wood, Wm. Gerrard, Joshua Lord, Jr., Joseph Ellis, John Hillman, Samuel Harrison, James Talmon, John Sparks, John Chew, Thos. Wilkins, Jacob Couzens, Thos. Cheesman, Isaac Key, Rob't Zane, James Cooper, James Harrison, Joseph Tomlinson, John Gill, John Hinchman, Jacob Clement, Matthew Gill, George Flamingham, Joseph Johnson.

No Freeholders were mentioned from Egg Harbor 1750-60. Distance and inconvenience kept them away. Wm. Wood and Jos. Harrison were Clerks of the Board between 1750-60. The usual taxes for vermin and wild beasts, also Timber Creek bridge, Court House and Jail, and Provincial taxes were mentioned. In 1761 Samuel Harrison, Jr., was Clerk. James Whitall was Clerk in 1763; on May 11th, the Board met at Joseph Hugg's house. May 13, 1767, a balance of £62 3d for county arms sold was turned in to Samuel Clement, County Clerk. John Somers, son of Richard and Fred'k Steelman of Egg Harbor appeared May, 1767, at the Board meeting. 4 bedsteads and 4 chaff beds purchased for use of prisoners in 1767, at a cost of £4 19s 10d.

On February 8, 1768, Samuel Harrison, Robert Friend Price, John Hinchman, Justices, summoned the Freeholders to meet to consider the repairs to be made to the Court House on account of the fire. The roof of the Court House was burned off and the bell probably damaged, because it was ordered sold and a new one purchased to replace it. The County Collector was ordered to pay William Hugg thirteen shillings and four pence for drink furnished the persons "that helped to put out the fire of Ye Court House." The repairs to the Court House and Jail cost £125 10s 11d. Benjamin Loxley was required to furnish a bond for making good any damages that might happen because the Court House bell was hung with bolts instead of canons. James Hinchman was acting Clerk, Feb'y, 1768, in place of Sam'l Harrison, Clerk, 1768.

October 3, 1769. Justices present: Michael Fisher, Samuel Harrison, Robert Friend Price, John Hinchman. Freeholders present: Richard Matlock, Nathaniel Lippincott, Waterford. David Branson, Isaac Mickle, Newton. George Flanningham, Joseph Ellis, Gloucester. Joshua Lord, James Hinchman, Deptford. Benjamin Lodge, Greenwich. Matthew Gill, Jacob Spicer, Woolwich. Frederick Steelman, Egg Harbor.

May 8, 1771, Dr. Thomas Henry was paid £1 7s 6d for attending Peter Mantle, Kings prisoner. (An evidence of charity.) Managers for Great Timber Creek Bridge were appointed. Middle arch of bridge mentioned January, 1773, when a new location was selected for it. It was approximately rebuilt in its old location. The old posts of the bridge were cut off at an expense of £1 10s. The old stuff of the bridge was sold for £8 7s 11d. Sam'l Hugg, Barzilla Hugg, Isaac Inskeep, Jacob Albertson, Jos. Hugg and Nathaniel Lippincott furnished the timbers and logs. Samuel Spicer was Clerk, 1773, and Joseph Hugg was Clerk, 1775. Three persons convicted of petty larceny and horse stealing, sentenced by the Court to be whipped and turned over the river, were ordered released by the Board of Freeholders.

In 1775, Frederick Steelman, Freeholder from Egg Harbor, was present. None from Galloway, which was named for Joseph Galloway, the Pennsylvania patriot who afterwards became a noted tory. June, 1780, Wm. Harrison, late Sheriff was paid £782 11s 3d (continental currency) in full for his account for supplies on account of the State prisoners. Jos. Hugg, Clerk, 1780. Justices present, May 9, 1781: John Cooper, John Wilkins,

Joseph Hugg, John Sparks, Isaac Tomlinson, Samuel Kennard. Freeholders: Joseph Collins, John Griffith, Waterford. John Middleton, Isaac Mickle, Newton. Elijah Clark, Joseph Ellis, Gloucester Town. Peter Cheesman, Richard Cheesman, Jr., Gloucester Township. John Ladd Howell, Joseph Low, Deptford. Daniel Sutherland, John West, Greenwich. Henry Shute, Felix Fisher, Woolwich. Absent, Galloway. Absent, Egg Harbor. The Board in 1781 ordered that a bell be purchased and hung, not inferior to the late one. Ordered that a County seal be made.

John Steelman was present from Egg Harbor, Oct. 4, 1781, as a Freeholder. John Griffith, Clerk, 1782. May, 1783, Isaac Somers and Zephaniah Steelman, from Galloway, were the first Freeholders from there who attended a meeting. Elijah Cozens was Clerk in 1784. (His tombstone on his plantation was destroyed by vandals about six years ago. F. H. S.) Forty-one copies of Peter Wilson's second edition of the Laws of New Jersey sent by the Legislature, were distributed to County and Township officials and the remaining 20 copies ordered to be sold in 1785.

March 23, 1786, a Special meeting was held and a Petition ordered sent to Legislature asking permission to build a new Court House and Jail where a majority of the inhabitants should determine by a free and impartial election. Thomas Wriggins was paid £6 4d for boarding the four State prisoners. The four prisoners, because of the destruction of the jail at Gloucester by fire, were removed to Burlington under guard by horses and wagon of Wm. Hugg, for which he was paid £1.

May 10, 1786, at the meeting held at the house of Wm. Hugg, David Sayres and Thomas Somers for Egg Harbor; Edmund Coudrey and David Clerk for Galloway, were present as Freeholders. The county jailer, John Hollingshead, at Burlington, was paid for keeping each of the Gloucester County prisoners in his custody 9d per day.

Special meeting. July 13, 1786, at Gloucester, at the house of Wm. Hugg; £100,000 New Jersey Loan Act of May 25, 1786 was mentioned. Joseph Blackwood was allowed £2 for branding Robert Randolph and whipping Alexander Powell at the June term of Court.

August 3, 1786, adjourned meeting; James Brown, John Jessup, and Sam'l Hugg appointed as Managers to agree with workmen and purchase materials for building of the jail and Court house at Woodbury. Elijah Cozens, Clerk.

The special meeting of Sept. 22, 1786, held at the house of Wm. Hugg, in the town of Gloucester, adjourned to meet on the 29th at the house of Josiah Hillman, in Woodbury, to take action on the ground and buildings for the Court House and Jail. The Board on the 29th unanimously accepted the offer of a lot by John Bispham four rods front and fifteen rods deep. After this time the Board met in Woodbury instead of Gloucester. The Court House and Jail at Gloucester were destroyed by fire in March, 1786, and application was made to the Trustees of Deptford Free School for the privilege of the use of its building for the Courts while the new Court House at Woodbury was being erected. At Woodbury May 9, 1787. Justices present: John Wilkins, Samuel Kinnard, Joseph Hugg, John Griffith, Micajah Smith, John Sparks, Joseph Ellis, Thomas Denny, Jeffrey Clark. Freeholders: David Davis, Thomas Thorn, Waterford. John Gill, Edward Gibbs, Newton. Samuel Harrison, Samuel Hugg, Gloucester Town. Isaac Tomlinson, John Hider, Gloucester Township. James Wilkins, John Stevens, Samuel French, Wm. White, Greenwich. John Kelly or Kille, George

Vanleer, Woolwich. Thomas Sumers, David Seers, Egg Harbor. David Clark, Josiah Leeds, Galloway. Clerk, William White. December 21, 1787, the Board met at the house of Hannah Matlock, in Woodbury. May 14, 1788, annual meeting of the Justices and chosen Freeholders was held at Woodbury. The Board ordered the managers appointed to superintend the building of the Court House and Jail; to procure and hang a suitable bell for said Court House.

May 13, 1789. Samuel Hugg and Joseph Champion, Loan Office Commissioners, produced vouchers from James Mott, State Treasurer, to the amount of £477 4s in full of interest loaned in the County. They also delivered to the Board bills of credit to be cancelled as follows:

26-6 pound bills.....	£156
33-3 " ".....	99
63-30 shilling bills.....	94 10s
142-15 " ".....	106 10s
247-12 " ".....	148 4s
255-6 " ".....	76 10s
139-3 " ".....	20 17s
92-1 " ".....	4 12s
	£706 3s

The same were collected in due form as the law directed. Cancellations of bills of credit was an annual occurrence.

1st day 6 mo. 1789, John Wilkins, County Collector, was ordered by the Board to receive the money for the law books ordered to be sold by John Sparks, Samuel Kinnard and Elijah Cozens, June 16th, 1785.

5th mo. 12, 1790, a State tax of £300 was ordered by the Board for Gloucester County.

In the minutes of June 19, 1790, the township tax assessments for building the court house and jail at Woodbury are shown as follows:

Waterford	£625 8s 8d
Newton	428 5s 3d
Gloucester Town	179 5s 5d
Gloucester Township.	412 5s 5d
Deptford.....	847 8s 1d
Greenwich	684 6s 11d
Woolwich	873 1s 2d
Egg Harbor	377 8s 9d
Galloway	247 13s 4d
	£4,675 3s

All of which amounts had been paid excepting £133 13s 3d due from Newton, Gloucester Town, Gloucester Township, Egg Harbor, and Galloway. The other four townships had paid in full.

John Jessup, manager, paid out.....	£4,470 15s 9¼d
Samuel Hugg paid out.....	136 13s 1¼d
	£4,607 8s 10¾d

Which sum figured at 7s 6d to the pound amounted to \$12,286.40.

The old jail and materials sold, brought in £99 10s 7d.

The managers of the Great Timber Bridge reported in 1791 that the erection of the bridge had cost £469 15s 7d.

John Griffith was Clerk in 1791 and John Blackwood, Clerk in 1792.

Benjamin Whitall was allowed £9 1s for conveying prisoners from Burlington to the Gloucester County Jail and for cash paid an executioner.

Franklin Davenport presented a bill from Aaron D. Woodruff, Attorney General, for prosecuting and convicting James Wilson at a special term of Court. He was allowed seven pounds ten shillings. Davenport was allowed three pounds for serving as clerk of the special Court for prosecuting Wilson and the County Collector was ordered to pay the account of Benjamin Whitall for a coffin for the criminal.

Mark Brown was paid 12s 6d for putting on and taking off the irons of James Wilson. Other bills for candles, stage fares, turnkeys, fees, etc., were also ordered paid by the Board. (Samuel Mickle the diarist of Woodbury, describes the public hanging of Wilson in his diary.)

Samuel Hugg and Joseph Champion (May, 1793) presented vouchers for £378 7s 2d showing payment to James Mott, State Treasurer, of the sixth year's interest on the sum loaned to Gloucester County. Three hundred and fifty-four pounds and fifteen shillings of bills of credit of various denominations were placed before the Board for inspection and cancellation. The Clerks of the Board of Freeholders for the years 1794-7 were: John Wilkins, 1794; Thomas Wilkins, 1795; Samuel W. Harrison, 1796; James Stratton, 1797.

In 1797 firewood was purchased for the use of confined debtors. Drs. Campbell and Whitall were paid for medicine and attendance for prisoners.

Edward Vaughn, High Sheriff, was allowed expenses connected with the execution of Abraham Johnson, a negro.

November 24, 1797. The whipping post, pillory, etc., were ordered sold and the proceeds thereof turned over to the use of the County.

Book "B"—There was probably a change in the law concerning the Freeholders, because the last meeting at which the Justices met with the Freeholders was November 24, 1797.

A new record book was purchased and the first meeting recorded in it was on May 9, 1798, when nearly all of the following Freeholders were present at the Court House in Woodbury:

Waterford: Samuel Cooper, Jeremiah Wood; Newton: James Hopkins, Jacob Stokes; Gloucester Town: Samuel W. Harrison, Wm. Hugg; Gloucester Township: Isaac Tomlinson, Joseph Bolton; Deptford: John Wilkins, John Stevens; Greenwich: Samuel P. Paul, John Haines; Woolwich: James Stratton, Enoch Allen; Galloway: Jeremiah Higbee, Jonathan Steelman; Egg Harbor: John Winner, Thomas Somers; Weymouth: Wm. Smith, Amos Ireland.

John Wilkins was the first director of the Board. Benjamin Rulon was Clerk and Joel Westcott, County Collector. The absent Freeholders were fined and ordered to be prosecuted in accordance with the law.

January 1, 1799. The Commissioners appointed to build a Clerk's office in Woodbury for the better security of the records of Gloucester County were ordered paid money raised for that purpose. An iron chest of wrought iron for the county money in hands of the county collector was authorized and purchased. The safe, a relic that looks as if it had been used much

farther back than 1799, is now stowed in the belfry of the present Court House and should be safeguarded against the junk man. The Freeholders of Egg Harbor, Galloway, and Weymouth, who seldom attended the Board meetings, were allowed two dollars extra each for attendance. A committee of two were ordered to prepare rules and regulations for the better government of the Board of Chosen Freeholders.

May 8, 1799. The question of building a bridge over the south branch of Great Timber Creek at or near Limber Bridge was considered, a committee was appointed to report at the next meeting and as a result, a petition was ordered made to the State Legislature. A bill for boarding four prisoners confined in Woodbury Jail thirteen weeks on order of Joseph Risley, Esq., with no crime charged against them, was paid and the prisoners ordered released.

August 8, 1799. The erection of a work house for idle and disorderly persons was considered, and it was resolved that the two rooms up stairs in the common jail adjoining the jail yard should be used for that purpose. Rules and regulations for the work house were to be prepared by a committee and materials and tools were ordered to be purchased to an amount not exceeding one hundred dollars.

A committee was appointed to meet with a committee from Burlington County to consider the propriety of building a bridge over the creek dividing the two counties on the road laid out from Haddonfield to Moorestown. The lower bridge over Raccoon Creek was ordered repaired.

In 1799, dollars took the place of pounds, shillings and pence in the records of the Freeholders, due to the operations of the Mint of the United States, which was located on the site now occupied by the Compiler who purchased the Mint property in 1907.

August 8, 1799. It was ordered that Jeremiah Wood, Edmund Brewer and Enoch Allen be a committee to make inquiry for a suitable place to purchase and build a poor house for the County and report to the next meeting of the Board.

December 12, 1799. Contracts were made with John Pissant for the lower Raccoon Bridge. Gideon Scull for the bridge at Scull Town, and John Howey for the bridge at Swedesborough, and the one over Church Run. Minute was made that a law had been passed in favor of a bridge over the south branch of Great Timber Creek. Richard Westcott was appointed to repair the bridge over Great Egg Harbor River. Benjamin Rulon was still Clerk of the Board.

May 14, 1800. It was decided to build a stone bridge over Woodbury Creek. John Tatum, Jr., and Michael C. Fisher were appointed Commissioners for the purpose. A contract to repair the lower bridge of Mantua Creek was authorized.

Aaron D. Woodruff, Attorney General, was allowed seven pounds, seventeen shillings for convicting John Cassida, who had been in Woodbury jail a year or more, of larceny.

August 30, 1800. Samuel Cooper, James Hurley, John Hider, Samuel W. Harrison, Amos Cooper, Wm. Ford, James Stratton, John Collins, Richard Wescott, and Elias Smith, Jr., comprising the committee on poor house, were directed to meet at the house of Mary McKonkey, in Blackwoodtown, on October 4th next, to agree and report on a suitable place for a poor house.

December 12, 1800. Joseph Hugg, Sheriff, was allowed twenty-eight dollars for three cushions for the use of the Court. The committee on poor

house reported they had purchased of Michael C. Fisher in Deptford Township one hundred twenty-five acres at ten pounds per acre, amounting to three thousand, three hundred and thirty-three dollars and thirty-three cents.

A bridge was built over Pensaukin Creek, another over the north branch of Cooper's Creek; a bridge was also built over Gerrard's Dam on the new road from Barnsborough to Sand Town.

Plans for a poor house were ordered drawn and five hundred dollars, which was not afterwards used, was authorized for plans, etc.

February 28, 1801. It was ordered that a paving to be protected with red cedar posts and Lombardy poplars, be placed in front of the Court House. This was done to prevent horses and wagons from being driven across the sidewalks.

The committee on Poor House produced a plan for a house to be built seventy-five feet by thirty-five feet, two stories high with a cellar under the whole, to be built of stone. Amos Cooper, John Brick, and John Hider were appointed to superintend the building.

The Freeholders May 5, 1801, were informed that the bridge over Woodbury Creek, ordered May, 1800, was nearing completion. The poor house contract for twenty-one hundred pounds or \$5,600, was given to Edmund Brewer and John C. Morgan and the same was to be completed within eighteen months from the date of the contract, April 1st last. Two feet were added to the length and one foot six inches to the depth of the poor house plan. A committee was appointed to inspect an unimproved road called the Commissioners Road, in the Township of Woolwich.

August 8, 1801. The printed laws of the United States were reported distributed agreeable to an order of the board with the exception of three copies still in the hands of the County Collector.

Eight thousand dollars in taxes were ordered raised for the use of the County. A comparison of this amount with the total now raised by the three counties of Gloucester, Camden, and Atlantic which constituted Old Gloucester County, would show one of the reasons for the high cost of living in 1924.

December 23, 1801. Two prisoners were removed from Philadelphia to Woodbury jail by order of Governor Howell and from Woodbury to the State prison, viz: Alexander Glass and William Taber. Wood was bought for use of debtor and State prisoners as usual. Accounts for stone abutments and wings to a bridge over north branch of Great Timber Creek, called Chews Bridge, were presented and referred to a committee who ordered them paid to the amount of \$967.83. The stone bridge over Woodbury Creek cost \$859.19. The bridge over Badcock's Creek, near May's Landing, was ordered rebuilt.

May 5, 1802. Among the prisoners for whom Joseph Hewes, jailer of Woodbury, presented bills for board at the rate of one dollar and seven cents per week, was an Indian named Thomas Store. Repairs were ordered to the bridge over Mantua Creek called Carpenter's Bridge. The poor house farm was let on shares to Jacob Williams. A "Necessary" was ordered built on the lot on which the Clerk's office in Woodbury stood. It cost nine dollars and fifty-one cents.

It was resolved that the bridges named be in the care of the following persons: Cooper Creek, Samuel Cooper; Big Timber Creek, George W. Hugg; Lower Mantua, Thomas Reeves; Carpenter's Bridge, Thomas Car-

penter; Swedesborough, David Harker; Lower Raccoon, Abner Batten.

The above men had the authority to expend up to twenty dollars for repairs without orders from the Board of Freeholders.

May 25, 1802. Cooper's Bridge was rebuilt. Major John Steelman and Thomas Garwood were appointed a committee to rebuild a bridge over Absecon Creek, which was not on a public road. A new road was ordered a year later. Job Brown built a bridge over Mathews branch at a cost of one hundred and seventy-nine dollars and eighty-three cents. William E. Hopkins presented a bill for one hundred and fifty-four dollars and thirty-six cents for building a bridge called Haddon Bridge.

May 5, 1803. A steward for the Poor House was engaged, furniture and stock was bought. The Poor House was reported completed in May, 1803, and ready for use June 1st following.

John Haines was appointed to look after the bridge at Jarrot's dam and Charles French and Joseph Champion were appointed commissioners to build a bridge over Cooper's Creek from the land of Abel Nicholson, in Waterford Township, to lands of Joseph Hinchman in Newton Township.

Charles French, Samuel W. Harrison, John Hider, Amos Cooper, John Haines, Thomas Clark, Schobey Stewart, Nehemiah Blackman and Elias Smith were appointed a committee to draw up rules and regulations for the government of the Poor House.

Michael Loudenslager, of Greenwich; Isaac Smith, of Great Egg Harbor; James Pancoast, of Woolwich; Adrial Clark, James Codd, John Ware, William Wickey, and Samuel Brick were made allowances for removing poor debtors to the Poor House.

December 28, 1803. Mark Scull was paid for the cost of a bridge over Conover's Mill Race. Nehemiah Morss for a bridge over River Run. Samuel Cooper for rebuilding lower bridge over Oldman's Creek.

May 9, 1804. Surrogate Elisha Clark was allowed his account for sundry books bought for use of his office for recording wills, etc., in accordance with the State law of November 9, 1803. He was also allowed his expenses in fitting a screw for the Surrogate's seal.

James Coad, late Overseer of the Poor for Woolwich Township, was allowed fifty-three dollars and seventy-seven cents for boarding, coffins, winding sheets, and burying sundry paupers of said township.

The bridge ordered over Absecon Creek in 1802, was not built and part of the one hundred dollars appropriated for the purpose was returned to the County Collector and the materials purchased was sold by the Commissioners, Thomas Garwood and John Steelman.

Doctors William and Dayton Lummis were paid three dollars and seventy-seven cents for doctoring a State prisoner.

Benjamin Rulon, Clerk.

August 8, 1804. Elisha Clark was authorized to enclose his office and yard with a fence. It cost thirty-nine dollars and eighty-one cents.

On December 24th a committee was appointed to lay out a public road from the Poor House into some other road or roads.

Rules for the conduct of members of the Board of Freeholders were adopted and recorded May 5, 1805. Rule number three was that, "One member only shall speak at a time and any member speaking shall stand and address the chair." Samuel W. Harrison was director of the Board.

May 5, 1805. The Woodbury Fire Company by a memorial from their members made a request for assistance of the Board to enable them to sink

three wells in the streets of Woodbury for fire use and other purposes. The Board appropriated two hundred dollars to the company for the three wells to be sunk near the Court House.

The Township Committee of Galloway was allowed sixty-seven dollars and seventy-seven cents for keeping Rebecca Moss and Mary Brown, paupers.

Poor House Account—The cost of the poor house farm, buildings, and equipment was as follows:

For the farm	\$3,333.33
Building house	5,600.00
Stock and implements.....	506.49
Furniture for house.....	762.04
For additional buildings.....	739.34
For Commissioners' fees	169.93
2,000 cedar rails.....	80.00
Sundries	89.38

\$11,280.51

The average yearly expense for the two years ending May 1, 1805, was \$3,860.22 for maintenance of paupers and the average cost for the five years prior to the building of the Poor House was \$4,189.13, so that the Board figured a saving of three hundred and twenty-eight dollars and ninety-one cents per annum, not figuring interest on investments.

Thomas Garwood, supervising Commissioner for building the bridge over Absecon Creek, was allowed a balance due him of one hundred and forty-five dollars and fifty cents. (John Steelman of Galloway was dead.)

August 19, 1806. An application to the New Jersey Legislature for a draw bridge over lower Raccoon Creek was authorized, but because of objections of citizens the application was not made. A new bridge over Richards' Run on the main road between Carpenter's Bridge and Mullica Hill with stone abutments was ordered and cost two hundred and ninety dollars and sixty-six cents.

Clement's Bridge over Timber Creek was repaired. The one over lower Mantua Creek and the lower Raccoon with draw, was held up because of a new road below the old bridge.

Twelve candle sticks, a shovel, tongs, and leg irons were bought by the Board. Dr. James Stratton was allowed six dollars and fifty cents for medicines and attendance on William Moffit.

Benjamin Rulon, Clerk, was succeeded by Thomas Wilkins May 13, 1807. Amos Cooper and James Saunders asked permission to use the Grand Jury room in the Court House for the purpose of keeping a school therein.

Colonel Joshua L. Howell reported he had purchased arms for the use of the Second Regiment of Militia in the Gloucester Brigade and asked for and was granted the privilege of keeping the same in the Court House. The County Collector was instructed to pay Colonel Howell one hundred and five dollars and ninety-five cents of fines in his hands for the purpose of buying arms.

July 29, 1807. An agreement was made with the Commissioners of Burlington County regarding the establishment of a bridge on the boundary line between the two counties on the north branch of Pensaukin Creek on the main stage road to Mt. Holly. The bridge cost six hundred and eleven dollars and one and one-half cents.

Dr. Eli Ayres was paid twenty-five dollars and sixty cents for medical attention on a pauper with a broken limb.

May 7, 1808. Richard C. Snowden was Clerk. A new bridge was ordered on the new road over the main branch of Newton Creek leading from Fred K. Hines' house to the old road leading to Haddonfield and the ferries.

May 5, 1809. Annual meeting, Benjamin Rulon, Clerk. Some prisoners escaped from the jail. The bridge over Badcock's Branch near May's Landing was ordered rebuilt with stone abutments. Bridge over main branch of Great Egg Harbor River at May's Landing was also ordered rebuilt where the road which leads to John Wheaton's at Blue Anchor now crosses it.

The bridge over Newton Creek in the road from Long-a-coming to Cooper's Ferry was completed.

Christopher Knisell made an agreement with the Board to keep two bridges at his mill in repair. A bridge was ordered built over Mantua Creek at a place called Crown Point, as directed by Legislature at last sitting. A ten plate stove for the jail was purchased. Another was purchased of Franklin Davenport and Doctor Thomas Hendry, two of the Trustees of Woodbury Academy. This stove was in the County Clerk's office and twenty dollars was allowed for it.

May 9, 1810. Job Bacon, Clerk.

May 8, 1811. Dr. Bostwick was allowed thirty-seven dollars for boarding, nursing, and burying Gilbert Akins.

Dr. Harris presented a bill for ten dollars which was allowed. Dr. Bowman Hendry also presented a bill for five dollars.

December 31, 1811. A woodland lot was ordered purchased for use of Poor House. Two hundred and forty-eight acres cost nine hundred and eighty-seven dollars.

May 13, 1812. Samuel Webster, Jr., Clerk. A lamp was ordered placed before the Court House.

September 5, 1812. An image bought for a vane was sold for seven dollars and fifty cents and the proceeds used to pay for the lamp. Direction posts were ordered put up at forks and intersections of main leading public roads in Gloucester County.

December 4, 1812. A Seal was procured for the use of the county at a cost of forty-six dollars. A bridge over Tuckahoe River by agreement with Cape May County Freeholders, was ordered built. Two straw beds were ordered for the jail.

Book "C"—May 12, 1813. The committee heretofore appointed to place direction posts at the forks and intersections of the main roads in the county reported some attention thereto. The Freeholders for the present year were appointed each for their Townships respectively to complete the work and report at the next meeting.

The "Necessary" built for the use of the county cost seventy-eight dollars and sixty-three cents.

Samuel Webster was allowed one dollar for lettering the chest containing the papers of the chosen Freeholders of the county.

Joseph Risley and Daniel Carrell, Commissioners for building the bridge over Tuckahoe River, reported they had let the contract for \$1,200.

The lower bridge over Oldman's Creek was rebuilt with the co-operation of Salem County. Among those rendered assistance by the Freeholders were Rebecca Gifford, Judith and Elizabeth Williams, Ann and Thomas

Gandy, Mary Fowler and child, Enoch Chambers, Smith Williams, John Askley, Rachel Bennett. Coffins for Anthony Wildin, Margaret Farrow, and Sarah Adams were paid for by the board.

A committee was appointed to purchase of Elizabeth Cozens the toll bridge over Newton Creek as authorized by the Act of Legislature.

September 4, 1813. The direction posts were completed in the township of Woolwich at a cost of one hundred and ninety-seven dollars and fifty-eight cents. Thomas W. Peck and John Van Dyke of Newton were paid for medical attention to the poor.

December 28, 1813. The "Necessary" was removed from the Court House because it was offensive to the Court. Enoch Gabb, constable, of Woolwich, was paid twenty dollars for guarding the fisheries in 1811 and 1812.

Charles Ogden made a return of thirty-seven roads in Gloucester County. Mention was made of a new road laid out from Timber Creek to Camden.

May 11, 1814. Coffins were purchased for Isaac Morgan and wife who died of smallpox. Other paupers were William Bowers, Isaiah Powell, Elias Ward, James Freeman, George Williams, John and Mary Ackley. Nathaniel Chew was paid fifteen dollars and eighty-six cents for repairs on bridge over Nestick Run.

September 3, 1814. The direction posts were reported erected in Newton at a cost of thirty-nine dollars and ninety-six cents, and Hamilton Township at eighty-five dollars and ninety-eight cents. The toll bridge over Newton Creek was purchased for \$4,750.00 Possession was taken March 25, 1815

A committee was appointed to agree with Cumberland County Freeholders regarding the boundary lines between the two counties.

December 27, 1814. A bridge was ordered across Woodbury Creek over the new road lately laid out from Crown Point to Timber Creek. Repairs were ordered on the bridge over Mantua Creek on the old Salem Road at Carpenter's Landing.

May 10, 1815. A fine imposed on a show master, amounting to sixteen dollars, was paid into the County Treasury. A committee was appointed to co-operate with Burlington County Freeholders to rebuild the bridge over Pensaukin Creek on the Burlington Road.

Paupers, Elizabeth Pinkney, Clarissa Frambes and children of Egg Harbor mentioned. Hudson Springer was paid the county's half for repairing the bridge at Pedricksburgh. A House for Insane and a barn was ordered built for the Poor House Farm to cost \$2,000.

September 1, 1815. George Williams convicted by Court at a cost of forty-two dollars and seventy-four cents was placed with William Wood to work out his fine and the money to be turned over to the County Collector. Mary Springer was taken to the Poor House. The Weymouth Township direction posts were completed at a cost of thirty-five dollars and ninety-three cents.

January 3, 1816. The direction posts in Egg Harbor Township cost fifty dollars and ten cents. The Deptford Township posts cost twenty-two dollars and twenty-five cents.

May 8, 1816. A "Necessary" was removed by William Lawrence, jailer. A bridge was built over Dotterer's Branch at cost of one hundred and ninety dollars and sixty-four cents. Dr. Bowman Hendry was allowed medical fees for poor persons. Many of the paupers removed to the County Poor House

were mentioned by name. It was more satisfactory to go there than to jail for debt.

The old bell of the Court House was ordered sold and a new bell purchased and the conductor (rope) placed on the outside of the Court House. It was probably used for fire alarm purposes.

August 31, 1816. Gloucester Township direction posts cost fifty-five dollars and fifty-two cents; Gloucester town direction posts costs nineteen dollars and twenty-three cents. The new mad house, stoves and repairs to the Alms House, wagon house, etc., cost \$1,450. The cost of supporting the county poor for the year was \$5,286.90. Catherine Moffitt, pauper, died.

Dr. Eli Ayres was paid nine dollars for attendance to Isaac Morgan, pauper, who died with smallpox.

December 31, 1816. Arthur Wescott was paid twenty-four dollars and fifty-four cents for putting up direction posts in upper part of Galloway Township. Doctors Ayres and Fithian were paid for medical attendance to paupers.

The new bell for the Court House and workmen's bills amounted to three hundred and fifty-nine dollars and five and one-half cents. The old bell was sold for fifty-four dollars.

A bridge was ordered placed over Batsto Forge stream in Galloway Township. It cost one hundred and ninety dollars and seventy-five cents.

May 14, 1817. The toll bridge was leased for one year for eight hundred and two dollars. The bill of John Cade, Constable, for removing Lovina Davis and her two children, paupers, from Woodbury to Chews Landing amounting to two dollars, was allowed. Direction posts for Galloway Township cost fifty-six dollars and four cents, the amount allowed to Mathew Collins.

August 30, 1817. Freeholders of Waterford reported progress in putting up direction posts in that township. Ground was purchased for a Surrogate's office north of and adjoining the Woodbury Court House.

Stray horses, cattle and other farm animals known as estrays were sold every year.

Thomas Williams was buried at the county expense.

A new bridge across Patconk's Creek was built on the new road in Egg Harbor Township. (Committee discharged December 30, 1817.)

August 30, 1817. Joseph Kaighn, Isaac Kay, Charles French, John Gill, Joseph V. Clark, and William Mulford were appointed to have the mile stones properly replaced on the roads as they now lay commencing at the Middle Ferry, Camden. (The origin of these mile stones bearing the date of 1773 is unknown.)

December 30, 1817. The shifting of the mile stones as far as the ninth mile cost eight dollars and seventy-five cents. Two blank alphabet books for the County Records which had been under discussion for several years were finally purchased at a cost of fifty-six dollars. Leven Royal was in prison, probably for debt.

May 13, 1818. Direction posts for Waterford reported not yet erected. Leven Royal discharged.

House and lot lately purchased by the county was leased to William Lawrence, jailer, for sixty-five dollars per annum. The jailer was allowed one dollar and fifty cents per week for prisoners.

The Mantua Creek middle bridge was repaired.

Charles French, Joseph V. Clark, Josiah Moore and Joseph Batten were

appointed to finish setting up the mile stones on the Salem and Cumberland roads and paint and letter the same.

Biddle Reeves and James Matlack were appointed to furnish six fire buckets for the use of the public buildings in Woodbury. Fifteen dollars was appropriated for that purpose.

Joseph Kaighn, John Sickler, Biddle Reeves, Isaac Kay and Joseph C. Swett, Almshouse Trustees, were ordered to promote public meetings for divine worship at three P. M. every first and third Sabbath Day.

September 5, 1818. The committee appointed to remove, letter and paint the mile stones on the Salem and Cumberland roads reported as follows, to wit: Joseph V. Clark, removed, lettered and painted eight mile stones on the Salem Road at a cost of seven dollars, which was allowed to him.

Charles French and Josiah Moore reported that they had removed, lettered, and painted eleven mile stones on the Cumberland Road at a cost of fifteen dollars. There was a "deficiency" of two mile stones on the Cumberland Road which were ordered procured and set up.

Joseph Batten was paid six dollars for his work in connection with the mile stones. The Poor House support cost \$6,175.04 for the fiscal year. One-half the repairs to the draw bridge over the Tuckahoe River was paid by the county of Cape May. Samuel Wheaton presented a bill of seventy-five cents for splicing the conductor. (Bell rope of the Court House.)

1818. The committee appointed to consider leasing a part of the public lot belonging to the county, to the inhabitants of Woodbury for the purpose of erecting a Market House and take measures to straighten the lines between the county lot and James Saunders by giving and taking, reported it inexpedient. At the next meeting the committee was discharged.

May 12, 1819. The two additional mile stones for the Cumberland Road were reported placed at a cost of nineteen dollars.

William Lawrence, jailer, who deceased September 14th, was allowed one dollar and twenty-five cents per week thereafter for boarding State prisoners. The old posts on lower Great Timber Creek and at the bridge near Sandtown that impeded navigation were ordered drawn.

September 4, 1819. The committee appointed to procure fire buckets bought twelve of them at a cost of thirty-nine dollars. The Waterford Township direction posts were finally placed after several years delay, at a cost of one hundred and seventeen dollars and seventy-four cents.

December 29, 1819. The contract was let for a bridge over Patconk Creek, with Thomas Somers for eight hundred and seventy dollars. A stove was ordered for the State prisoners' room and another for the debtors' room in the County Jail.

The committee on a site for a clerk's office made its report and estimate of cost. An effort was made to correct public feeling over reports about the public buildings by issuing a public statement to the effect that the county buildings were substantial and in good order and needed no rebuilding or important repairs and would be amply sufficient for several years. A lot had been purchased for a Surrogate's office, etc., etc. The whole proposition is spread on the minutes of the board. Oliver Davis the new jailer was allowed one dollar and fifty cents weekly for State prisoners. Rebecca Lawrence presented a bill for sixty-seven dollars and eighty-seven cents for prisoners' board and for a kitchen built by herself and her late husband to the house they rented from the county.

January 29, 1820. A special meeting was asked to be called by a number

of the Freeholders by petition addressed to James Matlack, Director of the Board, in consequence of the law passed by the Legislature for an election to decide, whether the county buildings were to remain in Woodbury or be removed to Camden. The election having been decided, the Freeholders wanted the site and plan for a new Surrogate's office to be settled.

James Matlack, Job Brown, Joseph Kaighn, Joseph V. Clark, and Joseph Rogers were appointed a committee to build a Surrogate's office on the county lot on the west side of Woodbury Street (now Broad Street) and that the same be built not to exceed thirty-one feet in depth and twenty-four feet in width, one room of which to be completely fire proof and that they take down the balcony house and use the old bricks, etc. (The balcony house was an ancient landmark of Woodbury. F. H. S.)

May 10, 1820. The Surrogate's office cost \$3,448.84, including the cost of removing the old balcony house and leveling the lot. The old materials were sold, amounting to fifty-six dollars and thirteen cents.

September 2, 1820. The Patconk Bridge cost nine hundred and fourteen dollars.

Jesse Smith, inkeeper, presented bill of nineteen dollars and twelve cents for expenses of the board.

A board lettered "SURROGATE'S OFFICE, 1820," was ordered to be placed in front of the new office.

David Carney, Constable, presented a bill for removing Alexander McMullin, Jane Lyn, John Sheppard, Eunice Tiller, and her five children to the Alms House, amounting to nine dollars.

Samuel H. Runyen, innkeeper, presented his bill for expenses of the board, twenty dollars and sixty-two cents.

Ferry Rates—A long list of ferry rates across the Delaware River from Newton Township and Gloucester Town were established in 1821 under the law of 1799 and are placed on the minutes in full. In part they were as follows: Two horse load, $.37\frac{1}{2}$; fat cattle, each, $.37\frac{1}{2}$; horses, mules, each, $.18\frac{3}{4}$; man and horse, $.25$; each passenger, $.06\frac{1}{4}$; sheep and hogs, each, $.03$; calves, each, $.06\frac{1}{4}$; barrels of sugar, salt, flour, etc., $.12\frac{1}{2}$; hogsheads of liquor, molasses, etc., $.31\frac{1}{4}$; soap, candles, etc., per box, $.03$; coffee by bag, $.06\frac{1}{2}$.

Pleasure carriages and drivers: Four wheels, four horses, \$1.00; four wheels, two horses, $.50$; two wheels, two horses, $.50$; four wheels, one horse, $.31\frac{1}{4}$; stages, four wheels, $.75$; stages, two wheels, $.37\frac{1}{2}$.

Market carriages and fish wagons: Four wheels, two horses, $.25$; four wheels, one horse, $.20$; two wheels, one horse, $.20$; extra passengers, $.06\frac{1}{4}$.

Tin wagons, pedlars, etc.: Two horses, loaded, $.37\frac{1}{2}$; two horses, unloaded, $.25$; one horse loaded, $.25$; one horse, unloaded, $.20$; two horses, hay, charcoal, etc., $.50$; one horse, hay, charcoal, etc., $.37\frac{1}{2}$; oxen and mules, same as horses.

The rates were ordered published in the Camden and Woodbury newspapers.

Dr. Joseph Fithian presented a bill for attendance on John Gooby, Rebecca Thornton, Ann Gibbs, and Southey Thornton.

It was resolved that the citizens of Woodbury have the privilege of improving the public lot between the Court House and Surrogate's office, at their own expense, by planting forest and other trees and laying out walks through the same, providing no injury be done to the premises.

It was ordered that the papers, etc., belonging to the office of the Clerk of the County be removed into the office now occupied by the Surrogate and

the records, papers, and belongings of the Surrogate's office be removed into that now occupied by the Clerk of the County.

September 1, 1821. The average number of paupers was one hundred and thirty-three and the average cost per week for each pauper was sixty-nine and one-half cents.

The Alms House sold the following during the year: Hams, \$129.21; lard, \$121.34; tallow, \$114.69.

Dr. Jeremiah J. Foster was allowed twelve dollars and ninety-four cents for medicine and attendance on Martha Newker.

Mary Harrison was allowed seventeen dollars for the nursing and funeral expenses of Betsey Hill, an Indian woman.

A committee of the Master Ferrymen of the Delaware River was invited to meet with a Freeholders' committee to adjust rates.

Joel Williams and wife were removed to Alms House. Jerusha Van Sant and Jemima Evans are mentioned as paupers.

Jeremiah J. Foster, Clerk of the Court, presented a bill of thirty-nine dollars and seven cents for expenses incurred in the trial of John Gooby. Elias D. Woodruff, ditto for Gooby, fifteen dollars. Benjamin Wilkins, Sheriff, in preparing for the execution of Gooby, twenty dollars and twenty-four cents. William Jeffries, Constable, two dollars and twenty-five cents; William Turner, Constable, two dollars and twenty-five cents; Richard Stafford, Constable, two dollars and twenty-five cents; David Carney, Constable, for removing paupers, four dollars.

Philip J. Gray, printer, was allowed five dollars and fifty cents for printing ferry rates in the Woodbury newspaper. Samuel Ellis, printer of Camden, also allowed five dollars for the same. Allowances were made Oliver Davis for boarding John Gooby, Charles Day, and other State prisoners, four hundred and seventy-eight dollars and ninety-seven cents. Dr. John C. Budd presented a medicine bill for John Smith, and attendance, eight dollars.

The Freeholders' records were ordered removed to the office of the County Clerk for safety.

Jeremiah J. Foster asked for a new seal press for his office, but the board after examination, ordered the old one repaired. Foster presented a bill for medicine and attendance on John Gooby for one dollar and seventy-five cents. He was a physician. Gooby was hanged April 27th, after being reprieved once.

Samuel Peterson, Constable, summoned by Sheriff for the execution of Gooby, three dollars. The execution of the negro was a notorious gala day in Woodbury. It was advertised by a steamboat company in Philadelphia who ran a boat to Big Timber Creek to transport a crowd to witness the hanging.

John Baxter, Sheriff, was allowed thirty dollars and seventy-one cents for his expenses in connection with the execution of Gooby.

Constable bills for Gooby execution were as follows: John Jackson, Constable, one dollar and fifty cents; Thomas Jackson, Constable, one dollar and fifty cents; Andrew Ware, Constable, one dollar and fifty cents; William Jeffries, Constable, seventy-five cents.

John Sterling was paid three dollars and seventy-five cents for repairing bell wheel of Court House.

Dr. J. C. Budd presented a bill for medical attendance on Alexander Stone.

September 1, 1821. Revised ferry rates were agreed upon between William Cooper, Joseph Kaighn, Benjamin Reeves, Ebenezer Tooley, Benjamin Springer, representing the Master Ferrymen, and William Zane, Jacob Stanger, John Estell, and Joseph Matlack of the Board of Freeholders. Philip J. Gray was allowed three dollars and fifty cents for printing fifty copies of the new rates.

May 8, 1822. William Lee, Constable, presented a bill for three days' attendance at Woodbury on the first time appointed for the execution of John Gooby, amounting to two dollars and twenty-five cents.

Dr. Jonathan Pitney presented two bills for medical attendance on Aaron Ewett.

Michael Frambes, Constable, was allowed for attendance at Gooby execution, three dollars. David Frambes, ditto, three dollars.

August 31, 1822. It was spread upon the minutes that the average number of paupers at Alms House was one hundred and twenty-six. Average cost per week per pauper, sixty-seven cents. Average number maintained outside of the Alms House, fourteen. Their average cost per week, fifty and one-half cents.

The Trustees of the Poor House were requested to proceed against the estate of John Kay, deceased, for the maintenance of Roger Bull, a slave then in the Poor House. Elizabeth Davis was removed to the Poor House.

David Carney, Constable, took William, Elizabeth, Mary, Susannah, and Ann Turner to Alms House. Carney also was paid nine dollars and sixty cents for official services at the trial and execution of John Gooby. Lewis M. Walker, Coroner, was paid for attending execution of John Gooby, four dollars. Abraham Penn, witness on trial, three dollars.

Funeral bills of Elizabeth and Naomi Williams were presented by Edward Risley. Hudson Springer and Richard Risley were removed to the Alms House.

The room at southwest corner, upstairs in the jail, next to the road, was set apart for the use of the debtors.

Andrew Ware, late Constable, was allowed four dollars for whipping four offenders.

December 28, 1822. The Freeholders made comment on the improper keeping of the Court records and steps were taken to correct the trouble.

Two chandeliers and a sufficient number of candlesticks for the Court House were ordered.

The deed for toll gates, bridges, etc., was copied in full.

Jeremiah J. Foster was appointed physician and surgeon of the Alms House at seventy-five dollars per year.

Public stocks for criminals were ordered erected.

List of receipts and expenditures of the county for year ending May 14, 1823, were recorded.

Tavern licenses issued to George W. Hugg and Samuel H. Runyan were not issued. J. J. Foster asked that he be given credit for them as they were charged against him as County Clerk, at ten dollars each.

John Cade was paid for whipping three black men.

Robert Stewart taken to Alms House. Samuel Kirby was appointed Steward of the Alms House.

December 27, 1823. Freeholders were allowed one dollar for each meeting and ten cents a mile for mileage above ten miles by nearest road from place of residence to Woodbury.

John Cade, Constable, was paid for whipping George Buckalew and Levin Cooper. John Simmerman presented a bill for repairs to Strangers' Grave Yard for four dollars and seventy-five cents, which was allowed. The county poor deaf and dumb children were ordered taken to the asylum in Philadelphia, but there were no vacancies there. A committee was appointed for the bridge on new road leading from Woodbury to Glassboro.

Dr. William H. McCalla was appointed physician to the Poor House for the year 1824.

Expenses for year ending May 12, 1822, were recorded in 1824. Dr. J. Pitney was allowed twenty-two dollars.

Dr. William H. McCalla was mentioned as deceased.

Dr. Lawrence VanHook presented a bill for twelve dollars.

An advertisement about election to be held February 9, 1825, regarding removal of public buildings to Camden was ordered to be inserted in the "Village Herald," "Camden Star," and "Rural Record," previous to the said election and the Act of the Legislature was copied in full on the last page of the record book then in use.

The dissatisfaction of a great many of the citizens of Old Gloucester County, who lived at a distance from the County Seat at Gloucester, first took public form in 1785. The removal of the county buildings from Gloucester to Woodbury, after their destruction by fire in 1786, was intended to allay public clamor for a more convenient place for the Court House, jail and county records. (See 1919 year book of the New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania.)

Samuel Mickle, in 1825, wrote about the election in his diary: "A very general election to which ye sick, lame, and blind were brought forward. The majority in favor of Woodbury over Camden was eight hundred and seventy-six votes."

Gloucester County Freeholders—

Waterford—May 9, 1793: Joseph Burrough, Samuel Stokes; May 5, 1798: Samuel Cooper, Jeremiah Wood.

Newton—May 9, 1793: Samuel Cooper; May 5, 1798: James Hopkins, Jacob Stokes.

Gloucester Town—May 9, 1793: Elijah Clark, William Hugg; May 5, 1798: Samuel W. Harrison, William Hugg.

Gloucester Township—May 9, 1793: John Hider, Isaac Tomlinson; May 5, 1798: Edmund Brewer, John B. Morgan.

Deptford—May 9, 1793: John Jessup, Jonathan Harker; May 5, 1798: John Wilkins, John Wood.

Greenwich—May 9, 1793: Samuel French, Samuel Cozens; May 5, 1798: Samuel P. Paul, John Haines.

Woolwich—May 9, 1793: Henry Shute, Samuel Tonkin; May 5, 1798: James Stratton, Enoch Allen.

Galloway—May 9, 1793: Richard Higbee, Isaac Somers; May 5, 1798: John Steelman, John Collins.

Egg Harbor—May 9, 1793: Thomas Somers, Frederick Steelman; May 5, 1798: Thomas Somers, Richard Wescott, William Smith, Daniel Steelman.

Justices present—May 9, 1793: John Spark, Joseph Ellis, John Wilkins, Samuel Kinnard; May 5, 1798: John Wilkins, Director; Benjamin Rulon, Clerk; Joel Wescott, County Collector.

Waterford—May 5, 1803: Charles French, Joseph Champin; May 12, 1808: Joseph Rogers, George Sparks.

Newton—May 5, 1803: Marmaduke Burr, John Ward; May 12, 1808: Joseph Hurley, Samuel Clement.

Gloucester Town—May 5, 1803: Samuel W. Harrison, John Brick; May 12, 1808: Samuel W. Harrison, John Brick.

Gloucester Township—May 5, 1803: John Hider, William Zane; May 12, 1808: John Marshall, William Zane.

Deptford—May 5, 1803: John Wilkins, Amos Cooper; May 12, 1808: Joshua L. Howell, Edmund Brewer.

Greenwich—May 5, 1803: John Haines, Thomas Reeves; May 12, 1808: Samuel P. Paul, Edward Carpenter.

Galloway—May 5, 1803: Schoby Stewart, Jeremiah Higbee; May 12, 1808: Robert Leeds, Matthew Collins.

Egg Harbor—May 5, 1803: Nehemiah Blackman, Thomas Garwood; May 12, 1808: Daniel Lake, Isaac Smith.

Weymouth—May 5, 1803: Elias Smith, Daniel Carrell; May 12, 1808: John Steelman, Thomas Doughty.

Woolwich—May 5, 1803: Thomas Clark, Samuel Cooper; May 12, 1808: William Mulford, John Gill.

May 5, 1803: Director, John Wilkins; Clerk, Benjamin Rulon; County Collector, Joel Wescott. May 12, 1808: Director, Samuel W. Harrison; Clerk, Richard Snowden; County Collector, William Brick.

Waterford—May 5, 1813: Charles French, Joseph Roberts; May 13, 1818: Joseph C. Swett, Joseph Rogers; May 14, 1823: Benjamin B. Cooper, Thomas Evans.

Newton—May 5, 1813: James Hurley, Joseph Kaighn; May 13, 1818: Joseph Knight, James Hurley; May 14, 1823: John Clement, John Roberts.

Gloucester Town—May 5, 1813: Isaac Kay, Michael C. Fisher; May 13, 1818: Isaac Glover, Isaac Kay; May 14, 1823: Samuel B. Lippincott, Isaac Browning.

Gloucester Township—May 5, 1813: John Sickler, Peter Cheesman; May 13, 1818: John Sickler, John Albertson; May 14, 1823: Christopher Sickler, Nathan Clifton.

Deptford—May 5, 1813: Job Brown, William Tatum, Jr.; May 13, 1818: Biddle Reeves, James Matlack; May 14, 1823: Jacob Glover, Benjamin Wilkins.

Greenwich—May 5, 1813: Charles French, Jr., Samuel P. Paul; May 13, 1818: Joseph V. Clark, Charles French; May 14, 1823: Charles French, Jr., John P. Vanneman.

Woolwich—May 5, 1813: John Gill, William Mulford; May 13, 1818: Josiah Moore, Esq., Joseph Batton; May 14, 1823: Elijah Bower, Josiah Moore.

Galloway—May 5, 1813: James Blackman, Samuel Sooy; May 13, 1818: Daniel Leeds, Parker Corsery; May 14, 1823: Matthew Collins, Joseph Endicott.

Egg Harbor—May 5, 1813: Joseph Risley, Isaac English; May 13, 1818: John R. Scull, James English; May 14, 1823: John R. Scull, Enoch Doughty.

Weymouth—May 5, 1813: John Steelman, Daniel Carrell; May 13, 1818: Benjamin Weatherly, John Steelman; May 14, 1823: William Lee, Benjamin Weatherly.

Hamilton—May 5, 1813: John Wheaton, Nicholas Rape; May 13, 1818: Lewis M. Walker, John Estell; May 14, 1823: John Richards, John Estell.

Franklin Township—May 14, 1823: William Porch, Samuel Fisler.

May 5, 1813: Director, Michael C. Fisher; Clerk, Samuel Webster; County Collector, John S. Whitall; May 13, 1818: James Matlack, Jacob Glover, John S. Whitall; May 14, 1823: Director, Jacob Glover; Clerk, Joseph Saunders; County Collector, Samuel Webster.

CHAPTER V.

LADDTOWN AND ITS GROUND RENTS.

A part of Swedesboro was for a long time known as Laddtown and is curiously recalled at the present time because of the ground rents which still exist. Nowhere else in Gloucester County can old ground rents be found. Samuel Mickle, the diarist, from year to year went there to collect the Spanish dollars due for rent and mournfully recorded the trouble he had in collecting them. He died in 1830 without issue and the ground rents which he inherited under the will of his aunt, Hannah Ladd, during his lifetime passed to other relatives as stipulated in her will. She, like Elizabeth Haddon, was a woman of strong personality and consequently well known to all who dig into the business and Quaker records of her life time. She was the daughter of John and Hannah Mickle and was born according to the Bible record of Samuel Mickle, May 27, 1715, and died January 21, 1797. She was a descendant of Archibald Mickle, the immigrant. Her husband, John Ladd, Jr., like his father was always prominent in the affairs of Old Gloucester County. His ink stand and sand container for holding sand for blotting purposes and his money scales are in possession of his descendants.

The following chain of title for Laddtown was prepared by Captain Charles D. Lippincott, of Swedesboro, a Quaker patriot of Civil War days, to whom Gloucester County owes a great deal as one of its most respected and prominent citizens.

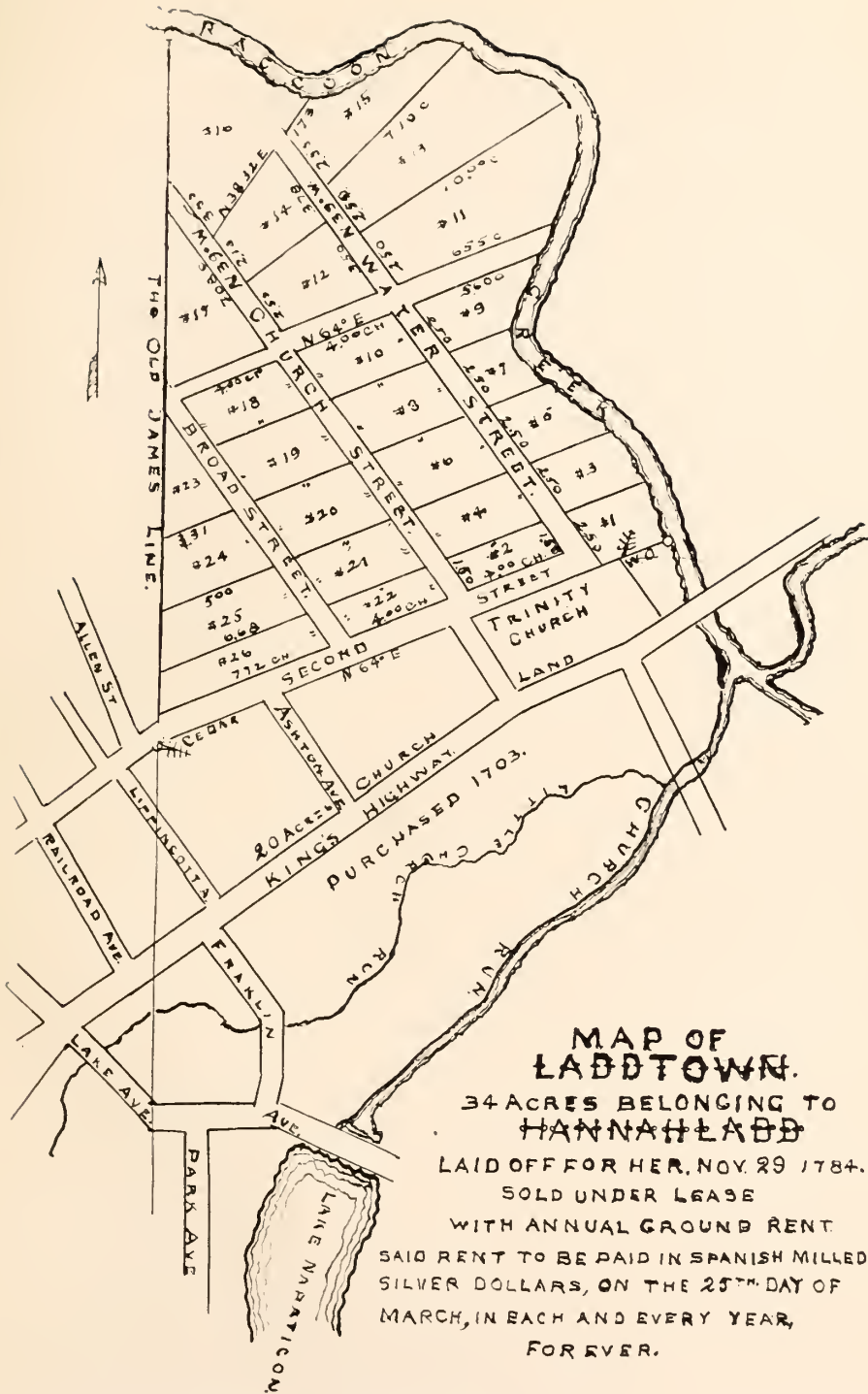
By virtue of a warrant issued by the Council of Proprietors, John Ladd, Sr., obtained a grant for (1,270) twelve hundred and seventy acres to be surveyed to him in Gloucester County, said warrant bearing date of November 2, 1714, the said survey being recorded in the Surveyor General's office, at Burlington, in Book "A" page 75. This warrant designated a tract of land near the head of Mantua Creek and a smaller tract in Swedesboro, (30) thirty acres of John Ladd, Sr. deed in 1741, devising by will to his son John Ladd, much of his estate, including the said tract at Mantua Creek and at Swedesboro.

This John Ladd died in 1771 and by his will, dated March 9, 1760, after certain other bequests devised all the residue, remainder of his estate to his wife, Hannah Ladd, her heirs and assigns forever.

The said Hannah Ladd being so seized by virtue of the aforesaid warrant and will had the tract of land situate at Swedesboro resurveyed as follows:

Beginning at a corner in middle of a small branch at its junction with Raccoon Creek and also corner of land of Thomas James along which it runs (1) South 2 degrees and 15 minutes east 28.38 chains to a cedar tree; thence (2) North 64 degrees east 22.50 chains to low water mark in Raccoon Creek aforesaid; thence down the creek by the low water mark to the beginning containing 34 acres. "Being an overplus of four acres, which the said Hannah Ladd has appropriated to herself, as by the re-survey thereof recorded in the Surveyor General's office aforesaid in Book U pages 21 and 22."

This thirty-four acre tract was laid in lots with four rod wide streets;



**MAP OF
LADDTOWN.**

34 ACRES BELONGING TO
HANNA HEAD

LAI D OFF FOR HER, NOV. 29 1784.
SOLD UNDER LEASE

WITH ANNUAL GROUND RENT
SAID RENT TO BE PAID IN SPANISH MILLED
SILVER DOLLARS, ON THE 25TH DAY OF
MARCH, IN EACH AND EVERY YEAR,
FOR EVER.

the lots varying in size from three-quarters of an acre to three acres.

The plan of the sale of these lots was arranged under a "ground rent" and said rent was assessed to each lot with regard to its size, location and value and ranges from two dollars to seven dollars per year, a number of the lots were sold during the life time of Hannah Ladd, and in some of the earlier deeds it is stipulated that the said ground rent, "shall be paid in Spanish Milled Silver Dollars on the 25th day of March, in each and every year forever."

The records show that Hannah Ladd after the death of her husband, was in other real estate transactions. In 1772 she sold a tract of land "near the head waters of Mantua Creek," containing 4,129 acres, "strict measure to John Jessup and 1773 a tract of 355 acres," near the same place, to the same party; other sales, were a tract of cedar swamp in Deptford, a tract of cedar swamp and pine land on Great Egg Harbor River, and a tract on Maurice River.

Hannah Ladd died February 22, 1798, having made and published her last will dated October 5, 1792, with a codicil dated November 27, 1796. Therein among other things she devises to her nephew, Samuel Mickle, Sr., her tract of land at Swedesboro. To have and to hold during his natural life, with all ground rents and rents arising therefrom for his own use, and at his death, to go to her niece, Sarah Hopkins and her nephew, James Mickle, to be divided between them share and share alike; Hannah Hopkins departed this life before Samuel Mickle, and in her last will directed her share of the Swedesboro ground and rents should go to her daughters, Hannah and Sarah Hopkins, and if either of said daughters should die before her, all her said devise should go to the survivor, and one of the said daughters, Sarah, did depart this life in the life time of the said Sarah Hopkins, her mother. Whereby the whole of the right and the title of the said Sarah in and to said land became vested in her surviving daughter, Hannah Hopkins.

The said Hannah Hopkins by indenture bearing date 7th day of January, A.D., 1831, recorded in Clerk's office in Woodbury in Book C 3 of deeds, page 55, did convey all her right and interest in and to said ground rents being the one-half undivided part thereof unto John Mickle. And the said James Mickle to whom Hannah Ladd devised the said ground has also died intestate, wherefore his equal undivided one-half part descends to his children, namely: Sarah Glover, late Mickle, Robert Mickle, Martha M. Saunders, late Mickle, Hannah Stratton, late Mickle, John Mickle, Eunice Mickle, Elizabeth Mickle, and James Mickle, and the said Rebecca Mickle hath lately departed this life, intestate and without issue, whereby her share to her surviving brothers and sisters, and the said Sarah Glover, Martha M. Saunders, Hannah Stratton and her husband, Charles Stratton, Eunice Mickle and Elizabeth Mickle by indenture bearing date the 15th day of March, A.D., 1831, recorded in the Clerk's office at Woodbury, New Jersey, in Book C 3 of Deeds, on page 480, did grant and convey unto the said James Mickle all their right and title in and to the said ground rents. Whereby and in his own name the said James Mickle became seized of all the right and interest of his father, the said James Mickle, in and to the said ground rents and estate, except the share of his brother, John Mickle.

And the said James Mickle and John Mickle being thus seized of all the remaining unsold part of the said thirty-four acres in fee, did by a deed of indenture dated the 30th day of May, A.D., 1834, and recorded in the Clerk's office aforesaid, in Book L 3, page 86, did convey to William Cafferry lot No. 26.

James Mickle and John Mickle by a deed of indenture dated August the 7th, A.D., 1835, conveyed all their right and interest in the said thirty-four acres to Susanna Sinn, except lots No. 26, one-quarter of No. 3, No. 24, No. 21, No. 23, No. 12, No. 11, No. 13, No. 14, and No. 15, which lots had been previously sold.

Susanna Sinn by deed of indenture, dated April 15th, A.D., 1837, conveyed all her right and interest in the said thirty-four acres to Restore Lippincott.

Restore Lippincott by deed of indenture dated the 2nd day of November, A.D., 1837, conveys all his right and interest in said thirty-four acres to Lucena Clark of Philadelphia. (Book S 3, page 355.)

Lucena Clark by deed of indenture dated the 3rd day of January, A.D., 1844, conveys all her right and interest in the said thirty-four acres, to John Wilkins of Woodbury.

John Wilkins by deed of indenture dated the 3rd day of January, A.D., 1844, conveys all his right and interest in the said thirty-four acres to Silas G. Levering of Rocksbury, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, to have and to hold the same in trust nevertheless for the sole and separate use of Lucena Clark of the city and county of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, the grantor of the above recited deed, bearing even date herewith, during her converture with Thomas Schumo, of Woodbury, New Jersey, watchmaker, and without his interference or subject to his control, nor subject to his debts and engagements, and to permit to take and enjoy all ground rents to grow due thereon for her own use and benefit, her receipt to be sufficient discharge for the same, and in case she shall survive the said Thomas Schumo then forthwith, after his decease at her request and her expense to grant and convey the same to her and her heirs and assigns forever, and in case the said Thomas Schumo shall survive her, then the same to be granted and conveyed by the said trustee aforesaid to such person or persons as she shall by her last will or a writing in the nature of, executed according to law, and direct, limit and appoint, and in default of such appointment, then to hold the same in trust for such persons and for such estate and estates who would have been entitled thereto, if the said Lucena Clark died seized of the above granted premises in fee, intestate and unmarried.

Provided also, nevertheless, that it shall be lawful for the trustee as aforesaid, by and with the written consent and approbation of the said Lucena Clark to grant and convey and absolutely dispose of and convey all or any part of the heretofore granted premises with the ground rents issuing from the same to any person whomsoever and on sale thereof by good and sufficient deeds, conveyance or other assurance in the law to by him only executed, acknowledged and perfected, to grant and convey and assure the same to the purchaser thereof in fee simple freed discharged of and from all and every, the uses and trust herein expressed, limited and declared of and concerning the same and without any liability on the part of the purchaser as to the appropriation or misapplication of the purchase money. And the money arising from such sale to pay away again, invest, dispose of, hold in such way and manner as the said Lucena Clark by writing under her hand may direct, without charge, liability or responsibility on his part and for no other uses whatsoever.

This deed was signed by John Wilkins and acknowledged in the usual form.

In a deed dated May 30, 1834, Book L 3, page 86, John Mickle and James

Mickle to William Cafferry, I found the following statement: "The said Samuel Mickle in his lifetime in persueance of the will of Hannah Ladd, deceased, did by indenture dated the 25th day of March, 1797, lease out and sell on ground rent to one John Mullica, his heirs and assigns all that certain lot of ground being a part of the said thirty-four acres situate in Swedesboro, bounded as follows":

Being lot No. 26.

"He, John Mullica, yielding and paying therefore unto the said Samuel Mickle, his heirs or assigns the yearly rent of four Spanish Silver Milled Dollars, each of them weighing seventeen pennyweight and six grains, on the 25th day of March in each and every year forever, thereafter according to the tenor of the will of Hannah Ladd. The first payment thereof to be made on the twenty-fifth day of March, in the year 1798, and the said John Mullica for himself, his executors, administrators, and assigns did in the said indenture, covenant, promise and agree to and with the said Mickle, his heirs and assigns should and would well and truly pay or caused to be paid the aforesaid yearly rent or sum of four Spanish Silver Milled Dollars, each of them weighing as above, on the day and time in every as above mentioned and appointed for the payment thereof as the same should grow due and payable and also should and would at his own proper cost and charge within the space of two years next ensuing the date thereof, erect, build, and completely finish a good substantial wooden frame dwelling, plastered, with a stone-walled cellar under it upon the land herein conveyed, to be of the value of £150 at least, as by the said indenture will at large appear.

And the said John Mullica, his heirs having neglected and refused to build a house such as by the said indenture he had covenanted and agreed to build, and also having neglected and refused to pay the yearly rent of four Spanish Milled Silver Dollars, such as above mentioned at the time appointed for the payment thereof and the rent being in arrears and unpaid for many years past they, the said John Mickle and James Mickle, the said lot having been forfeited by reason of the neglect of the said John Mullica, his heirs and assigns to build there on a house as above mentioned and the rent having been unpaid for many years did on the twelfth day of May, inst., in the presence of William Keyser and Daniel England, two respectable freeholders of the township of Woolwich, entered into the peaceable and quiet possession of the said premises the right of said John Mullica his heirs and assigns, having been forfeited as aforesaid.

Now this indenture witnesseth, that the said John Mickle and James Mickle and their wives, in consideration of the sum of fifty-two dollars to them in hand paid by the said William Cafferry at or before the ensealing and delivery of these presents the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, have granted, sold, etc.

Lucena Schumo's will is dated September 13, 1881, and after other devises it directs:

Item No. 3. All the balance of my estate after payment of debts and settlement in Orphans' Court, real and personal and mixed. Wherever found or situate. I give, devise, and bequeath to Silas L. Schumo and Lucena C. Nash, to be equally divided between them, share and share alike, to them and their heirs forever.

Of the twenty-six original lots into which the thirty-four acres were divided, twelve lots yield an annual ground rent to the heirs of Lucena Schumo at this date.

CHAPTER VI.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR PERIOD.

At the March, 1777, term of the Gloucester County Court, presided over by Michael Fisher, Thomas Denny and Isaac Kay, Judges, and John Sparks, Robert Brown, Bodo Otto, and John Wilkins, Justices, the first case that can be called a Revolutionary War matter appeared viz: The State versus Thomas Redman and Mark Miller, the two well known Quakers of Haddonfield Monthly Meeting. The exact wording of the Court minutes is as follows:

The defendants having been brought into Court for refusing to take the oath of Fidelity, etc., to the State, the arguments for and against them. Adjourned till 7 o'clock. Court met pursuant to adjournment, Present as before.

The Court orders that the defendants pay the sum of five shillings a piece as a fine for refusing to take the oaths, etc., and stand committed till the fines are paid. Court adjourned till ten o'clock tomorrow morning.

This episode happened on March 18th, after the prisoners had been confined for some time. They refused to pay the fines because of religious scruples, but some unknown persons did so and they were immediately released. At the bottom of the page the inscription, "God Save the People," was written in place of "God Save the King," as before the Declaration of Independence.

Very little, if anything of importance, appears on the Court records about things caused by or pertaining to the war until after the British evacuated Philadelphia. After that time the patriots paid attention to those who refused to take the test of allegiance or had gone within the lines or traded with or enlisted with the enemy.

Franklin Davenport was appointed at the June, 1777, term of Court to prosecute the Pleas of the State for Gloucester County.

Joseph Bloomfield was likewise temporarily appointed two years later to serve because of the absence of the Attorney General of the State.

During the time Philadelphia was occupied by the British forces, Old Gloucester County was a scene of much turmoil and certainly not entirely free of those who sided with the Crown. Many hesitated to take the oath of allegiance to the new government when it looked as if the old one would be re-established. The Quakers, in accord with their religious discipline, disowned those who participated in military activities regardless of whether the patriot was one of their prominent or little known members. The conscription act of New Jersey, which made all able bodied men with few exceptions, members of the militia forces, was the basis of an extraordinarily effective soldiery which when coupled with the protectors of the sea coast, enabled Gloucester County to perform its full share of fighting and harassing the common foe.

Nicholas Collin, the pastor of the Swedish Lutheran Church in Swedesboro, wrote that church services were interrupted because "Militia and Continental troops on one side and refugees with British on the other, were frequently skirmishing and both sides equally distressing the country, slandering, marauding, imprisoning, and burning houses with other horrid excesses frequent from the beginning of spring until July (1778) when the British army evacuated Philadelphia." Reverend Frederick Schmidt, minister of the Moravian Church at Oldman's Creek, on the King's Road, made mention in his diary of the conflict of war. He heard the cannonading at the battle of Brandywine, on September 11, 1777, and was visited by fugitives from Philadelphia. On October 11th, an English troop landed three miles

away (Billingsport.) On October 22nd, he heard the boom of cannon at Red Bank. In December and the following February, militiamen were quartered in his parsonage. On February 25, 1778, over two thousand English troops passed the church on their way to Salem.

Billingsport, Cooper's Ferry, and Gloucester were all excellent landing places for the foraging expeditions of the British army.

Colonel William Bradford on November 16, 1777, wrote from the "Sloop Speedwell, off Red Bank," that on the previous Saturday the patriots had opened a battery of two guns near the house of Tench Francis against the British ships. (Francis lives on the river front below Woodbury Creek Dam.) He further wrote that Fort Mifflin had been all torn to pieces and had fallen to the enemy. "What will become of our fleet I know not. To lay under Red Bank is impossible. If they retreat to Ladds Cove a battery or two on League Island will reach them." After this date Old Gloucester County was at the mercy of the scouting, foraging, and marauding forces of the British assisted by the refugees, Tories and other sympathizers, who prior to this time had kept their hopes forcibly concealed.

The only conflict in the county that can justly be called a battle was the battle of Red Bank on October 22, 1777, when Count Donop with his Hessians assaulted Fort Mercer with disastrous results and great fatalities to themselves. The British, however, found it evacuated when Lord Cornwallis on November 19th, after the fall of Fort Mifflin marched up from Billingsport with an overwhelming force. On November 25th an important skirmish took place near Gloucester at which time General Lafayette won a reputation that soon secured a command as promised by Franklin, but which had been delayed up to that time. There was a skirmish at Cooper's Creek March 1, 1778, and another at Saunders' Hill, near Mantua Creek March 16, 1778, at both of which places the artillery company of Captain Samuel Hugg was engaged. Franklin Davenport commanded a piece of small artillery at both places.

Captain John Cozens, of the Gloucester County Militia, was captured at his home by a detachment from Billingsport in March and he was a prisoner on Long Island until exchanged December 8, 1780. Lieutenant Aaron Chew was likewise captured at his home at Chews Landing and exchanged about the same time. On April 4, 1778, the school house belonging to the Swedish Church was burned by the English because it had been used as a place for prisoners of the militiamen. On April 5th the second skirmish took place at Cooper's Ferry, at which time Major William Ellis of the Gloucester County militia was captured with some of his men. He was not exchanged until December 26, 1780. On June 12, 1778, a skirmish took place near by the Moravian Church.

There were small conflicts near Haddonfield which like Woodbury was headquarters for the militia at various times. The Council of Safety and the New Jersey Legislature met in the Indian King Tavern at Haddonfield in 1777.

The last Revolutionary engagement of note in Old Gloucester County was at Chestnut Neck, near Port Republic, October 6, 1778. This action like the one at Red Bank is now commemorated by a suitable monument and movements are now on foot to mark the less important affairs of the Revolution in Old Gloucester County.

On December 5, 1778, the following persons indicted in October, were sentenced to death for high treason by the Gloucester County Court, but none were executed: Charles String, Isaac Lord, Harrison Wells, William Ham-

mett. John Dilkes, Joshua Dilkes, Patterson Cook, David Lloyd, Thomas Nightingale, Gideon Urion, Abraham Fenimore, James Burch, Daniel Fusman, Lawrence Cox, Joseph Dill, John Franklin, Joseph Pratt, and Jonathan Chew. Jonathan Chew was a captain in the loyalist forces; he was pardoned, recorded his pardon in the county records and made an effort to recover his estate. Others indicted for high treason at the October and December, 1778, terms of Court were: Andrew Jones, Benjamin Carter, Jonathan Fisher, Sr., William Watson, David Chew, Jonathan Fisher, Jr., Joshua Cozens, all of whom appealed to the Supreme Court. The cases of Northrup Marple, John English, Jr., Benjamin Duffield, Isaac Clement, Jr., John English, Sr., John Kelly, Daniel Wells, Joseph Clark, William Davenport, Job Thomas, William England, Jr., Silas Long, Edward Eglinton, Asa Lord, Conrad Bowman, Gabriel D'Vebber, Jr., and Philip Stout were evidently discontinued.

John Sparks, Samuel Kaighn, and Joseph Hugg, commissioners for the confiscation and sale of lands forfeited by those convicted of disloyalty, sold the estates of the following men during 1779: Gabriel D'Vebber, Jonathan Chew, Harrison and William Wells, George Avis, William Bocock, John Hinchman, Daniel Cozens, James Hannisey, Joseph Long, Jacob Hewitt, Isaac Justice, John Robertson, Peter Johnson, John Hatton, James Duffield, John Gruff, William Fusman, Alexander Bartram, John Cox, John Rodrow, William Pinyard, John O'Bryan, George Swanton, Josiah Biddle, Jeremiah Prosser, John Carter, Jr., David Suran, and Robert Whitaker. Gabriel D'Vebber, Sr., and Jr., fled to St. Johns, New Brunswick, after the war and never returned to Gloucester County. The father was a Lieutenant Colonel and the son a Lieutenant in the Loyalist forces of New York.

The following were fined for going into the lines of the enemy, at the fall term of Court, in 1779:

Jonathan Fisher, Jr.	£200	Labe Langstaff	£ 50
Andrew Jones	300	Samuel Chester	200
Joseph Adams	200	Samuel Paul	200
Jonathan Aborn	200	David Chew	300
William England, Sr.	150	Joseph Jones	50
Nathan Kimsey	50	John Paul	30
Mary Munyan	30	David Bunting	6
		Total	£1,966

They were convicted for offenses that had happened over a year before and inasmuch as the fines were payable in a constantly depreciating continental currency it may be supposed that they were not seriously injured financially by the fines. The last indictments for going within the lines of the enemy were against Michael Garrish, John Steelman, Christopher Frederick, Robert Leeds, Joseph Risley, Luke Sooy, and Christopher Rape, made at the March, 1782, term of Court. It is possible that they were persons who lived on the sea coast and had visited New York City by water.

Billingsport was fortified by order of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety on authority of a resolution of Continental Congress passed June 21, 1776. 50,000 feet of three inch planks were purchased for that purpose. David Rittenhouse, Owen Biddle, Colonel Timothy Matlack (born in Haddonfield), Captain Joseph Blewer, and George Clymer were appointed as a committee to employ engineers and workmen and agreed upon a plan of fortification.

Chevaux-de-frise were ordered sunk across the Delaware River channel at Billingsport, sixty feet between centers at not lower than six feet below water at low tide. A part of the *chevaux-de-frise* was built and launched at Gloucester and sunk near Fort Island. Other similar protective devices were placed from time to time to frustrate the British vessels. The following men of Gloucester County generously gave logs for the building of the *chevaux-de-frise* in the Delaware River: Benjamin Whitall, 55; John Wood, 20; Nathan Kinsey, 10; Richard Johns, 50; David Paul, 20; Joseph Low, 30; James Brown, 10; Joseph Ward, 10; Joshua Hopper, 15; Levi Hopper, 15; Isaac Hopper, 10; James Wood, 10; Joseph Tatem, 1; Charles West, 40. Total, 296.

The British destroyed the fort at Billingsport September 30, 1777. Cornwallis crossed the Delaware and landed there the following November 18th, and marched up through Woodbury to attack Fort Mercer. From November 21st to November 24th he used the house of John Cooper, a prominent patriot member of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey and the Continental Congress in 1776. The British soldiers were encamped on the grounds of the Friends Meeting, and back towards and over the present railroad tracks. Some of the soldiers obtained their drinking water from a spring now under drained and running strong on the hill side under an old buttonwood tree in the back yard of J. C. Curry, D.D.S. Before its disappearance it was traditionally known as the Hessian Spring.

CHAPTER VII.

ITEMS OF RELIGIOUS HISTORY.

Nathaniel Evans, the poet, was pastor of the Colestown Church in 1766. He also preached at Cape May, Egg Harbor, Long-a-coming, Timber Creek, Pensaukin Creek, and Mantua Creek and to a few Church of England families in the County Court House at Gloucester. The hopes that he entertained of building a church at Gloucester failed because the Quakers predominated to such an extent and exercised such a financial power in religious matters that there was but little left to compensate for his efforts. While he always spoke kindly of the Quakers he bemoaned their prestige.

It has been stated by certain writers that the present St. Peter's Church at Clarksboro replaced an older church that was torn down in 1846, and that the first minutes of the church register began November 29, 1770. This is probably the congregation to which Missionary Evans referred to as Mantua Creek, but it is quite doubtful that there was a church there during his life time. He was born June 8, 1742, in Philadelphia. He graduated from the academy there May 30, 1765, and received a diploma for the degree of Master of Arts. He immediately sailed for England and the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts after his admission into holy orders by the Lord Bishop of London returned him to America as a missionary for the new mission in Gloucester County. He landed in Philadelphia December 26, 1765, and immediately began to preach in Gloucester County. He died October 29, 1767, probably at Haddonfield where he resided. His poems were published by John Dunlap in Market Street, Philadelphia, in 1772.

The Old Stone Methodist Church, sometimes called the Adams meeting house, was built on land given in 1793 by Joseph and Elizabeth Adams. The building with its graveyard is located about a mile from Swedesboro towards Bridgeport. It has been claimed that the church which is in a most excellent state of preservation, is the oldest Methodist Church building now in existence in Southern New Jersey.

The Methodists of Woodbury started to hold regular religious services in 1797 in the Court House. On June 1, 1803, one-half of an acre of ground was purchased at the corner of what is now West and Morris streets. A dwelling was removed to the lot and used as a church until 1817. For fifteen years following they worshipped in private houses and in the Court House. The congregation took out articles of incorporation in 1828 and purchased two lots of ground of Charles Pitman and William Scott. In 1830 the new church was authorized but it was not finished and dedicated until 1832. A burial ground of two acres was bought of Joseph Iszard in 1858 located on Egg Harbor Road. It is now a part of Green Cemetery. Prior to 1797 itinerant ministers occasionally preached in Woodbury, which was a part of the circuit known as Bethel and afterwards as Gloucester Circuit.

The Methodist Church at Hurffville was instituted as early as 1770 and was known as Bethel. About ten years later another Methodist Church was started at Paulsboro.

Isaac, Amos, and John Collins in November, 1800, requested of Woodbury monthly meeting the privilege of holding a meeting for divine worship in their school house at Chestnut Ridge, on the first day in every month on trial, which was granted and continued from time to time until January, 1818, when it was discontinued because of deaths and removals of Friends of that neighborhood.

A Baptist Church was started in Camden, February 5, 1818, and another one in Haddonfield June 11th of the same year.

The Methodist Church in Clarksboro was dedicated August 28, 1834.

The new brick church of the Presbyterians of Woodbury was dedicated September 16, 1834.

The first chapel of the Methodist Protestant Church of Glassboro was dedicated May 29, 1839.

The African Episcopal Church, called Bethel of Woodbury, was consecrated November 1, 1840.

The new Methodist Episcopal Church at Carpenter's Landing was dedicated May 30, 1840.

The cornerstone of the Presbyterian Church at Williamstown was laid July 8, 1840.

The Meeting House named Bethel in Washington Township, was dedicated October 16, 1840.

St. Peter's Protestant Episcopal Church of Mullica Hill was incorporated May 4, 1841.

The Methodist Protestant Church at Bridgeport, formerly known as Lower Raccoon Bridge, was dedicated December 29, 1840.

Grace Protestant Episcopal Church of Haddonfield was organized April 17, 1843.

A Baptist Church was constituted in Mullica Hill, April 15, 1845.

The cornerstone of the Church at Clarksboro, built by the congregation of St. Peter's at Berkley, was laid April 17, 1846, and the cornerstone of St. Thomas' at Glassboro, the day following, by Bishop Doane.

The Presbyterian Church at Swedesboro was constituted January 9, 1854.

The Blackwood Baptist Church was organized in 1848.

The Presbyterian Church at Clayton was organized August 18, 1853, when the town was known as Fislerville.

The Presbyterian Church at Glassboro was instituted October 14, 1867.

The Methodist Episcopal Church at Swedesboro was organized in 1838, and the one at Harrisonville May 13, 1847.

The Friends' Meeting House in Woodbury was erected in 1718 and enlarged in 1783. The timbers in this building are without doubt heavier than those of any other building now standing in Southern New Jersey.

The conerstone of Christ Episcopal Church of Woodbury was laid July 26, 1855.

The cornerstone of the Baptist Church of Woodbury was placed July 1, 1858.

The New Methodist Church at Thorofare was dedicated February 14, 1859.

Quakers in Old Gloucester County—Next to the records in the Gloucester County Court House those of Newton and Haddonfield Monthly Meetings are of the utmost importance to the historian and genealogist of Old Gloucester County. The earliest known marriage is that of James Atkinson to Hannah, the widow of Mark Newby, the financier, 16th 9 mo., 1684. For many years the Monthly Meetings alternated between the Newton Meeting House and the house of Thomas Shackle, who left a legacy to the meeting. On 17th day of the 9th month, 1707, a meeting was held at the house of John Townsend, in Cape May County, where he for the second time declared his intention to marry Mercy Willis. Before 1715 the meeting on Woodbury Creek was known as Red Bank Meeting.

The first mention of a monthly meeting at Haddonfield was 12th month, 1721-2, where a new meeting house twenty-five by forty feet was built. Elizabeth Haddon Estaugh wrote and recorded the womens' meeting records continuously for about fifty-five years. Her mahogany combined writing desk and book case is in possession of the Gloucester County Historical Society.

The military activities, the flooding of land to create water power for saw and grist mills; the cutting of wood on unmarked land; the care of the poor; the difficulty of travel; small pox epidemics; political contentions; horse racing; shooting matches; marriage by license; the purchase of slaves; the sale of rum; the care of Indians; fox hunting; education of youth and negroes; the raising of funds for the redemption of Indian captives in New England; famines in Great Britain and Ireland, and for the relief of yellow fever victims in Philadelphia are all mentioned in the Quaker records.

The declarations of intentions to marry, the certificates of removal, and the disownments for marriage contrary to the Friends' rules are invaluable for the use of those engaged in pedigree research. The records pertaining to the Quaker soldiers of Haddonfield Meeting have been published by the New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania.

The Woodbury Monthly Meeting was authorized in November, 1784.

Richard Bickham requested of Haddonfield Monthly Meeting, in October, 1736, the privilege of holding meetings at the house of Grace Faucit, in Greenwich Township, which was granted. The permission was renewed in November, 1737, for meetings at the house of Walter Fawcett. This was called the Raccoon Creek Meeting.

Twenty years later meetings were held at the house of Solomon Lippincott and in 1758 permission was requested for a meeting house to be built near his home, which was soon granted and meetings were afterwards regularly held in it. This meeting in Quaker annals is known as the Upper Greenwich Meeting to distinguish it from the Greenwich meeting in Salem County. Locally it was known as Solomon's. In January, 1767, regular

meetings for first and fifth days were established. The meeting house which succeeded the one known as Solomon's is now located in Mickleton.

The old graveyard, still known as Solomon's, is cared for by the Quakers, the same as their other graveyards. As a matter of fact they are to be congratulated for the many good examples of their most excellent work in Old Gloucester County.

The Strangers Burial Ground—The Strangers burial ground, which was given to the people of Deptford Township in perpetuity as a burial place for Strangers, was mistakenly condemned some years ago and no vestige of it now remains. The bones found were taken to a desolate spot a mile or two outside of Woodbury and deposited together with the tombstones which latter may now be observed as relics of contemptuous indifference. Contrary to general impression the Strangers graveyard was not intended as a burial place for paupers, but rather for those who did not belong to a religious denomination at the place of their decease—in other words a non-sectarian graveyard. Old records show that the Gloucester County Board of Freeholders and the authorities of Deptford Township exercised a care over the graveyard that afterwards became a disgrace because of neglect.

Two or three years ago the writer was visited one evening by a man who had a coat button for sale with the letters "U. S. A." and the date "1776" thereon, which he claimed had been found when the graves were desecrated. Other finds of war-like trophies reputed to have been made tend to substantiate the tradition that the killed and wounded Continental soldiers who afterwards died were all interred in the ancient Strangers graveyard, on Delaware Street in Woodbury.

Presbyterian Church of Woodbury—The Presbyterian Church of Woodbury came into existence very largely through the assistance of the members of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia. On August 10, 1721, John Tatem, of Woodbury Creek, deeded to William Allen, Joseph Redman, and Joseph Shippen, merchants; Humphrey Morrey and John Snowden, all of Philadelphia; Peter Long, John Brown, and John and Richard Chew, and Alexander Randall, of Gloucester County, one acre of land on the King's Highway, which was soon used for a church and burial ground. Prior to the erection of the church the Presbyterians of Woodbury Creek were occasionally visited by traveling ministers. October 3, 1768, Alexander Randall, the survivor of those mentioned in the 1721 deed, conveyed the premises to John Sparks, Archibald Moffett, Silas Randall, Isaac Flaningham, William Tatem, and Robert Currie. The church erected thereon was mentioned in this deed. On August 19, 1803, Archibald Moffett, Isaac Flaningham, and William Tatem, the survivors reconveyed the property to Franklin Davenport, Elisha Clark, James B. Caldwell, Randall Sparks, William Tatem, Jr., Ephraim Miller, Thomas Hendry, and Bowman Hendry for the special use and purpose for a place of worship and burying ground for the Presbyterian Congregation of Woodbury and to no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever.

It now seems that all of the grantees mentioned passed away without any further conveyance of the ancient church and burial ground wherein a large number of those holding title for the church were buried. At the present time the place is in a neglected and deplorable condition. A few years ago I erected a memorial stone to General Franklin Davenport, a soldier of the Revolution who was buried beside his mother and sister in this woe-begone cemetery. His father, Josiah Franklin Davenport, Lord High

Sheriff of Burlington County, took Governor William Franklin into custody by order of the Continental Congress. (See Gloucester County's most famous citizen.)

There are probably two score or more Revolutionary patriots and soldiers buried near General Davenport, among them Colonel Elijah Clark, Captain Andrew Barns, Judge John Sparks, and Henry Roe.

Nancy Riddle, the first wife of Andrew Hunter, is also buried there. He was a pastor of the church and the principal of the famous academy school of Woodbury, of which he was one of the founders. During the Revolution the Reverend Andrew Hunter was a Chaplain in the Continental Army. Humphrey Morrey was a grandson of the first mayor of Philadelphia of the same name. There was another Presbyterian Church at Blackwood called Timber Creek that was joined with Woodbury by a dual pastorate as early as 1750.

Neglect has been paramount in connection with the treatment of the old graveyard in North Woodbury as a religious proposition that had its origin at a time when missionaries were being sent to America just like we now send them to faraway parts of the earth. It is proper, however, at the present time to express the opinion that "God's Acre" will soon be reclaimed and the graves of the pastors, patriots, members, and their families of the old Presbyterian Church will be saved from further neglect. Over a year ago an effort was launched that may have its termination before the Court of Chancery on May 26, 1924.

The records of the church have been lost or destroyed and no tradition remains about the original church building except the one about its being used as a hospital after the battle of Red Bank, which was probably true. The church probably stood in the course of the present street. It was ordered sold in 1803. The first trustees were elected in 1819. They were Charles Ogden, Thomas Hendry, James Jaggard, Ephraim Miller, Amos Campbell, who lived in John Cooper's house, William A. Tatum and James Dorman. From 1820 to 1834 the congregation worshipped in the Academy School Building, which had a second story placed on it in 1820.

General Joseph Bloomfield a close friend of General Franklin Davenport, gave the ground on which the school house was erected to Reverend Andrew Hunter, Dr. Thomas Hendry, John Sparks, Benjamin Whitall, Franklin Davenport, John Blackwood, and Joshua Howell in trust for school purposes. The school house was paid for by the proceeds of a lottery.

The deed of General Bloomfield, who was later a Governor of New Jersey, was dated at Burlington, April 20, 1791, and recorded at Woodbury, August 22, 1817.

Old Trinity Church at Swedesboro—John Hugg, on September 1, 1703, deeded to Wolla Dalbo, William Cobb, Wolla Peterson, and Frederick Hopman, church wardens, one hundred acres for the newly organized parish of Raccoon. A survey made March 18, 1703, to the congregation for twenty acres, "whereon the Kirk is built," undoubtedly refers to the very first church built in Old Gloucester County, eliminating of course the Quaker meeting houses.

The first pastor of the Swedish Church at Raccoon Creek, now called Swedesboro, was a missionary by the name of Lars Tolstadius, who instigated the building of a log church mentioned in the survey. The dedication services took place the second Sunday after Trinity, in 1704. A silver cup was bought in 1730.

The first schoolmaster of the parish was named Brungen, who came from Sweden in 1706 with the Rev. Jonas Auren. The latter died February 26, 1713, and for a time the church was without a pastor. In 1715, during the time of Rev. Abraham Lidenius, Dr. Jasper Swedenborg kept a school in the parish. He was a brother of the celebrated Emanuel Swedenborg, founder of the religious sect and a son of Archbishop Swedenborg.

A church building was erected in Penns Neck in 1715, and the pastor lived at the house of Gabriel Peterson. The church was named St. George and consecrated March 31, 1717.

In 1718 the two churches bought a horse for the use of the minister. In 1729 it was decided each church should have its own horse. In 1720 the Swedish King, Karl XII., sent some books to be distributed.

During the year 1720 the two congregations of Raccoon and Penns Neck purchased a parsonage farm or glebe about half way between the two parishes on the back road from Woodstown to Sharptown and held possession until about 1800, when the Rev. John Croes and fifteen or twenty other members of the congregation disposed of it. The 1720 deed was signed by George Keen and witnessed by Thomas Hill, a merchant of Salem. The two deeds are now in possession of the widow of a former owner of the farm.

In 1721 the minister left for Sweden. Peter Tranberg was appointed preacher for Raccoon and Penns Neck, January 11, 1725, by King Frederick of Sweden. He evidently arrived here about June 30, 1726, when the Probst Rev. Jonas Lidman installed him. The Reverend Tranberg was transferred later to the congregation across the river at Christina, in July, 1741, by authority of a letter from Upsal, Sweden, dated November 7, 1739, to succeed the Reverend Enberg, who went home to Sweden. The congregation was sorry for the removal of Tranberg and angry at the church authorities in Sweden and decided never to have a Swedish minister again. They, however, became satisfied with the Reverend Malander, who was to have been installed by the Rev. Dylander, who was prevented by illness which resulted in his death on the first day of November, 1741.

Between August, 1741, and May, 1742, the Raccoon congregation paid the preacher nine pounds and the Penns Neck congregation only thirteen shillings and the pastor claimed that he and his wife and child were suffering greatly for the lack of food and could not exist on his small income and would have to resign. At this time the members decided to hold the services in the English language and to change the Swedish Church into an English Church and perform the religious ceremonies according to English manners in the hope that the change would benefit the financial condition of the church and the preacher and teacher could be better paid. It is quite probable that the income of the church was not materially increased by the change, because the Reverend Malander left the society with the best wishes and good luck to his successor.

February 6, 1744, the Zinzendorff doctrine was preached at Raccoon and to bring the people back to Lutheranism they agreed to elect new church officers and wardens. Some remained true to the doctrine of Luther. A letter was sent to the Archbishop of Sweden, August 6, 1745, asking that a Swedish clergyman again be sent to the parish. Gabriel Naimen was appointed by the Swedish King to preach in the church and attend to the sacred rites.

On May 25, 1747, King Frederick of Sweden appointed Rev. John Sandin to be Probst for the entire Swedish Lutheran Society of America and Shep-

herd of Raccoon and Penns Neck with seventy pounds sterling income. He arrived at Raccoon about April 1, 1748. In 1749 it was agreed that the preacher should live with members of the congregation and that the parsonage should be rented for the first year.

Eric Unander was appointed by the Swedish King May 29, 1749. His power of attorney was dated July 9, 1750, and he was installed Shepherd of Raccoon and Penns Neck August 11, 1750, by the Rev. John Abraham Lidenius.

In 1764 a new parsonage was built of cedar logs. It was twenty-three by thirty-three feet, two stories high, with three rooms on each floor and a commodious garret. The Rev. Lidenius kept an English and Swedish school in Repaupa, the town mentioned by Kalm, the location of which is now unknown. An old map shows it near the present site of Mullica Hill but many contend it was near the mouth of Raccoon Creek.

In 1765 an application was made to Governor William Franklin for a charter under the name of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church. The pastor went to Burlington to see about it in August. The charter was delivered to Thomas Denny on behalf of the church people on October 26, 1765. The petition to the Governor was signed by the following persons: Rev. John Wicksall, Thomas Denny, John Denny, John Rambo, James Steelman, Gilbert Rinolds, Andrew Jones, Lawrence Strang, Eric Ranel, James Halton, Charles Fuller, John Helm, Jonas Keen, Jacob Archer, Isaac Justinson, William Homan, Hans Urien, John Derrickson, Jacob Jones, Andrew Lock, Andrew Vanneman, Benjamin Rambo, Eric Cox, Peter Keen, Gabriel Strang, Peter Watson, John Hollman, Charles Lock, William Matson, Moses Holfman.

The school house of the church was burned as a spiteful act by the British, in April, 1778, because some tories had been imprisoned therein a short time before.

The last Swedish pastor was the Reverend Nicholas Collin, who served from 1770 to 1786, when he was transferred to Old Swedes Church, in Philadelphia. After his removal young couples from Gloucester and Salem counties, who desired to get married in a romantic fashion, journeyed to his residence and church in Philadelphia to have the ceremony performed. Another pastor worthy of more than passing notice was the Reverend John Croes, who became the first Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New Jersey. He was a soldier of the Revolution, born at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, June 1, 1762, and died at New Brunswick, New Jersey, July 30, 1832. On January 24, 1790, he received a call from the church at Swedesboro and Penns Neck which he accepted and remained there for about twelve years. His yearly salary was one hundred and twenty-five pounds specie with all the privileges of the parsonage, meadow, and woodlands of the church. He was a gifted speaker and on February 22, 1800, he, in compliance with the proclamation of the President and recommendation of Congress, delivered an oration at Woodbury in memory of General Washington. The oration was printed by John Ormrod, 41 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, and only one copy of it is now known to the writer. In the pamphlet this appears: "Shortly after the Revolution I was told by a gentleman who was one of his aides, that he never retired to his couch, even in times of tumult and confusion, till he had bent the knee in humble thanksgiving and fervent supplication to the Great Eternal;" also this, "If Heaven be our object we must follow the path that conducts to

it, if we hope again to behold our beloved Washington we must live as Washington lived."

In the graveyard of Old Trinity, at Swedesboro, a large number of the patriot officers and soldiers of the Revolution are sleeping their last sleep; among them are Colonels Robert Brown, Bodo Otto, Thomas Heston, and Captain John Daniels. The church itself is an inspiring type of Colonial architecture of brick construction.

CHAPTER VIII.

MISCELLANEA.

Encampment at Billingsport—On September 17, 1814, William S. Pennington, Commander-in-Chief of the militia forces of New Jersey, in compliance with a requisition of General Bloomfield, Commanding General of the Fourth Military District, ordered General Elmer's brigade to assemble at Billingsport, together with some of the officers and men of the brigade commanded by General Franklin Davenport, who issued the following:

Brigade Order, Woodbury, 18th Sept. 1814.

The Brigadier General of the Gloucester Brigade having this day received General orders of the 17th of this month, directing "That the officers and men of this Brigade lately detailed under the requisition of the President of the United States do assemble and march under their proper officers to Billingsport near Mantua Creek in Gloucester County with all possible expedition and that the Officers make report to the Senior Officers at Billingsport who will report to General Elmer.

Brigade Major Clement will immediately communicate the above General Orders to the Officers detailed from this Brigade who will forthwith march with their respective commands to the encampment at Billingsport.

By the General.

Fran Davenport, B.G.
Glo. Brigade

Woodbury Creek Dam Controversy—One of the longest and most spirited controversies of Old Gloucester County started in May, 1753, when an application was made to the assembly of New Jersey for legislation to permit the damming of Woodbury Creek. John Ladd and others of political influence opposed the bill and the permission was not granted. This, however, did not deter those who wished to stop off the creek which was done unlawfully despite the fact that it prevented wood boats for the transportation of fuel wood and timbers from having access to the river. In April, 1754, the dam became the source of serious wrangles and quarrels. Judge Nevill advised the opponents to remove the obstruction and arrest those who interfered with the effort as disturbers of the peace and bind them over for the next term of Court.

John Sparks, Moses Ward, Sr. and Jr., Habbakuk Ward, Thomas Clark, Savil Wilson, James Whitall, Stephen Clark, Joseph Low, James Jaggard, Michael Fisher, John Hopper and others were mixed up in the contention when the dam was cut on August 15, 1754. In September, 1754, the affair was in the Gloucester County Courts and was referred to as the wars about Woodbury Creek dam, by Samuel Mickle in his diary over fifty years later. Ann Whitall mentions the trouble in her diary on April 24, 1760. (See Notes on Old Gloucester County.)

On December 5, 1760, an act was passed by the Legislature authorizing the continuance of the dam. Those who had been opposed were bought off for a consideration of one hundred pounds. Another act was passed May 10, 1768, to remedy the apparent defects of the first act. In 1824 the dam was

broken by a storm and the tide water ascended the creek to Woodbury and overflowed the top of the arch of the old stone bridge across the creek a few rods below the main street. The dam was repaired but four years later a public committee was formed known as the Committee on the Navigation of Woodbury Creek. This committee was composed of five men of which James Matlack was chairman. An act was finally passed at Trenton, February 12, 1829, authorizing the destruction of the dam for the restoration of navigation April 1, 1831, which was accordingly done by cutting the dam on that day.

After the dam was cut and the valuable and beautiful meadows of over four hundred acres destroyed a determined clamor was started for the restoration of the dam; petitions were circulated in 1833 and 1834 for another dam, one at the mouth of the creek and one between Crown Point Road bridge and Matthews' branch. The affairs of the dam were described at length from original manuscript papers in the "Gloucester County Democrat" of April 10, 1919, and January 12, 1922, and reprinted in a pamphlet.

The Legislature did not act favorably on the several different petitions, presented to it between 1834 and 1840 for a dam at the lower end of the creek. There was, however, a dam erected at the mouth of Hester's branch above the railroad bridge which gave way January 12, 1841, shortly after its erection. The site of this dam is known to the old men of Woodbury as the swimming hole. The tavern and road across the dam at the mouth of Woodbury Creek became unusable and soon passed away.

The idea of damming large tide water creeks one hundred and fifty years ago was not for the purpose of creating water power, but rather for the creation of meadows for grazing and hay making. The procedure was frequently called "stopping off" a creek to keep out the tide waters only. My impression is that swinging gates were employed that permitted the water to run out the creek at low water and prevented the tide water from flowing up the creek at high tide. Large tree stumps covered during high tides are noticeable on the flats of Newton Creek along the electric railroad tracks, which probably indicates that at one time fine meadows existed there.

Clonmell and Repaupa creeks were dammed according to a journal kept by Thomas Clark; also Nacot Creek and several others in Old Gloucester County were likewise dammed or stopped. Nearly every small stream in the county was dammed in one or more places to furnish power for saw and grist mills whose ruins may now be discovered in briar patches and abandoned places.

Mark Newby and His Half Pence—Mark Newby left behind him a very remarkable record for a person who resided in Old Gloucester County for less than two years. He arrived in the Delaware River, November 19, 1681, with William Bates, Thomas Sharp, Thomas Tackara, and George Goldsmith, the other Irish Quaker Colonists who founded the Third or Irish Tenth of which Newby owned one-twentieth. He was a member of the 1682 Assembly of the Province of West Jersey, which authorized the tokens he brought from Dublin, Ireland, as half-pence in West Jersey in sums of not more than five shillings.

As a guarantee for the redemption of his so-called half-pence he, in accordance with the Act of May, 1682, conveyed a tract of land to Governor Samuel Jennings and Thomas Budd as security for the purpose. He deceased before September 8, 1683, when his successor was chosen, but an in-

ventory of his estate was not made until September 6, 1684, an unusual delay probably occasioned by the tokens he had put in circulation. His estate was called upon to make good the sum of thirty pounds, which sum must have represented the redemption of fourteen thousand four hundred half-pence. Among numismatists these rare coins are known as Newby, Irish, or St. Patrick's half-pence. The shillings of Old England passed current at eighteen pence. The shillings (Pine tree) of New England at fourteen pence and Newby's half-pence twenty-four to the shilling, West Jersey currency. All ancient agreements necessarily stipulated the kind of money that figured in the transaction. Hannah Newby, the widow of Mark, became the wife of James Atkinson, November 16, 1684, by Quaker ceremony at her home in Newton.

Township Establishment—One hundred and twenty-four men signed a petition to the Legislature January 14, 1797, asking that Great Egg Harbor Township be divided. This resulted in the formation of Weymouth a year later.

The birth dates of some of the townships are as follows: Galloway, April 4 1774; Weymouth, February 12, 1798; Hamilton, February 5, 1813; Washington, March, 1836; Mullica, February 21, 1838; Spicer, January 31, 1844; Spicer, re-named Harrison, March, 1845; Franklin, 1820; Camden, 1831; Union, 1831; Monroe, 1859; Clayton, 1858; West Deptford, 1871; West Woolwich or Logan, 1877; South Harrison, 1883; East Greenwich, 1881; Elk, 1891.

In September, 1782, three petitions signed by fifty-seven men of Gloucester County protested against voting by *viva voce* instead of ballot, were presented to the Legislature.

In October, 1796, forty-four men of Gloucester County petitioned the State Legislature for a gradual abolition of slavery. Samuel Mickle, the diarist of Woodbury, was one of those who circulated the four petitions for signatures throughout the county.

The First Masonic Lodges in Old Gloucester County—As early as the year 1730, Daniel Coxe was appointed Provincial Grand Master of the Provinces of New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania.

The first Masonic Lodge established in Gloucester County was Woodbury Lodge No. 11, which received its charter July 3, 1792, from the Grand Lodge sitting at Trenton. Franklin Davenport was Master, John Blackwood, Senior Warden, and Champion Wood, Junior Warden. The charter application was signed by Joseph Ellis, Thomas Hodgson, Benjamin H. Tallman, Joshua Howell, Jr., Benjamin Whittall, Elijah Cozens, Amos Pierce, William Rice, Samuel Clement, Joseph P. Hillman, and those holding the three offices. During 1817 the lodge room was destroyed by fire and the lodge lost its jewels, records, and furniture. Some of the members in addition to the above were: James Hopkins, Elisha Clark, L. H. Stockton, Thomas Wilkins, James B. Caldwell, Isaac Kay, Samuel Chatham, Thomas West, Joshua Ladd Howell, James M. Whittall, and Dayton Lummis.

Camden Lodge No. 45, of Gloucester County, was organized in 1821, with Richard Johnson, W.M., E. Dougherty, S.W., and David Sims, J.W.

Hiram Lodge No. 58, of Chews Landing, was organized in 1832. Those who made application for the charter for the Chews Landing Lodge were: Solomon S. Chester, J. H. Richardson, David B. Morgan, Joseph E. Garwood, Jesse Price, Jazer Sikler, Chester Chatten, John R. Sickler, Samuel Murrel, and William Lane.

The First Steamboat Ferry.—In an address before the Gloucester County Historical Society March 25, 1918, by Alfred M. Heston, entitled: "Invention and Perfection of Steamboats on the Delaware," he said that the first steamboat in operation between Philadelphia and Camden was called the "Camden" and made its appearance in 1810. The Captain was named Ziba Kellum and the boat was built by James Bispham. The second steamboat was built the next year and was named "The Twins." The third steamboat was called the "Rebecca," and nick-named "Aunt Becky." Pennsylvania did not claim a monopoly of the waters of the Delaware River and New Jersey did not have to adopt retaliatory legislation as it did against New York State in connection with boats propelled by steam.

Early Newspapers—The first newspaper published in Gloucester County was the "Gloucester Farmer," which started publication at Woodbury, January 1, 1817.

The "Columbia Herald" commenced on September 23, 1819, and continued until December 13, 1820, when it was consolidated with the "Gloucester Farmer," under the combined title of "Herald and Gloucester Farmer." The subscription price was two dollars a year. The paper was delivered by private post rider to Chews Landing, White Horse, Clementon, Blackwoodtown, Limber Bridge, and Thomas Bees' store for twenty-five cents additional, to pay for the expense of the post rider and horse. On April 2, 1823, the name was changed to the "Herald and Gloucester Farmer and Weekly Advertiser." On September 15, 1824, the title was again changed to the "Village Herald," and several years later it became known as the "Village Herald and Gloucester Advertiser." The files of the "Columbian Herald" and its successors mentioned above are in possession of the Camden Free Library. They begin September 23, 1819, and end August 26, 1829. The later issues are probably destroyed.

"The Constitution and Farmers' and Mechanics' Advertiser" commenced publication at Woodbury, August 19, 1834, and has been in continuous existence since that date. The older files of this newspaper were generously given to the Gloucester County Historical Society by its editor, William H. Albright, who has always taken a great interest in political and historical affairs.

Inns and Taverns of a Century Ago—Approximately one hundred years ago the principal inns and taverns and proprietors in Gloucester County were: Franklin Hotel, Washington Hotel, owned by Marmaduke Wood; Woodbury Hotel, also known as the Spread Eagle or Munyans; John D. Scott. John Dunham, Joseph Brown, all of Woodbury. John Dyer's Bull's Eye Hotel was destroyed by fire in 1817. The taverns and inns outside of Woodbury were: Paul Sears', at Squancum; John Cadd's, at Chews Landing; White Horse Tavern, near Clementon Glass Works; Enoch Gabb's, at Center Square, in Woolwich Township; George Laudenslager's and the Golden Sheaf Tavern, at Swedesboro; Centre Square Tavern, Death of the Fox Inn, Edward Middleton's, at Mt. Ephraim; James Smith's, at Absecon; Haddonfield Hotel, Buck Tavern, Sign of the Buck, near Timber Creek Bridge; Cross Keys Tavern, George Cake, at Little Ease; Isaac Ellis, in Waterford Township; Peter D. Lock, Sign of the Stars, at Repaupa; Thomas Carpenter, at his landing; Benjamin Reeves, Camden, John Ford, Barnsboro; William Goslin, Woolwich Township; Veals Tavern, in Hamilton Town-

ship. Wild pigeons and quail were served in season. In 1819 there were five taverns and ferries in Camden.

Prison Bounds—One hundred and fifty years ago there were eighteen crimes punishable by death, but the greater number of prisoners in the county jail were usually those confined for debt. When Sheriff Enoch Doughty vacated his office, in 1827, he took a receipt for the prisoners numbering fourteen, all of whom with the exception of two, were poor debtors. The debtors of a century ago were not rigorously treated as a rule and had the privilege of the prison bounds, which were invariably arranged so that an inn or tavern and graveyard were within the limits. This did the prisoners the favor of an opportunity to get an occasional good meal and a drink of rum when some kind hearted relative or friend felt inclined to be generous. There are some cases of record where hard hearted creditors would not permit the bodies of deceased debtors to be buried outside of the prison bounds. An article of this phase of punishment, with a description of the prison bounds of the various counties, together with its development, should make interesting reading.

Friendship Fire Company and Equipment—This venerable organization was formed in 1799 and still retains its original fire engine as a relic. Samuel Mickle and others some time before had recommended and induced the placing of fire buckets in the Court House and school buildings in Woodbury. The Board of Freeholders paid for the digging of three wells in the vicinity of the Court House and it is probable that others were dug by the citizens.

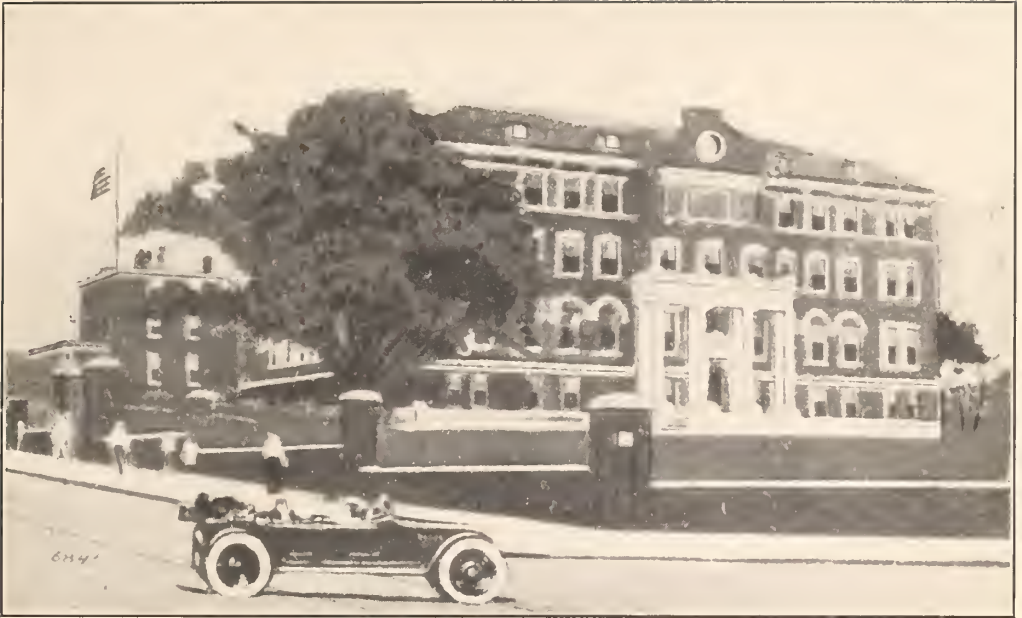
Tradition places a fire well on Hopkins Street about opposite Franklin Street. One was in front of William M. Carter's residence, one on Broad Street, in front of Batten's house, next to the Presbyterian Church; another in front of the old West Jessup property, bought for a post-office site; another on the west side of Euclid Street, about one hundred and fifty feet south of Hunter Street; another on Delaware Street, about half way of the width of the Twells mansion grounds, and another one on German Street, opposite Allen's Lane.

A fire house was built for the use of the company in 1847, which is now teetering on its foundations and used as an automobile storage place. One hundred and ninety feet of new hose was purchased at that time and the old 1799 hand engine could throw a stream of water on the cupola of the Court House. The water was conveyed from wells to the engine by buckets which belonged to the individual firemen. A new hose and bucket carriage was bought in 1849. A new steeple was put on the Court House in 1851 with a town clock therein which was furnished by the citizens of Woodbury.

The fire house was enlarged in 1862 to accommodate a new engine and hose cart.

The company now has automobile equipment and occupies its new fire house on Delaware Street, next to the old Deptford Free School House, now used for a City Hall and Free Library.

The Whitalls and John Cooper—The late John G. Whitall told me that his ancestor, Job Whitall, who lived on the farm where the Battle of Red Bank was fought October 22, 1777, married Sarah, the sister of John Gill, of Haddonfield. When Count Donop left that place he told his destination and said he would capture Fort Mercer before sunset. Gill sent a messenger to warn the Whitall family that the Hessians were coming. The bridge on the King's Highway four or five hundred yards above the present bridge at



WEST JERSEY HOMEOPATHIC HOSPITAL, CAMDEN



UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION STATION, GLOUCESTER

Westville, was destroyed by the patriots and the Hessians went across Big Timber Creek at Clement's Bridge. The messenger probably reached the Whitall home, because while Job was working in the meadow the women at the house called him away from work by blowing a horn. He got his dinner and went off the farm with his wife and children in a wagon loaded with goods, "because the English troops were close by." He went back on horseback and drove away his cattle consisting of twenty-one head. The American troops confiscated his sheep and drove them into the fort. His father and mother, James and Ann Whitall, remained at home during the battle. The next day, after the defeat of the Hessians, he got his sheep again with the exception of four. Strange as it may seem Job Whitall makes absolutely no mention of the attack on the fort in his diary. He recorded that the Quaker Meeting House, at Woodbury, could not be used for worship on November 7th, because the soldiers had made a hospital of it. (See Notes on Old Gloucester County.)

James Whitall, of Red Bank, was the father of Captain Benjamin Whitall and the brother-in-law of John Cooper, the Woodbury patriot who narrowly missed being a signer of the Declaration of Independence and was buried in an unmarked grave in the Friends' burial ground, possibly in the lot of his sister, Ann Cooper Whitall.

John Cooper was born 11 mo. 5, 1729, old style and died April 1, 1785. He was a member of the Committee of Correspondence, Provincial Congress of New Jersey, Continental Congress, Council of Safety, and a Judge of the Gloucester County Court. His patriotic activities were greater than that of any other person in Southern New Jersey for which he was rewarded by being disowned by the Quakers. A bronze tablet should be erected to his memory in the new building shortly to be built by the Gloucester County Board of Chosen Freeholders.

Gloucester County Abolition Society—The Gloucester County Abolition Society was organized at the Gloucester County Court House on April 27, 1793, and at an adjourned meeting, held a month later on May 24th. The officers selected were: Franklin Davenport, chairman; Samuel Mickle, treasurer; Joseph Whitall, clerk; Joseph Sloan, Thomas Carpenter, William White, Thomas Stokes, Thomas Heston, James and Paul Cooper, committeemen.

Other early members were: Jacob Wood, Joseph Clement, Job Kinsey, Joshua Howell, Caleb Atkinson, Othniel Alsop, Biddle Reeves, Marmaduke Burr, Joseph Sloan, Jr., John Gill, Jr., Phineas Lord, and Benjamin Rulon.

The County Society co-operated with the State Society, organized at Burlington, February 27, 1793, and was the means of securing and maintaining the freedom of a large number of black people. Fugitive slaves were often caught in Southern New Jersey and were frequently frisked back to the slave States unless bought or befriended by some liberty-loving citizen or the Abolition Society. There is a complete story of one slave recorded in the docket book of Judge Jesse H. Bowen, now deposited in the Court House, at Mays Landing. Other cases are mentioned in Stewart's Genealogical and Historical Miscellany No. 1, together with a complete list of the membership of the Abolition Society of Gloucester County. There is also a manuscript manumission slave record book in the Court House at Woodbury.

Noteworthy Dates—The Camden and Amboy Railroad went into full operation on January 6, 1835.

The Camden and Woodbury Railroad was incorporated April 5, 1836,

and opened for traffic January 20, 1838. The locomotive was named the "Firefly." There were five trains daily each way between five A. M. and six-thirty P. M. The fare was twenty-five cents.

Harmony Library Company of Mullica Hill, on April 19, 1836; Paulsboro Academy, on January 10, 1838, and Gloucester School, of Gloucester Point, June 25, 1838, and the Washington Library Company, of Camden, on February 20, 1841, recorded a list of their respective trustees in accordance with the law.

The Gloucester County Temperance Society was organized August 16, 1842.

The Sons of Temperance dedicated their new hall on Delaware Street in Woodbury, February 21, 1850. This street was formerly known as Woodbury Creek Dam Road.

The steamboats "Daniel Drew" and "Equal Rights" were operated from Berkley Bridge, on Mantua Creek to Philadelphia, in 1845, and stopped at Paulsboro and Whittall's Landing. The Red Bank Ferry was put in operation in 1849 with two steamboats, the "General Greene" and the "Eagle."

From 1845 to 1850 Raccoon Creek had steamboat service to Philadelphia. Among the names of the boats were the "Independence" and the "Osceola." The latter was one hundred and ten feet long.

The nursery of David J. Griscom furnished the pine and spruce trees growing on East Cooper Street about 1853, where the writer lives.

Woodbury was incorporated March 9, 1854, as a borough and as a city March, 1871.

The Gloucester County Bank, of Woodbury, started business late in 1855 in the dwelling of James W. Caldwell, its cashier pending the completion of its new building.

On April 29, 1816, the Gloucester County Bible Society was formed in Woodbury. The officers for the first year were: Rev. Simon Wilmer, president; Franklin Davenport, vice-president; Joseph V. Clark, treasurer; Charles Ogden, corresponding secretary; Michael C. Fisher, recording secretary. The entrance fee was fixed at fifty cents, dues six and one quarter cents monthly, life membership ten dollars. The managers in addition to the elected officers, were Rev. William Rafferty, Joseph Clement, Elias D. Woodruff, James B. Caldwell, John Tatum, Jr., James Matlack, Moreton Stille, Benjamin Cooper, John Clement, Samuel W. Harrison, Joseph Chatham, David Pidgeon, Samuel C. Stratton, John Gill, of Gloucester Township; Nehemiah Blackman, Thomas Garwood, Elias Smith, Lewis M. Walker, John Sickler, Jacob Fisler. The society still exists but the record books cannot be found.

Dorothy Medcalf, widow of Matthew, was licensed to operate a ferry from Gloucester to Wicaco and Philadelphia, January 6, 1710, at the same rates as her late husband, viz: Two bits for a footman and three bits for a man and horse.

Joseph Hugg was granted a license for a ferry from Gloucester to Philadelphia, November 26, 1722.

The publications of the Gloucester, Camden and Atlantic County Historical Societies, located respectively in Woodbury, Camden, and Atlantic City, together with the "Annals of Camden," published by that most industrious historian, Charles S. Boyer, contain a great deal of local history that is an important part of the history of Old Gloucester County. Another man worthy of special mention is John Rulon Downer, who has specialized on the southeastern end of the present limits of the county in the vicinity of Glass-

boro and Williamstown. His work has been published principally in the "Glassboro Enterprise."

Within the last few years the interest in the history of southern New Jersey, which lapsed after the decease of John Clement, of Haddonfield, has revived and the recent action of the Gloucester County Board of Freeholders to safeguard and preserve for posterity the fascinating records of Gloucester County which are practically continuous from 1686 down to the present, insures a source of information for future historians that will eventually be a matter of pride to the sons and daughters of the county now scattered throughout the entire nation.

CHAPTER IX.

A SINGLE VIEW OF THE COUNTY.

The first settlers of Gloucester County were families seeking land to clear of its forest growth and make farms. That they were folks of unusual discernment is shown by their settling upon some of the choicest agricultural soil in New Jersey. Their efforts were assured of success from the start, because they had not only chosen a perfect prospect, but unwittingly, perhaps, had located over the famous Jersey marl beds. This marl, or green sand, is a part of a comparatively narrow strip that extends diagonally across the State, valuable in itself, for it has from early times been used for soil improvement and its greater value lies in its indications. Nearly always it is associated with level or gently rolling well-drained loams which, in the hands of skilled farmers, proves extremely fertile. On it may be grown the widest range of agricultural products. Proximity to the bay or river gives thermal protection of equality to the climate that makes for safety to early crops and surety of production. Naturally there has developed a specializing on the early planting of the tender vegetables and with marked success. Horticulture has come to the front so that the county is today out in the forefront of the highest types of land production.

Another aid to the agricultural progress of the county is its nearness to large markets. With Philadelphia right at its door, and a vast range of smaller places within easy access, there is seldom difficulty in finding ready sale for most products. The earliness of its season gives it an advantage even in the more northern markets. The limiting factor in the distribution of farm products is usually transportation. Given a quick and economical mode of access to a market, the farmer has his chances to succeed. Railroads and waterways, highways,—all are required and this need was recognized early in the history of the county and ways provided. At first there was only a river and the first settlements were near its banks. Then came roads from the back lands to these river stations, and eventually main highways to connect these smaller roads with each other and town with town. Out of this latter need came the King's Highway reaching from Perth Amboy in the north to Salem in the south. The section from Burlington to Salem was directed to be laid out in 1683, and with slight changes was a public highway until 1851, when it became a turnpike.

The "turnpike mania" of this period greatly increased the number of thoroughfares but also increased the cost for use and because of this, dissatisfaction. It also tripled the carrying capacity of the wagon. The mania eventually passed and left the skeleton upon which the present magnificent highway system has grown. Roads substantially built and of the highest

quality extend in all directions. The motor car and truck has given economy and comfort in transportation. Markets, shopping centers, churches, and amusements are accessible, and these arteries of traffic are opening up undeveloped sections, creating prosperous farms and increasing values everywhere.

Industries—Accompanying the development of agriculture has been the growth of various industries, although, due to location of the county, this growth has not been equally great. Originally there was the saw or grist mill going hand in hand with the clearing of land and planting, and later came makers of tools, wagons, and farm utensils for the increasing number of agriculturists. Before 1850 there were few manufacturing establishments in the county, if we except glass works, such as the one started in Glassboro during the Revolutionary days. This industry was of great importance and the factories were built and run on a relatively extensive scale.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw the coming of many manufacturers. Woodbury had its Standard Glass Works and Woodbury Glass Works, a hollow ware establishment, Green's August Flower Works, as well as the usual small factories found in a city of its size. Brick mills were to be found in many scattering towns; cotton mills were built and establishments created to supply local or county needs, all having a varied history and success.

The Whitney Glass Works Company, the pioneer and most noted of its kind, was formed in 1775 and run successfully, until the depreciation of Continental money left them with large quantities of glass sold and larger quantities of paper money, which they had received at face value only to have it drop to two and a half cents on the dollar. The unfortunate originators landed in the debtors' prison and their property was sold under the sheriff's hammer. Upon their release they went to work for the new owners, Thomas Heston and Thomas Carpenter. This new firm at different times enlarged their works which grew in importance until their death. It eventually was absorbed by the Whitney Brothers and became a part of a full fledged manufacturing plant.

Banks—The solidity of the prosperity of Gloucester County is evidenced by number and strength and history of its banking institutions. The two hundred and forty years of its existence have seen wide changes in the financial situation, not only within its own borders, but in the State and Nation. Its banks, however, in fair times and foul have held their own and have been singularly fortunate in their clean records.

Few banks were needed to handle the financing of the early days and one of the first to be organized was the Gloucester County Bank, with William R. Tatum as its president and James W. Caldwell as cashier. It immediately erected a building for its occupancy and was by the following year completely equipped for business. In 1865 the name was changed to the First National Bank of Woodbury. The year 1883 gave it a new impetus, with Amos J. Peaslie and John H. Bradley as president and cashier and having a capital stock and surplus of \$160,000 with deposits of \$550,000. By 1924 the bank had outgrown a still modern building and moved to a much larger one. George W. Dicken is president and W. Cresse, cashier. The capital stock and surplus is \$322,940, total resources more than two and a half million and deposits, time and demand, well over two million dollars.

The Farmers' and Mechanics' National Bank of Woodbury is of more



WOODBURY

Central Baptist Church
Presbyterian Church

Friends' Meeting House and School
Church of St. John

recent birth but of full maturity. It has added a trust company department whose strength is shown by the condensed statement given with the other trust companies of Gloucester. The 1924 Government report credits the bank with total resources of nearly two and a quarter million and deposits of a million and three-quarters dollars.

Other national banks in the county are: First National Bank of Paulsboro—President, B. G. Paul; cashier, W. H. Flowers, Jr.; resources, \$1,318,763; capital and surplus, \$1,136,438; deposits, more than \$1,000,000. Pitman National Bank—President, G. W. Carr; cashier, J. H. Morris; resources, \$1,500,000; capital and surplus, \$121,776; deposits, \$1,125,000. Swedesboro National Bank—President, S. S. Conover; cashier, G. M. Ashton; resources, \$1,558,222; capital and surplus, \$250,000; deposits, \$1,204,643. First National Bank of Westville—President, E. H. Davis; cashier, C. B. Stackhouse; resources, \$571,928; capital and surplus, about \$70,000; deposits more than half a million. Farmers National Bank of Mullica Hill—President, C. Welkinton; cashier, E. W. Garrison; resources, \$1,646,814; capital and surplus, \$89,746; deposits, \$325,667. First National Bank of Glassboro—President, T. W. Synnott; cashier, P. K. DuBois; resources, \$624,509; capital and surplus, \$48,767; deposits, over a half a million. Clayton National Bank—President, D. W. Moore, cashier, W. DuBois; \$525,897; capital and surplus, \$58,019; deposits, \$442,188.

The Swedesboro Trust Company opened its doors in 1913, having been incorporated on August 29th. Its president is H. K. Shoemaker, and treasurer, Clinton B. F. Black; resources as reported in 1922, \$634,992.89; capital stock, \$100,000; surplus and undivided profits, \$31,651, and deposits of \$461,907.

The Woodbury Trust Company began business on May 26, 1902. In 1922 it had a capital stock and surplus of \$252,593; deposits of \$1,163,683.24, with resources of more than one and one-half million; D. O. Watkins, president, and E. H. Davis, treasurer. The Pitman Trust Company was incorporated on January 7, 1922, with a capital stock of \$100,000, and with its present officers, Henry Reeves, president, and Oscar Davenport, treasurer. Deposits soon reached over \$325,000, and it is backed by resources of over a million and a half.

Building and Loan Associations have always had a large following in the county, and some of the first founded in New Jersey were within its borders. Woodbury had one of the earliest beginning operations in April, 1871, and matured its first series of stock ten years later, paying \$200 for each \$125 collected. The success of this and other pioneer associations encouraged the formation of more, and the initial impulse in this direction has not lost its momentum.

There were in 1922 eighteen Building and Loan Associations listed in the Annual Report of Commission of Banking and Insurance as follows:

	President	Secretary
Bridgeport	John McIlvain	J. Everett Magin
Clayton	George M. Chew	P. K. DuBois
Glassboro	David Paulin	Oscar G. Casperson
Grenloch	Leland Willis	Louis C. Joyce, Jr.
Lakeview Heights, Almonnesson	James K. Jones	William H. Walker
Mechanics, Paulsboro	George K. C. West	Joseph R. Moreland

Monroe, Williamstown..	A. F. Clever	D. E. Tweed
Mullica Hill	James Chatham	A. Schneider
Mutual, Clarksboro.....	S. F. Stetser	E. H. Steward
National Park.....	Elmer E. Cox	J. C. Spohn
Paulsboro	Edward G. Lodge	William Flowers
Peoples, Woodbury.....	William A. Fisher	E. H. Horan, Jr.
Pitman	George W. Carr	I. W. Newkirk
Swedesboro	Hugh McCullough	Howard D. Hann
Swedesboro, Woodstown.	Vernon E. DeGrafft	Clinton B. F. Block
Wenonah	R. A. Sargent	R. H. Gage
Westville & Newbold....	Charles Hassenfarder	C. B. Heritage
Woodbury	George W. Curtis	Howard A. Clift

Bench and Bar—The history of the bench and bar of Gloucester County is one of honor and hardship. The long years following the Revolution were, to lawyers, ones of "circuit riding," when they were compelled to travel from court to court with the Supreme Court Judge, arguing their cases. Many famous attorneys so visited Gloucester, and many are the tales that are told. The separation of the present county of Camden from old Gloucester took the latter's largest city and a majority of its members of the bar, leaving a rather small population and no larger towns. The Woodbury bar, however, became a nucleus of master-minds around which gathered many able men. Here practiced such lawyers as Richard Stockton, grandson of a signer of the Declaration of Independence; Hon. Samuel L. Southard, Hon. Garret D. Wall, Hon. John Moore White, Hon. Peter D. Vroom, and others of their time. The county courts were presided over by some of the most learned of Jersey's legal lights, such as Chief Justice Charles Ewing, who was called "New Jersey's ablest jurist." Judge Stacy Gardner Potts served for seven years in the county courts and was one of that body which revised the State laws in 1845. Hon. Joel Parker, son of distinguished ancestry, was for years the Supreme Court Judge, who presided in Gloucester courts. Previous to this he had been the "Civil War Governor" of the State, and frequently mentioned for the Presidency. Many were the battles waged in the courts by the master-minds, and many were the cases or trials that held an interest more than local. From the crude procedure of the early days has come an elaborate and dignified system with the ends of justice well served. Gloucester County's bench and bar is rightly proud that in its long history justice has been meted out without fear or favor.

The present (1923) county organization is: Chief Probation Officer, William E. Keat; County Solicitor, Oscar B. Redrow; County Treasurer, Charles N. Bell; County Physician, Dr. H. H. Clark; County Adjuster, Oliver J. West; Superintendent of Weights and Measures, William P. Abdill; Farm Demonstration, George Lamb; Coroners, Atler B. Adams, William P. Chalfont; County Tax Board, J. Sheppard Fisher, George B. Hurff, Eli Heritage, Secretary; Harry W. Cohill; County Board of Elections, M. F. Lummers, W. Earle Miller, Harry Richman, George P. D. Bates; Director, Board of Freeholders, J. Russell Treat; Clerk, Board of Freeholders, Chester N. Steelman; County Jail, Woodbury, Warden Harry K. Mager; Almshouse, Clarksboro, Stewart A. J. Nichol.

At present (1924) there are about thirty lawyers resident and practicing in the county, and their marked good fellowship adds much to the efficiency and good exerted by the bar. Woodbury, as the county seat, is

the home of the larger number, among whom are: Jack H. Avis, James B. Avis, John Boyd Avis, Daniel Webster Beckley, Francis B. Davis, Morton C. Haight, Robert C. Hendrickson, George B. Marshall, Willard E. Miller, Horace F. Nixon, Ernest Redfield, Alexander L. Rogers, Robert C. Sparks, Lewis Starr, Joseph J. Summerill, Joseph J. Summerill, Jr., Austin H. Swackhammer, Donald A. Swackhammer, and David O. Watkins. Those in other districts of the county are: George H. Hewitt, Clayton; Allen L. Morgan, Jr., Mantua; Orville P. Dewitt, National Park; Oscar L. Fleetwood and Willis T. Porch, of Pitman; Edgar Shivers and Howard K. Wallace, of Swedesboro. The officers of the County Bar Association are: S. Stanger Isgard, president, and W. Earle Miller, secretary.

Medical—It would be interesting to know who was the first practitioner of medicine and surgery in Gloucester, and his later contemporaries, had he any, their fitness, what medicines they prescribed, or what surgical appliances they had. Undoubtedly in the first days of the settlement of the county, inhabitants were too few and scattered to afford a livelihood to a physician, and probably the early medicines were herbs and simples, and the first doctors, the older women, quacks perhaps, and possibly the aboriginal "medicine man." With an increase of population and the multiplication of highways, came also the regular physician, but it is not until 1818 that we have any record of a medical society. In that year application was made to the State organization for a charter signed by Dr. Layton Lummis, Thomas Hendry, Joseph Fithian, Lorenzo Fisher, Isaac Davis, Benjamin Erwin, Francis Hoover, William Hunt, Samuel Harris, Bowman Hendry, J. J. Foster, Ezra Baker, and John C. Warner. The society with a lapse of nine years preceding 1830, has been in continuous existence, and recalls many high places in its history when men of national reputation came before them, and other times when enjoyment and instruction were to the fore.

The officers of the Gloucester County Medical Society for the year 1924 are: President, Dr. Samuel F. Ashcraft, Mullica Hill; vice-president, Dr. J. Harris Underwood, Woodbury; secretary and treasurer, Dr. Ralph K. Hollinshed, Westville. Members in good standing, 1924: Dr. S. H. Ashcraft, Mullica Hill; Dr. Benjamin Byzby, Swedesboro; Dr. David R. Brewer, Woodbury; Dr. William Brewer, Woodbury; Dr. William H. Carpenter, Woodbury; Dr. Duncan Campbell, Woodbury; Dr. Ruth Clement, National Park; Dr. William R. Clements, Woodbury; Dr. Vernon DeGrofft, Swedesboro; Dr. Henry B. Diverty, Woodbury; Dr. Elwood E. Downs, Swedesboro; Dr. E. M. Duffield, Glassboro; Dr. C. Frank Fisler, Clayton; Dr. Horace M. Fooder, Williamstown; Dr. E. J. Hillegas, Mantua; Dr. Ralph K. Hollinshed, Westville; Dr. James Hunter, Jr., Westville; Dr. I. W. Knight, Woodbury; Dr. M. F. Lummis, Pitman; Dr. G. J. Palen, Woodbury; Dr. Charles D. Pedrick, Glassboro; Dr. Cyrus B. Phillips, Pitman; Dr. Harry L. Sickel, Woodbury; Dr. R. H. Reeves, Paulsboro; Dr. Harry L. Sinexon, Paulsboro; Dr. Peter E. Stilwagon, Bridgeport; Dr. Harry W. Stout, Wenonah; Dr. Chester I. Ulmer, Gibbstown; Dr. J. Harris Underwood, Woodbury; Dr. Oram A. Wood, Paulsboro.

Press—The evolution of the Press in Gloucester was a somewhat slow and disheartening process. News was supplied by the papers of nearby large cities, and publications in the hamlets must of necessity be made up of something else, which the few local items taking a relatively unimportant

place. The "Gloucester Farmer" was probably the first sheet published in the county, established in Woodbury, in 1816, by John Crane, but was brought to an untimely end after a few months owing to an "imprudent publication." Three years later "The Village Herald" sounded forth its word. A Whig organ edited by Phillip J. Gray, it changed hands several times, became Democratic, and before long removed to Camden. The "Constitution," first printed in 1834 as a Whig journal, by Augustus S. Barber, eventually became Republican, and has so continued. The first steam power presses in New Jersey, south of Trenton, were used in its publication. It is not only one of the oldest but one of the liveliest papers in the county, and is known through the State for its vigor, form and intellectuality, for which due credit is given its present editor, William H. Albright.

On the opposite side of the political fence was, and is, the "Gloucester County Democrat," which dates its beginnings from September 3, 1878. Although established by a William Gibbs, it was purchased the next year by James D. Carpenter and for the intervening forty-six years has remained in the family, now being printed by J. D. Carpenter & Son, with Edmund H. Carpenter as editor. The "Weekly Item," of Newfield, edited and published by J. Hampton Leonard, has its worthy descent from the paper of that name founded in 1873. Of more recent origin, with a policy and influence all its own, is the only daily of the county, the "Woodbury Daily Times." Independent in politics and thought, well equipped with modern presses, under the direction of its able editor, J. Frank Wilson, it gives promise of a long life of usefulness and power. Other papers which are doing their share in keeping the county folk informed, ideas and ideals uplifted are the "News" of Swedesboro, Wilbur Knight Sloan, editor and publisher; the "Herald and Sun," Paulsboro, a weekly Republican sheet, published and edited by Charles W. Down; the "Pitman Grove Review," Paul Peterson, editor and publisher; and the "Enterprise," a Glassboro weekly owned by Schwobel Brothers, with William Schwobel as editor.

Schools—The present system of free education for the public is a development of free education for the poor. In the pioneer days it was usual to "bid off" the poor with the provision that they must be given free schooling, so that the poverty stricken child was more certain of getting an education of sorts than one in better circumstances. The size of farms, their distance from each other, precluded the school. Teaching was done sometimes at home but more often neglected. The Quaker elements in the first settlements of West Jersey were strongly influential, and built the **first** houses where their sons and daughters could come and be taught in classes. To the Quakers, education was akin to Godliness, a genuine part of their religion, so that when they built a meeting house they also opened a school.

What these early means of education were like is hard to realize, but the slight history of Mullica school, which covers nearly two hundred years, gives us an inkling. The first building was of cedar logs with oiled paper windows, and was used from before 1720 to 1756. The entrance was at one end, the teacher's table at the other, with long board shelves on either side, and under the windows were wooden slabs for seats. A fire place gave heat, and no small part of a boy's education was acquired with an axe, while girls became expert carriers of live coals, which, since matches were unknown, they must bring from home. Horn books were used to teach reading, the voice for spelling, and the teacher made his own arithmetic, which the pupil copied carefully. In the absence of blackboards and

slates, which came years later, and in shallow boxes were used on which the various lessons were traced. Quill pens were rare, and the invention of slates and slate pencils greatly advanced the cause of education. The Mullica school had its third edifice in 1790, a magnificent affair of twenty-five by thirty-five feet, boarded inside and warmed with a genuine ten plate stove, the first of its kind.

Many other schools came into being all over the county before 1800. In fact, Woodbury had an academy built and paid for out of funds raised by a lottery, but it was not until 1817 that there came to be anything that might be called a system of education. In that year the State Legislature passed an act creating a fund for the support of free schools and appropriated a sum of money to make this fund permanent, and in 1820 the counties were first authorized to raise money for school purposes. Since then many laws have been passed and many movements have been inaugurated that have brought about the present splendid mode of education on which the State is spending more than forty million dollars.

Gloucester County under the inspiring leadership of its Superintendent of Schools, Daniel T. Steelman, has kept step with the other progressive counties of the State. His report of 1921 outlines in a succinct way the many ramifications of educational work, and the manifold ways in which it comes in contact with, and influences the ordinary daily life of the community.

In its religious and humanitarian activities, Gloucester County has been broadly liberal. Settled by folk of many nationalities, with beliefs as different as their races, there has been a surprising unanimity in many of its movements, social and religious. The temperance question was not a question until 1830. Objections were made to the selling of liquor to the Indian because it was bad for trade, but there was no conception that it might be bad for the white man. Taverns existed everywhere and almost everyone tippled. The decanter was set before the minister when he made his pastoral call; respects for the departed were expressed with a flowing bowl. When the propriety and wisdom of such habits began to be questioned, the answer came quickly, and in Gloucester it took the form and name of "The Gloucester County Temperance Society." This was followed with the "Sons of Temperance," in 1842; the Independent Order of Good Templars in 1851, and the Gloucester County Temperance Alliance in 1872. Various other organizations, then and since, have carried on this good work to its almost completion in recent years and one of the minor benefits has been the close association in which it has brought divergent elements in Gloucester.

Religious good fellowship probably was manifest before the founding of the Gloucester County Bible Society in 1816, but this organization, more than any other one thing, brought the churches together for a common good. This society, in the many years of its existence, was the main factor in placing the Bible in the hands of those who could not have it except as given to them. The Gloucester Sunday School Association was started some time before its formal organization in 1875, and was soon one of the most inspiring of religious movements. There were large and enjoyable assemblages, religious friendships formed, the sympathy and fellowship of the different townships cemented and large sums of money were raised for missionary and benevolent purposes. Indirectly there grew from this the New Jersey Camp Meeting Association, which while Methodist in

name and control, has many who are not such within its folds. The ground they occupy at Pitman Grove is wonderfully located, hundreds of cottages have been erected, every practical convenience is provided, and although the camp meetings only cover a short period, many make the grove their summer home.

Woodbury, How It Got Its Name—The Indian name for Woodbury was Piscozackasing, which meant the place of black burrs, which by a stretch of imagination could be considered berries of wood or wood berries. In our ancient records the name of Woodbury was mostly spelled Woodberry, but spelling was indifferent then. Some have claimed that the name was adopted because of some other place which was then known as Woodbury, such as Woodbury, Connecticut, or Woodbury, England. The best known claim is based on the fact that Henry Wood and his family of sons came from Bury, Lancashire, England, and that the name of the place added to the family name made the combination since known as Woodbury.

On April 2, 1682, the Friends' Monthly Meeting of Cletheroe in the County of Lancashire, England, gave Henry Wood, Sr., and his son, John, and their families a certificate of removal to Friends in America and they finally arrived and settled in Old Gloucester County. Accommodations on ships across the Atlantic were hard to get then and it is probable that considerable time elapsed after the date above mentioned and their arrival. The usual time on the ocean was generally about three months. Whether they had left England before April 3, 1683, is a great question.

On that date John Wood, of Bury, Lancashire, England, bought of Edward Byllinge one hundred acres of land to be surveyed in West Jersey. His father, Henry Wood, Sr., of the same place, likewise purchased one hundred acres. Constantine, Jeremiah, and Henry Wood, Jr., three brothers of John and sons of Henry, Sr., likewise purchased one hundred acres, making a total of three hundred acres. Inasmuch as their place of residence was given in England, it is not very presumptuous to assume that they were all in England at that time and not in America before William Penn's arrival, as has often been claimed. It is quite likely that very shortly after the date of purchase the whole family embarked for America because in November John Wood had three hundred acres of land on the lower side of the mouth of Red Bank, alias Woodbury Creek, along the Delaware River, surveyed to him. This is the first mention of Woodbury Creek.

Henry Wood, Sr., the father of John, was born May 15, 1603, and was approximately eighty years old when he reached Gloucester County, where he died October 19, 1686. According to Friends' records, he was buried in the graveyard belonging to the Woodbury Creek Meeting House.

A man of his great age certainly would have but little ambition, if any, to go to farming or for clearing ground and there is no evidence that he ever exercised his rights, if he had any, to have any land surveyed to him.

Jeremiah came to America, but information about his ownership of land seems to be lost; neither is there any evidence to prove that Henry, Jr., or Constantine had any land surveyed to them prior to 1700. It is, therefore, very likely in view of all of the known facts, that the whole three hundred acres sold to Henry, Sr., his sons, John, Jeremiah, Constantine, and Henry, Jr., by Edward Byllinge was surveyed, paid for and taken up by John Wood, as above mentioned.



WOODBURY

Court House

Woodbury Trust Company

Underwood's Hospital

He was born January 5, 1643, and died August 30, 1706, and then possessed three hundred and fifty acres or more, which included the three hundred acres on the south side of Woodbury Creek originally surveyed to him in November, 1683, and probably within three months of his arrival.

The home of John and Alice Sale Wood, his wife, was known as the "Shelter," and was built on the south side of Woodbury Creek. The Quakers of this neighborhood held some meetings at their house and Sarah, their daughter, was married there by Friends' ceremony on the 13th of 4th month (June,) 1689, to Joshua Lord. Constantine Wood, son of John and Alice, was born July 24, 1683, and was the first child of Quaker parentage born near Woodbury.

Alice Wood died October 1, 1693, aged forty-seven years, and John remarried. His second wife was Sarah Saunders.

John Wood was a very active and prominent man in the community. He was a member of the Legislature in 1685, a Justice of the first court held in the county in 1686, and the next year as foreman of the Grand Jury he signed the document (on a small piece of paper) ordering the first tax levy made in Gloucester County. He, on May 25, 1696, deeded a lot, seventy by one hundred feet, near his dwelling house, where a meeting house was erected, to Thomas Gardner, William Warner, and Joshua Lord, to be used as a graveyard by the inhabitants of Gloucester County, between Gloucester River (Big Timber Creek) and Great Mantua Creek. This graveyard is well known to the people of today of Woodbury as are the other two graveyards of Old Gloucester County, known by the ancient names of Upton and Newton. All three of them are today in a sad condition and no care is taken of them with the exception of the Wood burial ground which has received some attention from the Gloucester County Historical Society.

The Friends' meeting of this vicinity was known as the Red Bank or Woodbury Creek Meeting, until some time after the purchase of the ground and the building of the Meeting House, about 1716, at a place where the King's Highway crossed the creek. Since that time the road has been slightly altered, at least twice, but the meeting house undoubtedly stands on its original site.

After the new meeting house was built, because of the fact the Friends were almost ready to give up the meetings, because of lack of attendance, down the creek, it caused a few buildings to be built on the King's Highway, which was somewhat helped by the erection of the Presbyterian Church a short distance up the highway on ground purchased by John Tatem in 1721.

About the year 1730, Woodbury began to assume the proportion of a settlement entitled to a name as a means of identification and the Quakers finally called their meeting Woodbury instead of Woodbury Creek and in their action we must find its first use as the name of a thriving town, about 1740, but back of that we must, I think, give full credit to John Wood and not his father, Henry, or any other Henry Wood, of which there were several, or Richard Wood or any other man named Wood for being the creator of the name Woodbury Creek from which the present city of Woodbury derived its name. If there is any memorial erected in Woodbury to any member of the Wood family as a founder of the settlement in Woodbury Creek, simple justice would compel John Wood's name to be mentioned first for that honor and distinction despite all that has been said in the past

to the contrary viewpoint. He was born January 5, 1642-3, and on October 28, 1666, married Alice Sale, in Lancashire, England (according to A. R. Justice.)

There are two more old settlers whose names are perpetuated by streams of water that flow into Woodbury Creek, viz: Thomas Hester, from whom Hester's branch got its name, and Thomas Matthews, from whom Matthews' branch derived its name, and it is common honesty to give John Wood the credit for naming Woodbury Creek from which Woodbury got its name.—(Frank H. Stewart.)

Little is known about Woodbury, except the name, for a century after its settlement. Certain it is that other than the "Woods" came to dwell there, that the forests were replaced by farms and houses which began to cluster along a section of the main road. A tavern and a church were built, strange bed-fellows but nevertheless the precursors of a village. By Revolutionary times it had become quite a hamlet, and was occupied at times by both enemy and patriot. During the Battle of Red Bank many of the wounded Hessians were cared for in Woodbury, and some were buried in the "Strangers Burying Ground." Lord Cornwallis, in 1777, with a part of his army, occupied a part of the village between Cooper and Bank streets, with a battery placed near the Friends' Meeting House.

In 1812 sentiment was again aroused against the mother country, and Woodbury had its militia company, "The Blues of Gloucester County;" also a cavalry company, with Judge John Moore White as Captain, and Isaac Browning as his First Lieutenant.

With the ending of war for a time at least, Woodbury began to come into its own. It was the county seat with the different court and office buildings required by its dignity. To be sure the most of the town was grouped on the road or street now known as Broad, and altogether there were fewer than a hundred dwellings, but nevertheless, was it not the county seat? It had a free school and a lottery-bought academy. Society was prominent in the Fox Hunting Club, established in 1776 and continuing through half a century. There was the "Union Library," with almost as many books as it had members, and the Whirligig Society, whose purpose is shown in the following resolution:

Resolved that a Committee of fifteen members be appointed under the name of Whirligig Society, with the authority to suppress all riots, and whirligig all Gamblers, Showmen and such characters as are styled fair plays; that may happen to intrude upon the peaceable, moral and respectable inhabitants of the town of Woodbury as has been done heretofore to their great detriment and degradation.

Curiously enough, although two churches were deemed sufficient to care for the religious needs of the town, it took four taverns to supply its more worldly desires. Woodbury became a borough in 1854 with a population of thirteen hundred, and under an act of 1870 was incorporated as the city of Woodbury, with Alexander Wentz as its first mayor.

The bombardment of Fort Sumter had its echo in the growing town arousing the patriotism of its inhabitants, who promptly took measures to come to the aid of their government. The Board of Freeholders voted three thousand dollars "for the support and maintenance of the families of such persons as shall volunteer for the defense of their country." This was followed during the summer by arrangements to pay a certain fixed sum to the wives and widows and children of volunteers, which sum was later several times increased. Shortly after the ending of the Civil War a

movement started for a fitting memorial to the heroic dead, who had sealed their patriotism with their lives. Sums were voted and, when they proved insufficient, more was granted until the Soldiers' Monument was built and unveiled. On the four panels of the pedestal were inscribed the two hundred and thirteen names of "the citizens, who died in defense of the Union during the late Rebellion."

The ten years succeeding the Civil War were ones of growth and progress and the Woodbury of that half century ago now presented a very pleasing picture. The mellowing process of nearly two centuries had given it a dignity and grace greatly to be admired. The single street of fifty years before had multiplied to many; less than a hundred houses, to hundreds of beautiful homes, and the dingy store or two had given way to blocks of buildings that were worthy of any city. The four taverns had been replaced by two well-appointed hotels, and the two churches had increased three-fold. From a printless almost bookless state of existence the town now supported three weeklies. Only a few minor manufacturing plants were in business, but it was only a few years before the coming of the Woodbury Glass Works, the Standard Glass Works making hollow-ware, Green's August Flower Works—these three alone employing more than six hundred people.

The Woodbury of 1924 is a city of the alert, modern type whose prosperity is not dependent upon any single type of people or endeavor. It has its industries but is not an industrial town; is still surrounded by a rich farming section, yet is not rural; its nearness to Philadelphia has led many wealthy business men of that city to develop many beautiful estates for their homes, but it is no mere suburb of a great city. It is rather an unique combination of these several features joined with that sort of folk who naturally gather in a county seat.

The industries of fifty years back have been replaced, with the exception that George G. Green, now a man of eighty-two, still manufactures his well known remedies. The Woodbury Mill and Lumber Company is large and makes or supplies almost everything that is required in the building trade. In about 1890 the Blasius Piano Works erected a large modern factory for the making of pianos, employed many hands, and continued with success until the World War period made it desirable to change its location. The buildings and yards were sold to the Belber Trunk Company, who now use it as one of the important parts of their widespread set of factories.

The county and city public buildings have been increased from time to time, with a new post office as an immediate prospect, and a new court house as one more remote. The summer of 1924 will see the completion of the \$400,000 addition to the William Milligan High School, on Broad Street, making this one of the largest and finest of school buildings in South Jersey.

Ten years ago the Young Men's Christian Association of Woodbury was organized and soon grew into one of the most efficient movements for the religious, physical, educational, and social betterment of the youth of the city. Almost half of the boys and young men in Woodbury are members and the benefits to them and the town are immeasurable. The Gloucester County Young Women's Christian Association started in Westville during the war, when, at that place, there was an ammunition plant employing many women. After the armistice it was re-organized

as a county association, taking over the work with some four hundred club girls in approximately seventeen towns. The number of clubs is constantly increasing and a larger number of places are being reached. With local associations in Burlington and Camden counties, a "Tri-county Summer Camp" has been maintained in Gloucester County.

Woodbury has many and beautiful churches some with an unique and ancient history, accounts of two of these may be found in other paragraphs. The names of the existing religious societies and their leaders are: The Friends Meeting House, Orthodox and Hicksite; Central Baptist, Rev. George H. Swift; First Baptist, Rev. H. M. B. Dare; Christ Church, Protestant Episcopal, Robert G. Williams; Kemble Methodist Episcopal, Rev. W. J. Sayre; First Presbyterian, Rev. Herbert Ure; Lake Tract Presbyterian; St. John's Lutheran, Rev. Werner Jentsch, Gloucester; Bethel, African A. M. E., Rev. A. G. Casper; Bethlehem Colored Baptist, Rev. Edward Smith; Campbell A. M. E., Rev. C. E. Minor; Mt. Zion A. M. E., J. L. Davis.

The social side of Woodbury is amply provided for in its clubs, of which the oldest and most prominent, is the Woodbury Country Club with its two hundred and fifty members. This club has fifty-one acres of land upon which are a Colonial club house, tennis courts and an exceedingly picturesque and sporting golf course. Formed in July 26, 1897, its officers in 1922 were: President, William C. Pancost; first vice-president, Colonel G. G. Green; second vice-president, Frank H. Stewart; secretary, Roland B. Roberts; treasurer, William H. Sutton, and auditor, L. B. Moffet. The Eureka Triangle Club has for its insignia the letters E. T. C., surrounded by a triangle, the sides of which represent the three principles of the club, Patriotism, Civic Pride, and Sociability. It was formed by the combination of the Eureka and Triangle clubs in 1917, when the steady drain of their members into the service threatened to end the existence of both. The 1924 membership is about seventy-five and vies with the Rotary Club in its service to Woodbury.

The Rotary Club, formed November 29, 1921, with the watchword, "Service in every application possible to civic, business, and social relations," has as its officers: President, Wadsworth Cresse; vice-president, James C. Henry; secretary, Alexander L. Rogers; treasurer, William H. Sutton, Jr. The William Stokes Bonsal Post No. 133 of the American Legion was formed on October 23, 1919, with forty-five ex-service men. Growth in activities and membership has been rapid until it ranks with the most prominent in the State; has a membership of more than one hundred and seventy-five, and is a great aid not only to ex-service men but to the town and county.

St. Patrick's Catholic Church, Woodbury—Woodbury, with the out-missions of Glassboro and Snow Hill, was constituted a parish on or about the tenth of November, 1877. The Rev. Michael A. McManus was appointed the first pastor. From the tenth of November until the end of the year he lived with Father Kars, of Gloucester, and then rented a house close to the church at Woodbury. On December the ninth, 1877, the Board of Trustees was organized as follows: The Rt. Rev. Bishop Corrigan was elected president; Father McManus, secretary and treasurer, and John Brennan and Leonard Weinmann were elected lay-trustees.

In the early part of 1879 a rectory was built next to the church, both of which are still standing. The cost of the rectory, as taken from the account

books of the parish, was \$2,128.90, quite a difference from present day costs. In September of 1881, Father McManus was succeeded as pastor by the Rev. Dr. O'Reilly, who in turn was succeeded by the Rev. Neil McMenamin, who is still living at this date, (April, 1923.) Father McMenamin served as pastor until the year 1886, and during that time attended the missions at Snow Hill and Glassboro regularly. During this year Dennis Blake succeeded Leonard Weinmann as trustee.

Father John M. Murphy was the next pastor and served the parish until the year 1890, when the Rev. Michael Dolan was appointed to succeed him. Father Dolan was pastor of St. Patrick's for twenty-seven years, and in addition to his duties in Woodbury found time to establish missions at Paulsboro, Gibbstown, and National Park. Glassboro was established as an independent parish in 1898, and the mission at Snow Hill was discontinued. In 1899 Robert Page and Thomas Bowe were appointed trustees. In 1903 the site of the present church was purchased at the corner of Cooper and Euclid streets, together with the house adjoining, at 154 Euclid Street. By this time the congregation had increased greatly and the need of a new church was evident to all. Hence in the year 1909, it was decided to build. Plans were drawn by Henry Dagit and Joseph Best was the successful bidder under the specifications for the new structure. The contract price for the new building was \$19,060. The trustees at this time were John McCleary and George McCleary. The new church, situated at the corner of Cooper and Euclid streets, on the land bought a few years previous, is of stone and of the English Gothic design and presents a very beautiful appearance to the visitor as he enters the town by railroad.

Father Dolan was transferred to Paulsboro in 1917, and was succeeded by the present pastor, the Rev. Charles G. McCorristin. Several necessary improvements were made in a very short time at a cost of several thousand dollars. New pews were installed, electric lighting was placed in the church, and a handsome Carrara marble altar was erected at a cost of about five thousand dollars. All these improvements were paid for as soon as completed. The present trustees are James Carter and Patrick Murphy. The present congregation comprises about nine hundred souls.

The first account we have of services in Woodbury is found in Father Grassle's records, where he notes that on March 25, 1793, he baptized James Daly, at Woodbury. Nothing more is recorded of this place until 1859. Father Daly, of Gloucester, opened this mission in 1859, and said mass in private homes once a month, and he built the first church. It remained a mission from Gloucester until 1877.

Among the pioneers may be numbered the following: William Bonner, William Upton, Patrick Jordan, Bryan Colgan, Patrick Phelan, James Sweeney, James Murray, Dennis Blake, Andrew Blake, John Brennan, Thomas Murray, Annie, Kate, and Mary Murray, Martin Smith, Michael Haney, Thomas Downes, Michael Corbley, Thomas Welsh, Nicholas Ley, Leonard Weinmann, John Krimm, Patrick Kain, John Kain, Nicholas Kain, Mrs. Mary Reed, John Umbrine, Paul Jones, Mrs. John Zee, Jacob Murphy, Michael Cassidy, Peter Vergos, Michael Rooney, James W. Welsh, John Curran, James Wethers, Patrick Wethers, Garrett Farrell.

Deptford Township—One of the first municipal districts of New Jersey, originally included what is now West Deptford, Washington and Monroe townships and Woodbury City. Its name is derived from the old English seaport of Deptford, famous as the place where Peter the Great

served his apprenticeship at shipbuilding. The well-drained, sandy, loam soil of the township, including that part which was covered with pine forests, has been utilized with great success for truck growing, although much of it is now in fruit trees and grass. Who first discovered its agricultural possibilities, and when, is unknown, for it is not until 1733 that lists of township officers and prominent individuals began to be recorded. Even the pioneer who established the first industry in the present county, a grist mill, is forgotten, but we do know that this mill was purchased by Daniel Lamb in 1830, torn down, and a cotton mill built in its place. The hamlet that grew about the mill was called Lambtown, but this name was changed to Almonesson when it secured a post office in 1872.

Wenonah, three miles from Woodbury, incorporated as a borough in April, 1883, is one of the most beautifully plotted towns in the county. Located on rather high rolling land along Mantua Creek, with unusually wide shaded streets, pleasant parks, it is a favored residential section. It is the seat of Wenonah Military Academy, where, under the leadership of Major C. M. Lorence, aided by teachers of character and experience, youths are prepared for college and business.

Westville, in the extreme northwest corner of the township and county, has grown from a road house of Revolutionary days to a modern wide-awake village, the home of many whose business is in Camden and Philadelphia. One of the early Methodist Protestant Churches of South Jersey was founded in a Presbyterian building of 1860, and has today the largest membership in the township, with Rev. George H. Jackson as its minister. Other churches in Deptford and West Deptford townships are: National Park, Methodist Episcopal, Rev. D. W. Luckenbill; Thorofare Methodist Episcopal, Rev. B. F. Allgood; Thorofare A. M. E., Rev. George A. Johnson; Verga Methodist Episcopal, Rev. Earl C. Senser, Camden; Victoria Methodist Episcopal, Rev. Walter Crossing, Westville; Westville Baptist; Westville Lutheran; Jericho Wesley A. M. E., C. E. Kincade, Sewell, R.D. Wenonah: New Sharon, Methodist Episcopal, Rev. Stephen Collins, Philadelphia; Wenonah Methodist Episcopal, Rev. C. V. D. Conover; Wenonah Presbyterian, Rev. R. H. Gage; Woodbury Heights Presbyterian, Rev. George Reister; Woodbury Heights Protestant Episcopal, Rev. C. Behringer, Wenonah.

East Greenwich Township, one of the interior townships, originally a part of Old Greenwich and Mantua, was created by an act of the Legislature in February, 1881. Its early problem was roads to connect it with the river, and other towns, and the struggle to overcome this difficulty may in a measure account for its present complete network of highways. In addition the railroad from Swedesboro to Woodbury has some half dozen stations within the district.

Clarksboro, a lovely quiet old town, has changed little with the years. Named from the owner of a great farm, Jeffrey Clark, it began as a trading post, soon had a famous tavern, the "Death of the Fox Inn," where the fox hunters gathered before and after the kill, and now has the finely designed city of the dead, Eglinton Cemetery.

Mickleton and Berkley are nearby hamlets. Altogether it is a region of unostentatious prosperity, dignified homes, farm houses, and churches,

of these latter might be mentioned: St. Peter's Berkley, at Clarksboro, founded in 1771, over which George E. Fabor is the present pastor; the Methodist Episcopal, with a pioneer class in 1825, Cedric Hickman, minister in charge, 1923; the German Evangelical, which was built in 1880, and is now under the leadership of Rev. Paul H. Boll.

Franklin Township was wrested from the pine forest by frugal farmers, and although other industries have come from time to time, its strength and wealth lie in agriculture. Franklin Town was probably the first place in which enough people located to have a title, which was that of Little Ease. Some of the early names that have come to us are those of William Fisher, owner of a thousand acres upon which the present town is built; Myers Wilson, a prior owner of this tract and George Cake, whose family, together with that of Samuel Porch, has always been connected with the business interests of the place.

Newfield is, as towns go in the ancient county, very youthful, although born in 1863. Located on the railroad, the embryo town boomed, then slumped, but again came to its own and is now the prosperous home of rug and rattan manufactures, and other industries.

Malaga has had a similar history but has not made as yet quite so complete a recovery. Its development was dependent upon a glass works owned by Stanger and Company. A saw mill was erected to manufacture the timber required for the glass factory, stores, blacksmith and other shops, all owned by the Stangers, were put in operation, and Malaga was apparently to be a thriving town. But the mill soon finished its work and was abandoned, the other parts served their time and were dropped, with a result that the town, like many another whose fortunes were connected with a single industry, has fluctuated widely in both population and prosperity. Through good fortune and ill the place has kept its fine spirit of faith and friendliness and is the loved home of many of the county's best folk. Iona, Porchtown, New Denmark, Plainville, Chewville, Downstown, and Forest Grove are among the hamlets in outlying parts of Franklin Township. Some of the finest churches in the township have not lived through to the present day but among those now extant are: Benevento Methodist Episcopal; Franklinville Methodist Episcopal, Rev. Stanley N. Clark; Janvier Presbyterian, Rev. R. Jenkins, Williamstown; Lake Methodist Episcopal, Rev. H. C. Snyder, Pitman; Malaga Methodist Episcopal, Forrest Howell, Millville; Newfield Baptist, Rev. L. A. Schnering; Newfield Methodist Episcopal, Rev. George Taylor; Plainville Methodist Episcopal, Rev. Howard Porch, Richewood; Porchtown Methodist Episcopal, Rev. Forrest Howell.

Glassboro Township—The history of Glassboro Township is the history of glass making in Gloucester County. In 1775 seven Stanger brothers, Jacob, Solomon, John, Christian, Adam, Francis, and Philip, came to Gloucester and bought an acreage of the scrubby pine forest. They cleared enough land to give them a factory site, erected the needed building for a glass works and before twelve months had made their first "melt." A big establishment for its time, it would today not even be worthy of mention, and yet for a quarter of a century this little clearing, with its few buildings, was all there was to Glassboro Township.

With the sheriff's sale to Thomas Heston and Thomas Carpenter came a new era. The clearing was enlarged, bigger buildings made, and the place

became worthy of a name, being called Glassboro after its one industry. The factory naturally monopolized the store trade with the only store and had for a time the only blacksmith, wheelwright, carpenter, shoemaker, and mason in town. Bottle making was the plant's specialty, although flint and window glass were made at one time.

The Heston-Carpenter business was merged with the Whitney Brothers establishment whose first furnace was put in blast in 1813. The combined firms greatly enlarged their plant and in 1880 it was one of the most complete in New Jersey, having their own saw mill and planing mill with all necessary machinery for making lumber and packing boxes, a flour and feed mill, blacksmith shop with forges, and a number of farms, altogether giving employment to nearly five hundred.

Another glass works was located in the south part of Glassboro in 1834, by Lewis Stanger, his brother Jacob and the latter's son, George. Lewisville was designated as the name of this new place, but the proprietors were such extreme temperance advocates that none but abstainers would they employ, and a clerk jokingly dubbed the place Temperanceville which name displaced the other. The new works changed from the making of hollow ware to window glass in 1856, and four years later added another glass house doubling their capacity, and had about a hundred employees.

Today after more than a hundred and fifty years, Glassboro has one important factory known as Number 12, of the Owens string of glass works. This plant makes nothing but bottles, bottles of all sizes from one-half ounce to two gallons and of all shapes and purposes—bottles by the million. The plant is run on a twenty-four hour time shift, and with machinery of the latest model doing the work of many hands. The glass industry brought together people of many nationalities, which early led to the formation of many fraternities and churches, both of which had a somewhat precarious life.

St. Thomas' Protestant Episcopal Church was the earliest in the field, the first known baptismal service being that of Francis Stanger, in November 29, 1790. The Roman Catholic, one of the latest of the industrial period, did not come before 1880. At present there are five other churches: Glassboro Methodist Episcopal, Rev. A. B. Carlin; Glassboro Methodist Protestant, Rev. Samuel Dorlon; Glassboro Presbyterian, Rev. Alexander Laird; Glassboro Reformed, Rev. A. Steeger; Glassboro Lawns, Colored Baptist, H. B. James, Philadelphia.

Isaac Mickle in his "Reminiscences of Old Gloucester," says:

The township of Greenwich is by some months the most ancient township in Gloucester County, for we find upon the minutes of the County Court, under the date of the first of March, 1694, the following note:

"The inhabitants between Great Mantors Creek and Barclay River request yt ye same division be made and laid into a township henceforth to be called by ye name of Greenwich and yt ye same be recorded, to which ye Bench assents, and order ye same to be done"

Originally the township covered one-third of the county but the lopping off of a piece to make Woolwich and Logan townships, and still more to form a part of East Greenwich, reduced Greenwich to rather small dimensions and somewhat thinly populated. Its growth, while slow, has been steady and in the decade from 1910 to 1920 more than doubled.

Paulsboro the principal town, just missed being Philadelphia by a few feet of latitude. In 1681 a survey was made and the so-called Penn Line laid with the idea of making what is now Paulsboro a great commercial cen-

ter. But the locality proved to be too low. Even as late as 1820 the town was almost on an island with a creek on one side and a swamp on the other, hence it came about that after considering this site for a year, it was discarded, and the present location of Philadelphia chosen.

Since the coming of railroad and highway the discarded plateau has become a splendid town, fully as wide awake and progressive as its more pretentious neighboring towns. There are small and great manufactures; boat building has long been one of its activities, and Billingsport, a mile away, was a half century ago the seat of a fertilizing factory. The last mentioned place has an interesting history covering the Revolution and War of 1812, but for some reason dropped out of sight until the Government saw the need of a light house at this point. Whether this enabled Coe and Richmond also to see its advantages or not it is true that in the same year, 1880, they bought a farm of one hundred and twenty acres from a Samuel Davis and built one of the largest phosphate works in the United States. The original fertilizer factory is no more, but has for its modern successor the I. P. Thomas & Son's Fertilizer Company. The Felt-craft Company has its shop in Paulsboro and the Harrison Chemical Company, a very large concern, is also located there. Nearby, the Vacuum Oil Company has its important refineries, employing many men.

The town is well equipped with social clubs, places of amusement, one of which bids fair to become a resort, and churches. Of these the Paulsboro Methodist Episcopal, with Rev. John W. Lynch as its pastor, has the second largest Sunday School in the county. Other churches are: Billingsport C. M.; Gibbstown Methodist Episcopal, Rev. George R. Morley; Paulsboro Colored Baptist, Rev. J. W. Luck; Paulsboro Tay. Mem. Baptist, Rev. Henry Alfke; Paulsboro Presbyterian; Paulsboro Protestant Episcopal, Rev. W. L. Morgan, Camden.

Monroe and Washington Townships have been in and out and in again in Gloucester County. When the first settlement was made at Squankum (now called Williamstown) it was in Deptford Township and remained so until 1844 when the city of Camden made application to set off Camden, Waterford, Newton, Union, Delaware, and Gloucester townships into a new county to be called Camden. A fight was made in the Legislature to either include Washington Township or not form any new county, which resulted in this township being added to the others and the bill passed, with Camden as county seat. Trouble started again because the voters of Squankum had to go all the way to Cross Keys to attend all elections and town meetings, and to obviate this, the township of Monroe was created, 1859. Politics intervened again in the fate of the townships, when it was found that the retaining of Monroe and Washington would cause Gloucester County to lose one member in the Legislature. Investigation proved that the two townships could be added to Gloucester, without hurting Camden, and the member saved to Gloucester, so in 1871 back came Monroe and Washington to their mother county.

The two townships have been closely linked together not only in politics but in character and interests. Both are "pine" townships although much of the pine forest has long disappeared. Both are agricultural with soil suited rather to vegetables than staple farm crops, and both have the solidity that comes from long settlement.

Williamstown, or Squankum, was founded on a tract of land on "Penn's location of one thousand acres usually called William's Survey." The Penns

deeded this land to Israel Williams in what year is not known, but it was re-deeded to Israel's son, John Williams, in 1783. The name Squankum clung to the settlement until 1842 when application was made for a post office and as there was another town of that same name in Monmouth County, they chose at public meeting the title of Williamstown. There were only four widely scattered houses in Williamstown as late as 1800, and growth was slow until the coming of a glass works. The first furnace was built in 1835 by Israel Ewing, Richard H. Tice, and J. DeHart, but others soon joined them, the name of the firm changed several times, and not until Bodin, Thomas and Company secured control was it named after the town. In 1883 the establishment covered a half dozen acres, had three furnaces, many subsidiary shops and mills, and was the means of support to a thousand persons.

In the sister township, Washington, so called of course in honor of the father of his country, progress has been mostly along agricultural lines. Turnersville was known in the past for its various mills and Hurffville, which grew around a blacksmith shop and had a thriving creamery as early as 1880, are two of the principal villages. There have always been a full content of churches in the townships some of which and their pastors are: Cross Keys Methodist Episcopal, Rev. A. Banse, Williamstown; Downer Methodist Episcopal, Rev. Albert Banse; New Brooklyn Methodist Protestant, Rev. H. S. Miller, Camden; Williamstown Methodist Episcopal, Rev. John T. Richardson; Williamstown Mission, Methodist Episcopal, Rev. John T. Richardson; Williamstown Presbyterian, Rev. Robert C. Jenkins; Bunker Hill Presbyterian, Rev. Alex. Laird, Glassboro; Chapel Heights Methodist Episcopal, Rev. Stephen Collins, Philadelphia; Grenloch Presbyterian, Rev. Daniel Camp; Hurffville, Methodist Episcopal, Rev. John Buck, Sewell, R.D.; Turnersville Methodist Episcopal, Rev. H. Merrill, Paulsboro.

The southern tier of townships beginning at the Delaware River are: Logan, Woolwich, South Harrison, Clayton, and Franklin.

Logan was the landing place of the Swedish pilgrims, as important an event to this locality as the coming of the English to Plymouth. Many Swedish names are still extant in the township and the township, particularly Bridgeport, has the neat solid prosperity associated with the Swedish race.

Woolwich is one of the well drained sandy townships, that under expert handling, has become a garden for the large nearby cities. It has sufficient means of transportation, ample wealth and skilled farmers to make it a very progressive and successful trucking district. The formation of the borough of Swedeboro deprived it of a large part of its population.

South Harrison Township is one of the youngest of the thirteen having been organized as late as 1883. Harrisonville, the main village, is located in the southwest and is named after the hero of Tippecanoe. Fairview and Lincoln are hamlets, old in years that grew up around early saw and grist mills.

Clayton Borough was an important township from its beginning in 1858, and remained so, even after Glassboro was taken from it in 1878. In more recent years it became a borough and is second to none in prosperity and quality, with a population of about two thousand in 1924. A variety of industries have had a home there at different periods. The Moore Glass Works began operations in 1850, and the Fisler and Morgan Company in

1880, but both have been taken by the concentration of glass making in a few localities which, in recent years, has characterized that industry. The rural population is still large and some parts of the township has become the home of many retired or active business men and agriculturists. Religious feeling is strong, with the Methodist Church somewhat in the lead. A list of churches with their pastors are: Clayton First Baptist, Rev. H. F. Adams; Clayton Colored Baptist, Rev. R. Merritt, Glassboro; Clayton Trinity Methodist Episcopal, Rev. H. L. Bradway; Clayton Presbyterian, Rev. H. G. McCool; Swedesboro Methodist Episcopal, Rev. U. G. Hagaman; Swedesboro Presbyterian, Rev. Cedric V. Miller; Swedesboro Colored Baptist, Rev. R. H. Garnet, Mt. Royal; Mt. Zion A. M. E., Rev. W. C. Hoover, Swedesboro; Union A. M. E., Rev. S. H. Doughty, Camden; Harrisonville, Methodist Episcopal, Rev. Richard Morgan; Aura Methodist Episcopal, Rev. H. S. Gascoyne; Ferrell Methodist Episcopal, Rev. R. Morgan, Harrisonville; Hardingville Methodist Protestant, Rev. C. W. Letts, Bridgeton; Bridgeport Methodist Episcopal, Rev. Albert E. Morris; Centre Square Methodist Episcopal, Rev. A. E. Morris, Bridgeport; Repaupo Methodist Episcopal, Rev. G. R. Morley, Gibbstown.

For convenience, Harrison and Mantua townships may be grouped together. Harrison was originally named Spicer but changed to Harrison in honor of General William Henry Harrison, tenth President of the United States. A little hilly in the northeast, it slopes to level farms and gardens in other directions. Mullica Hill, the principal town, was originally stretched thinly along the main highway with a tavern on either end. A grist mill, carding mill, and a cotton cloth mill were erected at different periods, but transportation, or the lack of it, caused their removal or replacement. Since then industries, catering principally to local demands, have thrived, and the gardening possibilities more completely developed. The Friends were the first religious denomination in Mullica Hill but others followed and there are now the: Ewan Methodist Episcopal, Rev. B. F. Crane; Jefferson Methodist Episcopal, Rev. C. E. Hickman, Clarksboro; Mullica Hill Baptist, Rev. Henry Aston; Mullica Hill Colored Baptist, Rev. W. E. Scott, Woodbury; Mullica Hill Friends, Rev. Rachel M. Lippincott; Mullicia Hill Methodist Episcopal, Rev. L. B. Henderson; Richwood Methodist Episcopal, Rev. H. J. Heine-man.

Mantua is a fruit and vegetable center, is well watered by numerous branches and lakes of Mantua Creek, and directly connected with Camden and Philadelphia by rail. It has its shops and warehouses to supply the rural needs, modern stores in the town, a canning factory, and is a delightful locality in which to live. The town and country people are closely joined socially and in the various civic enterprises that arise. The churches are ample, and Pitman although starting as a camp meeting center has outgrown and enlarged upon that original idea, becoming a thoroughly up-to-date town with fine streets, splendid building sites, modern places of enjoyment, and while the home of many all-year residents, its population is largely increased in summer. The Pitman Methodist Episcopal Church, of whom F. C. Uhl is pastor, is worthy of note for its large Sunday School with nearly a thousand membership. Mention must be made of the: Barnsboro Methodist Episcopal, Rev. Stephen Collins, Philadelphia; Barnsboro Methodist Protestant, Rev. W. L. Morton, Sewell; Mantua Methodist Episcopal, Rev. Lewis Shelhorn; Mantua Protestant Episcopal, Rev. Charles Behringer, Wenonah; Pitman Baptist, Rev. E. O. Clark; Sewell Baptist, Rev. George W. Lamborne.

Swedesboro gives immediate knowledge of its name of its earliest settlers. Located at the head of navigation on Raccoon Creek its first industry, aside from farming, was the exporting of wood. It built many of its own boats for this and the transportation of farm products and manures. Until the railroad came this water route was its main connection with the larger towns and cities. With the appreciation of its soil as deforestation gradually uncovered it, came a decrease in the wood business and truck farming took its place. Having a loamy soil ranging from the light sandy to the heavy gravelly, with some marl, it soon began to lead as a producer of sweet potatoes, asparagus, melons and the tender crops, such as peppers, egg plants, and tomatoes. Today it is one of the largest shipping stations for tomatoes in this country, a single day's loading of fifty cars of early tomatoes is not unusual. Besides cargoes shipped by boat, some 2,500 cars are required annually to move crops, some going as far as Canada and Salt Lake City. Its marked success along these lines has made it one of the wealthiest communities in Gloucester County.

SALEM COUNTY

CHAPTER I. TOPOGRAPHY OF SALEM COUNTY.

Although there are several sources of the history of this county, unfortunately, they are too brief and the full account is yet to be written. This county, lying in the southwestern part of the State, is bounded by Gloucester County on the northeast, on the southeast by Cumberland County, and on the west by the Delaware River, and has the noteworthy distinction of being the most western portion of the State. It is well watered in the interior, and all its streams debouch, by several channels, into the above-named river. It has an area of approximately 220,000 acres, and varies in surface from marshes along the river in the southern part of the county, to gently rolling land in the interior, with a gradual rise to the eastward. The soil is mostly alluvial, with considerable variety in character, which contributes possibilities of variety to its agricultural products.

The original bounds of the county along the river were from Oldman's Creek to Tweed River or Back Creek, and inland to the head waters of these streams, but a portion of this territory passed to Cape May County, and a further decrease occurred when in 1748 Cumberland County was detached. The territory under consideration had been claimed by other colonies, first by Virginia and later by Connecticut, but no attempt at settlement was then made. The Dutch arrived in the South River in 1623 and laid claim to both sides of the river, but no record remains of any settlement within the bounds of this county; then in 1627 came the Swedes and Finns to the mouth of the Delaware, which they explored, and probably became familiar with this locality soon after; however, in 1631, they built Fort Helsingboro near what continues to be known as Elsinboro Point, in the township so named, for purposes of defense of the river, for which the site was well adapted from its strategical position. In the account of DeVries' visit to the river, he makes mention of this fort. In 1640 a colony from New Haven settled near the mouth of the Assamhocking Creek, as called by the Indians, Varken's Kill, by the Dutch, or the present Salem River, but was not long continued, owing to sickness; however, when Governor Printz came in 1643, he bore orders to treat with these English people. The Dutch overcame the Swedes in 1655 and took many of them as prisoners to New York under Peter Stuyvesant. King Charles II, having granted his brother, the Duke of York, all the territory known as New Netherlands, in 1664, he in turn granted Nova Cesarea or New Jersey to Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley. Edward Byllinge obtained a half part of this and sold one-tenth to John Fenwick, and in these transfers was no mention of royalties, nor taxes to the Crown, a noteworthy fact, supposedly granted as a reward for the sanctuary granted Charles by the Carterets on the Isle of Jersey. The effect of this was to establish an entirely independent government. In 1665 Sir Robert Carr led an English expedition into the Delaware River for the purpose of having the authority of that nation recognized.

Arrival of John Fenwick—John Fenwick was a scion of the ancient noble Northumberland family of the name, and was himself an armiger. The origin is said to have been Saxon, but the branches were numerous and, living in one of the border counties as they did, were exposed to almost con-

stant warfare as the forces of the Kingdom of England and Scotland passed and repassed over that territory. John is said to have been the second of four sons of Sir William Fenwick, of Stanton Hall, in Cumberland, and was born in 1618, although positive proof of this is lacking. Little is known of his youth in the north of England, but it appears that he entered, as a student of law, Gray's Inn, London, but it is doubtful if he pursued the course to graduation, the unsettled condition of the times causing military service to have an appeal to a member of a family of fighting stock, when partisans of the King were active against those favoring the Parliament, or as arbitrary power versus the spirit of freedom. We find him receiving a commission as a major of cavalry on October 27, 1648, which was written by Cromwell himself. It has been asserted that he was present at the execution of Charles I, but proof of this is lacking. Three years later he received a commission to enlist a troop of cavalry for the defense of County Surrey; this was from President or Speaker Bradshaw, of the so-called Rump Parliament, and the same man who had signed the death warrant of the King.

Fenwick's common-place book is extant and contains entries in detail of farming operations carried on by him in County Surrey for a period of about two years. The number of acres sowed to different grains, their yield, prices received, and the rate of wages paid being included. These entries end in 1654, and in the next year he was appointed by Cromwell as a commissioner for County Surrey. He married, in 1648, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Walter Covert, of Sussex, and by her had three daughters, Elizabeth, Anna, and Priscilla, and after his wife's death, which was before 1655, he married Mary, daughter of Sir Walter Burdet. He had belonged for several years prior to the Civil War to the Independent or Congregational Society, and his pastor wrote that he had "all Christian wisdom, innocence and holiness of conversation." In 1665 he and his wife joined the then comparatively newly organized religious body under George Fox, named by themselves as the Society of Friends, and Fenwick continued in membership with it until his death, although a question was at one time raised as to his sentiments towards the body after his arrival in America. Notwithstanding the promise of King Charles at the time of his restoration, that all his subjects should be protected in their religious worship, the "Quakers" or "Ranters" became the subject of great persecution partially because they were classed as Millinarians or Fifth Monarchy men, who claimed that they were entitled to overthrow by force any temporal authority which in their estimation obstructed the advent of their spiritual kingdom. Also their refusal to take the oath of allegiance on account of their religious principles was adverse to peaceful contact with the authorities, the while they averred their fidelity to the King. Like so great a number, Fenwick was imprisoned, his goods seized for non-payment of fines, and he was subjected to many annoyances brought about by the spirit of persecution. Probably his activity during the Civil War rendered him a fitting subject for retaliation, and this interference with his rights and the knowledge of the new country overseas through part of the coast line of which George Fox had recently traveled, doubtless turned his thoughts towards a place where a colony might be established that would combine both civil and religious liberty. For about a score of years little is known of his life, but in 1673 he purchased of the Right Honorable John Lord Berkeley, Baron of Stratton, his half share of Nova Cesarea, which had been granted to him and Sir George Carteret by the Duke of York in 1664, the consideration being one thousand pounds. Some difficulties arose over this transaction; Edward

Byllinge claimed an equity in the transaction, and Fenwick was indebted to Edredge and Warner who pressed him for their claims; however, the matter was referred to arbitrators in accordance with the discipline of the sect, William Penn, Gawen Laurie, and Nicholas Lucas being chosen, and they approving Byllinge's claim, Fenwick thereupon signed the agreement, but reluctantly, and was paid four hundred pounds and assigned one-tenth of the land conveyed by Berkeley. He was greatly dissatisfied with this award and for a time refused to acquiesce in it, but the advice of William Penn being at last heeded, the matter rested; it was not forgotten, however, and when in 1680 he issued a "Remonstrance and Declaration," he stated that it could not be denied that he bought with his "own money" land from Berkeley, and again in his will made on "my sick bed." at Fenwick's Grove, he mentioned the matters referred to above which shows that even then he considered he had not been dealt with fairly. However, the dispute reaching a settlement in England, he prepared to organize a colony, beginning by issuing a circular which was considered by some to be rather flowery; the Friends presented another, advising caution as to emigrating, lest the society might be thought responsible; this was signed by the three arbitrators above named. In time, the contents of Fenwick's circular proved to be generally correct as it had been made up from information received from those who had been on the ground. Later on, letters from William Penn and others proved that there had been no exaggeration. In order to make ready for departure from England and reconcile his business affairs therewith, he gave a mortgage to John Edredge and Edmund Warner on the 17th of July, 1675; neither the exact date of sailing nor the number in the ship has been preserved, and there have been conflicting dates assigned for the arrival here. The Friends' record give it as the 23rd of the ninth month and the first deed from the Indians was dated October 8th, which dates agree with the circumstances as handed down to us. It is probable the confusion was caused by the change to the Gregorian calendar in later years, and the use of numbered instead of named months in the records. In describing the voyage, one passenger states that they were "exposed to great hazards, straits, dangers, and cruelties at sea." Without any exaggeration of the facts, with the many passengers in the small-sized vessel of that time, much discomfort must have been experienced.

It has been stated that anchor was first cast opposite Fort Elfsborg, but later the vessel entered the creek or river afterward named for the founder, and landed about three miles farther up at a place given the name of New Salem from its peaceful aspect. After the terrors and discomforts of the voyage, it was a happy band that landed here, and Fenwick had come to rejoice at the success achieved, but if the veil of the future had been lifted he would have seen much trouble and perplexity in his path in the years ahead, and possibly the name given the place would not have been bestowed; be that as it may, there has been no change to this day, aside from dropping the adjective new. Although it is not clear that Fenwick had a definite landing place in mind at the time of departure from England, nevertheless he had accepted payment for land, even from some of those embarking with him "to be purchased from the Indians within thirty days after arrival," and he was fortunately able to carry out that plan to the satisfaction of all concerned.

There came with him his three daughters: Elizabeth and her husband, John Adams, and their three children; Priscilla and her husband, John Champ-

neys, and their two children; and Anna, the second daughter, unmarried, but who became the wife of Samuel Hedge in 1676. After giving much attention to the business of establishing the colony, he, towards the close of his life relinquished active participation in its affairs and returned to his seat at Fenwick's Grove. The site of the Manor House therein has not been as yet accurately determined despite efforts made to do so, but it is of interest because of his direction that "court leets and court barons" should be held there, a survival of an ancient English law applied in this hemisphere. He died late in 1683 at Fenwick's Grove, leaving a will which was long, and informative of some incidents of his life not otherwise disclosed. His burial place, with the lapse of time was forgotten by his succeeding generations, but when the Historical Society was formed determined efforts were made to locate it and, notwithstanding the doubt cast by some writers, a location has been generally agreed upon and the placing of a memorial stone near-by has been planned, which plan it is expected will be carried to completion in the near future, a fitting celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Fenwick's Colony.

CHAPTER II.

GOVERNMENT OF FENWICK'S COLONY—COUNTY BUILDINGS.

During the summer after arrival, Fenwick organized a government with details similar to that of a county in England, he being the head as "one of the Lords or Chief Proprietors of said proprietary, and particularly of Fenwick's Colony, lying within the same," appointed a high sheriff, justices of the peace, baliffs, and minor local officers, after taking his oath as governor in 1676.

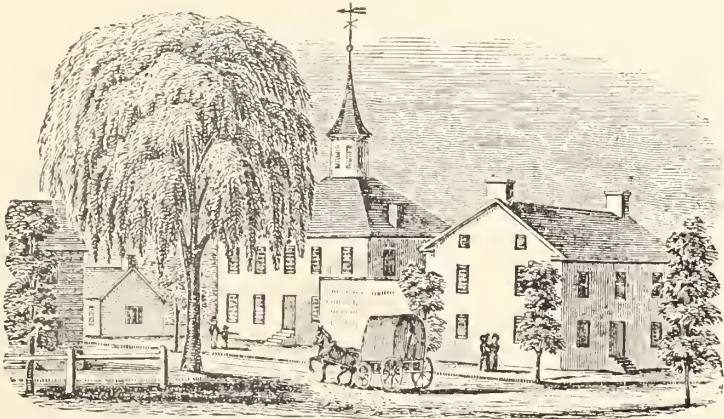
The first purchase from the Indians of the date of October 8th, as before stated, included land between Mosacksa and Forcus creeks, as called by the Indians, or as Anglicized, Salem and Oldman's. The second purchase was from Salem Creek to the Canohockink Creek now called the Cohansey, also an Indian name. The third and last purchase was from the latter stream to the Wahatquenack, now Morris River, running inland to the headwaters of these streams.

When counties were set up there were but two in West New Jersey, Burlington and Salem. Cape May County was established in 1692, and in 1748 Cumberland County was set off from Salem; there has been little changes in boundary lines in the interval, aside from some on the eastern side of the county, covering, however, small territory. Late deeds of the seventeenth century make mention of the Court House, as a land mark, but the first court of sessions is stated to have been held on the 17th of September, 1706, from which time records have been preserved in continuity.

The town of Salem was incorporated in 1695 and had a burgess, justices, recorder, baliff, and surveyor. An act was passed May 12, 1696, to qualify officers who were conscientiously scrupulous against taking an oath, it being the origin of like actions which have become laws of several States. "Whereas, some persons out of a principle of conscience, have not freedom to take oaths: Be it enacted by the Governor with advice of his Council, and consent and agreement of the representatives in this present Assembly, met and assembled, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that their not having freedom to take oaths shall not disable or incapacitate them for want thereof to hold or enjoy any office of the government within



JOHN FENWICK'S HOUSE (BUILT 1677)
From a Sketch by William Patterson



OLD VIEW OF THE COUNTY BUILDINGS, SALEM

this province, whether magisterial or ministerial to which he or they are duly elected, nor exclude him or them from any right or privilege which any of his majesty's subjects are capable to enjoy, he or they signing the declaration of fidelity, and profession of the Christian faith, following, to wit: By virtue and in obedience to the said act of Assembly, we, whose names are subscribed, do sincerely promise and solemnly declare that we will be true and faithful to William, King of England, and the government of this province of West Jersey. And we do solemnly profess and declare, that we do from our hearts abhor, detest and renounce, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever; and we do declare that no foreign prince, prelate, state or potentate, hath or ought to have any power, jurisdiction, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm." A creed followed which was subscribed to by the officers of the town of Salem.

The government established by Fenwick appears to have given satisfaction to the colonists, but aroused the displeasure of Governor Andros of New York, who claiming jurisdiction, warned the founder by letter and messenger to alter his actions, to which insufficient attention having been paid, according to the view of Andros, he caused Fenwick to be arrested and taken to New York where he was confined for several months, but no proof of wrong doing being presented he was allowed to return to his colony. There is simple warrant for believing that the success of Fenwick induced William Penn, his intimate friend, co-religionist, and neighbor in England to make his "Holy Experiment in Pennsylvania," seven years later.

County Buildings—The history of the first court house is vague, but that and the following ones were all located on the acre lot granted by the founder to build a court house and prison on. In 1717 a whipping post was ordered to be set up in the jail, and in 1735 a brick and frame court house was built which continued until 1818, when another enlargement was completed, and the last as recently as 1908. Some slight traces of the first brick building still remain, and the site selected by the founder for this purpose still serves. The first log jail was succeeded by a larger one in 1709, and again increased in size in 1775; this was of stone. Twenty years later a prisoner set a portion of the jail afire, but the damage being repaired, the building continued in use until the completion of the present jail in 1867, when the old jail was removed from the corner of Fenwick and New Bridge streets.

The first office for the county clerk, a small brick building that stood into this century, was built about 1700 by Thomas Killingsworth, in the eastern part of the town. In 1798 a brick building for the county clerk and surrogate was erected on the court house acre; additions were made in 1804, and in 1853 the present commodious offices were completed.

Land was purchased in 1794 for a county farm on Major's Run, and ten years afterward an almshouse was built; this stood until 1845, when it was destroyed by fire, being replaced by the present structure a year later. In 1870 a building for the insane patients was added. At present, many suffering from some "of the ills that flesh is heir to," are maintained by the county in State institutions where specialists treat the afflicted by modern methods. Efforts were made to have the county seat moved to a more central part of the county, and an election was held in 1819, at which feeling was exhibited with regular political fervor, at the time two locations opposed Salem.

CHAPTER III.

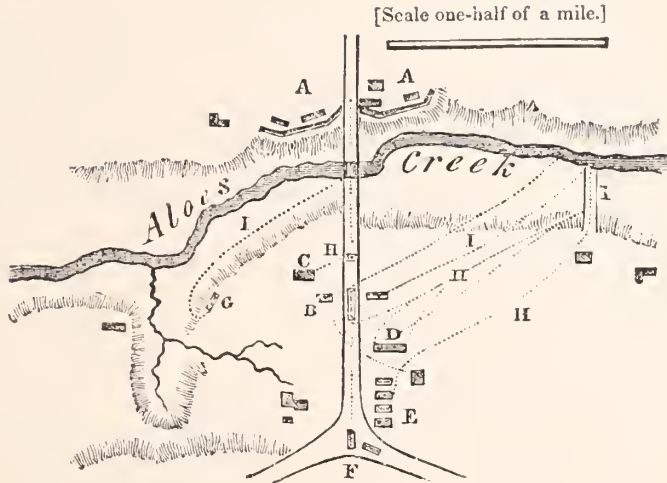
EARLY TRADE AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

Early communication in the colony was by water, on the navigable streams upon which the first plantations were located; in time came bridle paths, which frequently followed Indian trails, and these also gave direction in many instances to the roads for vehicles when they came into existence. The first official highway was that surveyed in 1682 to Burlington, the capital of West Jersey, and several attempts have been made in more recent years to locate as nearly as possible the original line of the road by writers who have given much study to the matter, but the inability to recognize the old landmark in recent times have not brought desired results. It is known that straight lines were infrequent, owing to turns to avoid hills, to pass around a swamp, or to reach a fordable place across a stream. Numerous records remain relative to the straightening or shortening of this and other roads, which work went on until approximately the present courses were settled upon. The first State-aided road in the county was in 1896, and while less than three miles long, followed the then line of the road above mentioned. At present there are nearly forty miles of hard-surfaced roads in the county, with several additional miles in prospect within a year.

Transit by water was also the more easily accomplished at first, owing to the great stretches of tidal meadows over which small boats could pass at high tide, to the knolls usually selected as the site for plantation buildings, but so much idle marsh attracted attention and colonists built banks to stop the tide out of the meadows, which were drained by sluices or flumes placed under the banks arranged to allow the water to flow outwards but not inwards, and after the draining of these areas the land was found to be of great fertility and was eagerly chosen for farming. This work of reclamation soon became extensive and in 1697 a law was passed governing the matter, followed by many others; an incorporated company was formed in 1794 to carry on the work which, with others organized later, are still in existence.

Navigation began early, and Salem was made a port of entry as early as 1682 with vessels trading to West Indian and New England ports, this condition continuing until deflected by other places of shipment. The natural waterways were deepened by the banks aforementioned, the more rapid flow of the tide being the cause, and towns were started inland. After several earlier attempts, a canal was dug from Game Creek to the Delaware River in 1873, and continues in use for freighting for the northwestern part of the county.

The founder also donated land for a fair ground for the use of the inhabitants of the colony, and this, on specified days, was used for markets as well; most of the information about fairs comes from the laws passed to regulate their conduct. About one hundred years ago agricultural societies began to flourish, and in 1826 a fair was held in Sharptown, formerly called Blessington, named, by Isaac Sharp, after the family estate in Ireland. An agricultural society was incorporated in 1851, but now interests of this nature are looked after by the Grangers who hold meetings at several points in the county. A County Board of Agriculture was maintained. A farm demonstrator has been employed within recent years whose duties cover a wide range of activities, such as obtaining information of the best sources of supply of needed materials and the most active markets for produce raised, together with the gathering and dissemination of the most advanced information concerning any product of this section.



Plan of the Affair at Quinton's Bridge, 18th March, 1778.

[REFERENCES.—A. The rebels in their works. B. Detachment of the 17th of Infantry masking the Bridge. C. The Light Infantry of the Rangers ambuscaded in a house. D. A detachment commanded by Capt. Saunders in ambuscade. E. Huzzars and Infantry of Queen's Rangers in the wood. F. Detachment of the 17th, retreating in view of the enemy. G. Rebels passing the bridge. H. Salty of the Light Infantry and pursuit of the Rangers. I. Flight of the enemy.]



SOMERS HOMESTEAD, SOMERS POINT

A comparative report for this year, with all the counties of the State, showed this county to be standing in an enviable position. Agriculture was and is the financial mainstay of the county, so that it has ranked second in the State in value of the products of the field which comprise a wide variety. The larger part of the land is particularly adapted for grains and hay, the meadows for salt hay, so called.

The fertility of the soil was formerly enhanced by the application of marl which was found to underlie much of the land, and where deposits were near the surface, pits were dug and the material placed on the market, almost a hundred years ago. From one excavation in Mannington Township the bones of a mastodon were taken and are preserved in the Academy of Natural Sciences, in Philadelphia. The use of marl gave way some years ago with the advent of commercial fertilizers which are of more certain content, but the latent possibilities of this natural deposit should not be overlooked.

Corn is a notable product, in size of stalk and yield of grain, the climate being especially favorable for this crop. Potato growing increases from year to year, seed now being home grown instead of being brought from Maine, as was the case when the early cropping began to be practiced. Now, in season, some 4,000 car loads leave the county, many of them for distant destinations. Tomatoes cover a large acreage and are generally cared for by the many establishments in the county, locally known as "can-houses." Pumpkins and other vegetables are also canned, while apples, pears, peaches, and small fruits, including large quantities of strawberries, add to the large amount of food for human needs.

Natural conditions of pasturage facilitated cattle raising, which has been an important industry from early times, varying in particulars from time to time; for one period fattened steers were produced, and in 1818 the "Monroe Ox" was sent to Philadelphia, weighing 2,723 pounds, then believed to be a record.

Soon after the coming of the Salem Railroad in 1863, shipment of milk by rail began, and efforts were made to increase the quantity and later the quality of this food product. Much rivalry resulted in determining the most adaptable breeds of cattle and of the proper feed for each, which still continues, with a constantly increasing production which is now cared for by creameries, a condensed milk plant, milk shipping stations and direct shipment by rail and truck, so natural adaptability coupled with ensilage, balanced rations of prepared feed, proper watering and housing of milch cows, and general modern management has resulted in a large and superior quality of the lacteal fluid being produced.

A community of this type was naturally interested in horses and due care was given to their breeding, many advertisements in the earliest newspapers showing this fact. Some breeders developed an especial talent for a certain type of animal and in time race tracks were established, one in Salem used at Fair time called "Thunderbolt," was succeeded by the Salem Driving Park in the city limits, which was discontinued in 1916.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SALEM COMMUNITY—TOWNSHIPS AND BOROUGHES.

As has been stated, Salem was the first settled town in the county and has the further distinction of being the first permanent English-speaking settlement in West New Jersey. The safety afforded by the harbor doubtless

was the cause of the selection of this place for the first time. No complete list of passengers coming on the "Griffin" has been preserved, but they were supposed to have numbered about one hundred and fifty; a large proportion of these were made up of families, some of them bringing servants, a list of the families having been recorded. The site of the town lent itself to early improvement, and its beauty was enhanced by the large oak trees that are known to have been standing at the time of the settlement; indeed, one of the most notable natural features of the place at present is what is known as the Old Oak, a large specimen of the *quercus alba*, standing in the Friends' Burial Ground, which has been estimated to be at least four hundred years old, with prospects of long continuing life, as careful attention is given to its preservation. The plot of ground on which this tree stands, it may be mentioned in passing, is perhaps unique in the State as to its chain of title, owing to several unusual circumstances, it having been sold but once since a deed was passed in England in 1675.

In the spring following arrival, streets were surveyed, and some of them exist today on practically the original courses; the practice was to grant a sixteen-acre town lot for each five hundred acres taken up for plantations, so that there was ample room on the town lots, and frequently the dwellings were set some distance back from the street. The oldest house now standing was built in 1691, but there are several nearly as old, and many of more recent years retain the Colonial aspects which are heightened by the umbrageous foliage of the summer days.

The township of Salem was formed in 1695 and comprised the town. John Worledge was the first burgess and Benjamin Acton, recorder. In 1858 the city of Salem was incorporated and a seal adopted bearing the device of the oak tree and the words, "The Mayor and Common Council of the City of Salem." The first mayor was Robert Gibbon Johnson, the author of Johnson's "History of Salem," followed by fifteen to the present incumbent.

The growth of Salem has been gradual but continuous. Very early statistics are not available, but in 1920 it had a population of 7,435. There are numerous colored people in the city and county, but a noteworthy fact is that notwithstanding the great influx of labor into the county during the last war, the census shows that the native population held the predominance.

It appears that the colonists were educated in accordance with the times in England, but that the first generations born here showed retrogression; however, this condition was soon overcome as shown by manuscripts and signs manual. The earliest instruction was given in the homes either of parents or in those of such as were teaching. The first regular attempt at public instruction came with the founding of the Salem Academy in 1787, incorporated in 1813, an institution noted for its good work and influence and which continued until merged with the free public school system of the State. The present high school building was erected in 1913, and six other buildings are now in use, two of them for colored children. The largest amount of tax for any one purpose is levied for schools.

A library existed over a century ago and was continued probably without intermission, although housed in various places, until its increasing size caused it to outgrow its quarters; then the substantial stone building on Broadway was built for library purposes by W. Graham Tyler, as a memorial to John Tyler, his father, and in it was conducted the Salem Free Library, until recent State legislation permitted municipal aid, and the title is now the Free Library of the City of Salem.

Commerce continued from the early days, expanding with the growth of population and increased agricultural production. Milling interests grew and tan yards became numerous after the establishment of the first one in 1790, and the yard in Salem, conducted by John Tyler, is said to be the largest south of Newark. Other manufacturing interests developed gradually. Soap was made for a decade. In 1852 the manufacture of ice cream was begun. Its excellent quality led to a great demand, and with railroad service it was distributed over a large area. It still continues to be made, although several makes are brought to the city from outside places. Oil cloth was first made in 1868; others became interested in its manufacture, which has continued in various lines until the present, and it now has one of the largest and most modern plants in the country operating at full capacity.

The first mayor, Colonel Johnson, brought the first tomatoes to Salem in 1820; they were considered unedible, but were admired for their appearance. A change of status has occurred by 1863, when the first tomato canning factory was established in Salem, from which time an important business grew in the city and many parts of the county. A particular reason for the success of these enterprises lies in the peculiar adaptability of soil and climate for this vegetable, giving the product a deep, natural color, that allows the packing of the vegetable without any artificial coloring matter, an attribute not found elsewhere except in a very limited area. A large plant in the city makes a specialty of the manufacture of canning machinery under their own patents, for which markets are found in this and foreign countries.

An iron foundry was established in 1825, and under different ownership a like plant continues. Casper Wistar started the first glass factory in New Jersey in 1738, about a mile from the then village of Thompson's Bridge, now Alloway, and skilled craftsmen were brought from Germany to blow hollow ware, but some ornamental and household articles were made which are still of interest to those in the quest of the antique. The proximity of wood and suitable sand caused the selection of this location and the plant was continued in operation until moved to what is now Glassboro. In 1862 a firm engaged in the manufacture of hollow ware in Salem, and has grown into a large and modern plant; there is also a second firm that produces besides standard goods some lines in which especial skill is required. Bottle blowing machines, tanks, with gas and oil for fuel, keep this industry where it long has been, in the forefront of county manufactures. In 1863 a window glass factory was established at Quinton, and was successfully operated for about fifty years. Hollow ware was also made at Elmer, but has been discontinued for several years.

Necessity for transportation facilities grew with the place, and in keeping with the progress of the times a steamboat ran to New Castle, Delaware, as early as 1816. A boat plying to Philadelphia was started soon after, and at times competitive lines were operated with fares as low as twelve and a half cents. The longest steamboat in service was the "Major Reybold," built in 1853, on a model particularly adapted to the conditions of the run, which continued in service until 1907. The largest steamboat in the list of many that had intervened from the first, was the last, the three decker, "Queen Anne." Freighters were operated by the factories to deliver their products to sea-going lines and to bring return cargoes of necessary supplies. A Board of Trade was organized in 1871. A Harbor Commission now cares for the interests of the Port, and present efforts are being energetically directed towards its enlargement and improvement.

The Salem Railroad running to Elmer was opened in 1863; twenty years later a shorter route to Camden was opened and through mergers has become a part of the Pennsylvania system. A belt line supplies trackage facilities to the larger manufacturing plants and is of course of great assistance to their economical operation.

The financial needs of the place have been well cared for particularly since 1822, when the "Salem Steam Mill and Banking Company" was incorporated. A few years later the milling business was discontinued, the Salem Banking Company confining itself to regular banking business and, as the Salem National Banking Company, is the oldest institution of its kind in the county. A second bank, the City National, was chartered in 1888, and in friendly rivalry increased the amount of business year by year.

Water works for the city were established in 1881 at Quinton, about three miles east. The Holly engine then installed is daily pumping water into Salem. Enlarged need of water caused a number of artesian wells to be drilled which added to the supply, but realizing the necessity of looking into the future, last year (1923) the city purchased the Elkinton Pond, and has now a pumping outfit by which much larger quantities of excellent water may be drawn upon as needed. The average daily consumption is about one million gallons.

At the beginning of the last century an organized fire company was in existence, which in 1827 became the Union Fire Company; four years later a fire house was built. The city now has four volunteer companies, all motorized, and the Union has a steam fire engine. Much interest is maintained in the different organizations, and prompt response to alarms rarely allow a fire to gain much headway.

As has been stated, the colonists were mainly members of the Society of Friends and the first building for religious worship was erected by them, but in 1728 Samuel Hedge, grandson of the founder, donated land as the site for an Episcopalian church, and now the stone edifice of that denomination stands on the ground so given.

The Swedes living in Penn's Neck had contributed towards the building of Holy Trinity Church at Christianaham, on the western shore of the Delaware in 1689, but owing to the distance across that stream they obtained permission from a Bishop, in Sweden, of the Lutheran Church, to establish a new church on the eastern shore, and in 1717 the building was constructed under the name of St. George's, which it yet bears, although it was transferred to the Episcopalians in 1789. There was a Swedish Lutheran Church at Buckshutem and perhaps at Leesburg on the Morris River, but all records are gone except traces of the graveyards.

Seventh-day Baptists are said to have settled in Shiloh and established a church in 1737, but the continuing sect is now in Cumberland County. As early as 1683 Baptists from Ireland settled at Cohansey, also beyond the present boundary of this county. In 1743 a Baptist meeting house was built at Mill-hollow, about two miles east of Salem, constituted in 1757, but with the growth of the town and the convenience of the congregation a new house of worship was erected in Salem in 1787. Presbyterian churches were early established in what is now Cumberland County, as may be noted elsewhere. The first of the denomination in the present bounds of this county was organized in 1741 at Pitt's Grove; seven years later another congregation formed in Penn's Neck, and in 1750 one was formed in Logtown. About this time a German Lutheran Church was constituted at Freasburg,



SALEM

Y. M. C. A. Building and First Baptist Church

St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church

St. Mary's Catholic Church

whose members were mostly glass blowers. Records were kept in German until 1832. The church still maintains services. The first Methodist Church in Salem was built in 1784, and a congregation worships at the same place now. Numerous other churches of this denomination came into existence through the county. The Friends had a meeting house in Salem by 1680, and within a few years after had set up meetings in Lower Alloway's Creek and at Thompson's Bridge. A meeting house built in 1772 is still used in Salem. There are now twelve buildings in the city used for religious worship, four of them for colored people, and one or two other religious organizations meeting in halls.

Townships and Boroughs—Monmouth River gave the name to Monmouth precinct, one of the first divisions laid out and settled in the colony, the banks of that stream being a favorite location for early plantations. The general statement that houses along the eastern seaboard were the first built of bricks from England, has no application to this county, as brick making was an early industry, and glazed bricks were made and used in the decoration of gables, with dates, initials, and in some cases fancy designs; indeed, the number of such still extant has aroused the interest of travelers who have stated them to be more numerous than in any other section visited. These and other houses show where small windows have been bricked up—this was done to avoid the payment of a tax levied by England. This precinct, with a newer name, witnessed the massacre of the American patriots in 1778, at Hancock's Bridge, by British troops who had effected an ambushade at Quinton's Bridge four days previously. Thomas Pyle, of London, bought ten thousand acres of the founder and this became Pilesgrove Township in 1798, the same year in which six other townships were incorporated, though in each case their bounds had been previously determined. Mannington Township was at first known as East Fenwick; a large part of it was included in the six thousand acres granted to Lefevre and Pledger by the founder before leaving England, and these men with a few others arrived before the "Griffin."

The township of Penn's Neck was divided in the year 1798 into Upper and Lower, the latter formerly West Fenwick. A skirmish with the British occurred here in 1778. A government fortification was placed on Finn's Point as a complement to Fort Delaware, which is on Pea Patch Island in the Delaware River. It was called the "Battery," at the time of the Civil War; later, enlargements were made, modern ordnance installed, and the name was changed to Fort Mott. Nearby is the National Cemetery used during the Rebellion, principally for the interment of prisoners of war.

The shore in this vicinity is being largely developed with cottages for summer use, and a large park at Pennsville affords amusement and recreation to large numbers of excursionists who came by large steel steamboats having a capacity of three thousand passengers.

Carney's Point is in the Upper division, where are located the various great businesses of the Du Pont Company. During the World War powder-making was carried on to such an extent that fame of this plant was widely extended. Over twenty thousand employees were on the pay roll at the peak. Since that time a great dye works has been started and is growing rapidly according to the annual published report.

Boat building was carried on at Allowaystown from about 1803. The quality of the white oak of this vicinity having been recognized, it became

in demand for vessels, and the United States bought large quantities for use in wooden men-of-war at the navy yard in Philadelphia.

Quinton Township was established in 1873, and Oldman's was the last one set off, which was done in 1881. Pittstown named in honor of Sir William Pitt, was changed to Elmer, after Judge Elmer of Cumberland County, when the railroad was built through there. It is now a borough, has a national bank, a newspaper, the "Elmer Times," and several manufacturing industries.

Woodstown borough is near the center of the county in the midst of a fine agricultural region and has water works, electric light plant, two national banks, two trust companies, a newspaper, the "Monitor-Register," a modern high school building, churches of several denominations, and its well kept streets and handsome dwellings make it a pleasant place of residence.

Pennsgrove borough was set off and organized from Upper Penn's Neck Township in 1890 with a small population, but destined to expand rapidly.

Elsinboro, the smallest in area and hence in inhabitants, is of interest as having been the earliest settled along the shore of the Delaware River by Salem inhabitants, and the continuance of its desirability as a place of recreation. Two country clubs are within its bounds while cottages and bungalows occupy almost all the available space suitable and where in the summer not only residents of Salem and vicinity gather, but also many from distant points are attracted by the fine bathing beach. There are about forty hamlets or villages distributed through the eleven townships; the three boroughs named above, and the city of Salem.

A Historic Cannon—During the time Dr. Edward S. Sharpe was president of the Salem County Historical Society, he was the author of several historical essays, written to correct inaccuracies that had come to be accepted in local traditions and to amplify information on mooted questions of history, locality or genealogy. The facts in these articles were presented in as interesting a manner as to hold the attention of the casual reader, as well as that of the most earnest or critical student. The following, being one of the series alluded to, was read before the Society on June the 8th, 1909:

"IL SANNITO."

"Qui a des defenses du Sanglier"

The Tusk of the Wild Boar

The Bronze Neapolitan Cannon

"D. Hievs Castro Novo ^{SRT} Neapoli 1763—"

Cast in the New Fortress, Naples, 163.

From remote antiquity, memorials of the defeat of an enemy, the trophies of victory, have been preserved by triumphant armies and kept in honorable and exalted places, as the shrines of ancient temples, and within and without the walls of modern arsenals, to be seen by all, and thus keep alive patriotism, and foster national pride in mementoes that speak louder than words of the valor of departed heroes. We read in history of the dedication of the immortal Gods, in the Temple of Jupiter Feretries at Rome of the "Spolia Opima"—the spoils taken from the enemy's general when slain by the commander of the army himself, and down to the present day, especially in those rare instances where victories have resulted in the freedom of a subject people of the creation of an independent nation, the honorable booty of priceless sentimental value, is held of sacred import, replete with associations of immortal fame.

Then glyptic and pictorial art, with poetry and classic phrases, unite in doing homage to the martial hero, and blazon his escutcheon with emblematic symbols that tell of signal valor and of glorious deeds; and should he fall, like Warren at Breed's Hill, of Mercer at Princeton, then:—

“ * * * * nations swell the funeral cry
And Triumph weeps above the brave.”

One hundred years or thereabouts (after the achievement of the independence of the American colonies) were allowed to pass, before a posthumous enthusiasm arose, as it were, from the ashes of the illustrious dead—statesmen and warriors who contended for its existence—to arouse an apparently indifferent posterity to a sense of its duty, and stimulate a movement which since that time has been constantly increasing in sympathy with every thing pertaining to the suffering and sacrifice of our forefathers, during the desperate struggle wherein they became engaged, in order to leave their children free.

Impressed with such sentiments, monuments have been erected and tablets unveiled within the boundaries of the original thirteen States, and swords, cannon, muskets, and miscellaneous articles in any way connected with that glorious epoch have been carefully collected and preserved, and thus, in this connection, my interest in the cannon now standing in the Court House yard of this city (mounted appropriately and in good taste by the “Daughters of the Revolution,” and adopted by them) have been awakened, and, distrusting the authenticity of the belief generally accepted as to its various movements during the war and peace, especially in America, since it was cast nearly one hundred and fifty years ago, while not wishing to be considered an iconoclast, I beg the favor of your attention to the conclusions I have reached regarding its true history.

I premise by including in this paper the following article from an issue years ago, of the “National Standard” of this city, viz:—

The old ten pound cannon in the county lot has quite a history. It was captured from the Hessians at the battle of Trenton in 1777 and in the distribution of arms by the State authorities was presented to Salem County. This piece of artillery was taken from the county arsenal at Pole Tavern to celebrate some event during the time of Brigadier-General Foster. It remained there so long, it is supposed the woodwork rotted away for when some gentlemen went after it in 1861 to bring it to Salem, it had to be remounted. The woodwork was then done by John Q. Davis, the iron work at the shop of Charles H. Chew; and the cannon, always a smooth bore, was bored out and rifled by Bennett & Acton and the gun otherwise put in good condition at the expense of the Salem Brigade Board. While firing off this cannon in 1864, George Joss, of this city, was accidentally hurt, and that night the piece was maliciously spiked by an unknown person. Enough room was left around the spike, however, to touch off the cannon. When firing minute guns in memory of Abraham Lincoln in 1865, two pounds of powder was put in on the last round and the cannon filled to the muzzle with wet hay. The spike of course was driven out. This cannon was cast in Naples by D. Heins in 1763. At the head of the vent is a very elaborate Papal coat of arms and on a ribbon between the muzzle and trunnion is the inscription, “Il Sannito.” The cannon is made of bronze and is quite a relic.

The preceding rhetorical curiosity, incorrect and misleading, drawn largely from ignorant gossip and the imagination of rustic wiseacres, explains probably the origin of the fictitious honor of having participation in battles resulting in the independence of the United States of America heretofore attributed to our valued weapon, “Il Sannito,” “The tusk of the Wild Boar;” thus imposing on the credulity of those—including patriotic societies—indifferent to its true history, the transcribed account being a medley of mis-

statements, the "*ipse dixit*" of a writer, who doubtless supposed it to be correct, and that portion referring to recent and local facts probably is but questionable and traditional as regards its original and remote connection with the annals of the past.

Referring to a few of its errors, the battle of Trenton was not fought in the year 1777, but it was in 1776, December 26th, that General Washington made the compliments of the season to Colonel Rahl and the unfortunate mercenaries sold to George III of England by that "Trafficker in Souls," Frederick II of Hesse Cassel. The gun was then in Naples, under a Royal Government, doubtless not at all in sympathy with the colonies in their struggle for liberty then in progress on the American continent. As to the elegant coat of arms surmounted by a royal crown and referred to as "Papal," it is that of the Spanish Bourbons then still dominant in the two Sicilies, the temporal power of the Pope, if it ever really existed, having for centuries ceased to extend as far as that double Kingdom, and as to the gun having been cast by D. Heins, there is nothing on it that refers in any way to the artisans who did the work; but the date, 1763, as well as the place of its founding, "Novo Castro," are as we shall see of great importance in the investigations we are called upon to make, for on that date ended the Seven Years' War for the possession of Silesia, it being concluded by the Peace of Hubertsburg, February 15, 1763, terminating in favor of Frederick the Great as Lord of Silesia, and ending, with the preceding wars of the Spanish and Austrian successions, a series of conflicts that occupied fully two-thirds of the eighteenth century. Now, it could only have been during the numerous engagements in northern Italy, the Tyrol, the Trentin, etc., etc., when the two cousins, sons of the Mancini Sisters, nieces of Mazasan Eugene of Savoy and the Duke de Vendome, ranking among the greatest captains of that or any other age, battered each other on the Mincio and elsewhere, that this gun (then not made) could have fallen into the hands of the Austrians and their German allies and thus indirectly have been carried by the Hessians to America; we have to look elsewhere for its introduction to our acquaintance. Could it have been captured during the Mexican War, Mexico being, previous to that event, an appanage pertaining to the Spanish crown? This question we also answer in the negative, it having been lodged in the Salem County Arsenal some five and twenty years before that short and decisive Struggle. How then did this gun, described in the last sentence of the article we have quoted (and with which we entirely concur) as "the cannon is made of bronze and is quite a relic," get here? In order to answer this question we must be guided by the cannon itself in its historical associations, as an important link in the chain of events that unites the centuries, their wars, their policies, and the shadows of illustrious personalities that move amidst those shifting scenes in order to solve the enigma that puzzles superficial considerations.

A brief summary of the history of Europe prior to the date of the casting of our gun, which, as we have intimated, was by a singular coincidence marked by a cessation of hostilities that for three centuries ravaged France, Spain, Germany, Austria, and Italy, also involving to some extent England and Russia in this connection may not be inappropriate. This will take us back to January 5, 1477, when Charles the Bold of Burgandy, fighting Reni of Lorraine, was killed in battle, and the marriage of his daughter, Maria, the next year, 1478. She was a princess who Louis XI of France, with an eye to her vast possessions, wealth and political power, desired as the bride of his son,



SALEM

Friends' Meeting House (Built 1772)
Oak Tree (300 Years Old)

Quaker Church

the Dauphin, afterward Charles VIII. This intention being frustrated by her union with Maximilian, Emperor of Germany, the King attempted to seize some of her provinces, thus inaugurating the series of wars referred to, which after two hundred years were followed by the battles of the seventeenth century, the "Thirty Years' War," and those of Louis XIV in the Netherlands and on the Rhine, his influence also indirectly causing the war of "The Spanish Succession." In the beginning of the eighteenth century these conflicts were followed by those of "The Austrian Succession," and as we have stated by "The Seven Years' War" between Austria and Prussia for the possession of Silesia, all of which were terminated by the "Peace of Paris," in 1672-3, ending also what was known in America as the "Second French War," noted for the defeat and death of Braddock in 1755, also by that of Lord Howe at Ticonderoga in 1758, and by the never to be forgotten story of Wolfe and Montcalm on the "Heights of Abraham" in 1759. It was during this war that England captured Havana and the Philippines, which are, however, ceded back again the following year to Spain.

The different military operations on the continent of Europe, during the early and middle periods of the eighteenth century are more nearly related to our subject in connection with the Spanish Succession and leading directly to the founding of the Spanish Bourbon dynasty in the two Sicilies, caused by Louis XIV placing his second grandson, Philip, Duke of Anjou, upon the Spanish throne, after the death of Charles II, the last of the Hapsburg line, November 1, 1706, who, as Philip V, was the first of the Bourbon dynasty to occupy the throne of Spain. He was the second son of the Dauphin Louis (son of Louis XIV) of France, born at Versailles, December 19, 1683.

In 1729 the two Sicilies (having become separate kingdoms after the tragic episode of the Sicilian Vespers in 1382) were reunited under Austrian rule, and in 1735 were given to Don Carlos, third son of Philip V, of Spain, by his second wife, Elizabeth Farnese, at Parma, who ascended the throne as Charles I, and founded the Spanish Bourbon dynasty in Italy. He was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand IV, who was born January 12, 1751, and therefore was twelve years of age when our gun was cast; five years later, in 1736, he married Maria Carolina, daughter of the Empress Maria Theresa of Germany. This great Queen demands our attention for a moment, if only to see her bright shield stained and dishonored by the selfish motives of frail humanity while we contemplate the degradation of a really pure and noble heart. Her submitting, by advice of the great Chancellor Kaunitz, to intimate social and political relations with the dissolute Court of Louis XV of France, in quest of the unavailing aid of that great military nation in the Silesian contest, even to the touching with her chaste lips (according to Carlyle) those of that meretricious harlot Madame de Pompadour, *cidevant* mistress and subsequent *amie necessaire* of the King, also her participation in the first partition of Poland, an accomplice of Russia and Prussia after the death of Augustus, receiving as Austria's share of the dismemberment, one-third of that unfortunate kingdom; this she did at first reluctantly, but asking and receiving the sanction of the Pope (Clement XIV) as a salve to her conscience. Alas! she yielded and fell from her previous high and peerless state to become one of the assassins of a defenseless nation:

"Oh! bloodiest picture in the book of Time
Sarmatia fell, unwept, without a crime;
Found not a generous friend, a pitying foe,
Strength in her arms, nor mercy in her woe;

Dropped from her nervous grasp the shattered spear,
 Closed her bright eye, and curbed her high career;
 Hope, for a season, bade the world farewell,
 And Freedom shrieked—as Kosciusko fell."

Maria Carolina was an elder sister of the unfortunate Maria Antoinette, Queen of Louis XVI of France. This relationship, through his wife's influence, induced Ferdinand to join England and Austria against France in 1793, in consequence of which step he was forced to treat with the first Consul, Napoleon Bonaparte. When the French Republic was proclaimed in 1789, Naples was immediately invaded and ten years later, in 1799, the "Parthenopean Republic" was established. A violation of the treaty previously made caused a second invasion by Napoleon in 1801, by which Ferdinand was compelled to take refuge in Sicily under the protection of England. Joseph Bonaparte was then placed on the Neapolitan throne by his brother, where he remained two years, until in 1808, he was transferred to the throne of Spain, and was succeeded on that of Naples by Joachim Murat, brother-in-law of the Emperor. Upon the flight of Murat in 1815, Ferdinand was reinstated by the Congress of Vienna. One year after the latter event, in 1814, when Napoleon abdicated at Fontainebleau, and our cannon was captured at Plattsburg, his Queen, Maria Carolina, died. He survived her eleven years, dying in 1825. After his marriage, he fell completely under the influence of his wife, who, with Prince Joseph Acton (a surname not unfamiliar to the citizens of Salem) the prime minister and favorite of the Queen, practically ruled the kingdom, her husband having lost all of his popularity and influence. Acton was the son of an Irish physician, born in 1737 at Besancon in France. He had acquired considerable distinction in the naval service in France and Tuscany, and thus gained a position through the influence of the Queen, in the Neapolitan government which he retained until his death in 1811.

We have now referred to the part indirectly occupied, in relation to a certain extent, with our valued cannon by that Corsican prodigy called by some the greatest ornament of history. "Maximum Historiæ Decus," born six years after it was cast, also six years after the birth of the Empress Josephine, which occurred in 1763, destined to "ride in the whirlwind and direct the storm" that for many years devastated the continent of Europe; also to his brother, Joseph, when he reigned in Naples and on Spanish soil, and we can anticipate the singular fact, that later, an exile in a foreign land, "Il Sannito," "The Tusk of the Wild Boar," still kept company as it were with the ex-King, as it did mounted "Novo Castro," "in the New Castle," in Italy, being in Salem (when for several years he resided at Bordentown) in the keeping of the very "Sand Spaniards" who derive their derisive sobriquet from the fact that the disrowned King of Old Spain lived at one time in the State of New Jersey. Think you that had this great man known his former weapon was here, he would not have visited our comparatively obscure town to look at it again? This gun, whose voice long silent within the shadow of our Temple of Themis, when the dogs of war gave tongue upon the plains of Estremadura, during the campaigns of Junot, might then, perchance, have been heard amidst their deafening roar.

We will now in the brief relation of subsequent events follow our gun. Having crossed the Simplon from Brigue in Switzerland to Pallanza on Lago Maggiore in Italy some years ago in a Diligence over the military road Napoleon was from 1800 to 1806, six years, in building, I can readily imagine

the difficulties he might have encountered, in transporting his cannon, before its construction, across the Lepontine Alps, and am inclined to accept the statement that in his first invasion of Italy over the Grand Saint Bernard of the Pennine Range, he left part of his artillery, intending to supply the deficiency from the batteries of the enemy, thus bringing into France this deadly work of art in bronze, after the construction of that great military road. Then it easily made the transalpine journey and accompanied the French troops sent to Spain to oppose England and Portugal, in what is usually known as the "Peninsular War," which resulted in the driving of the French-Spanish, King Joseph, his Marshal's army and all who survived, back again into France, when Wellington, by the battle of Vittoria, June 1st, 1813, gained his noted and decisive victory over Joseph Bonaparte and Jourdan, in which the French loss was six thousand killed and wounded, also one hundred and fifty cannon, while the allies had forty-nine hundred *hors de combat* after the fight. Joseph himself had great difficulty in escaping from a position, which had always been distasteful to him, however exalted, from the time the influence of his brother, the Emperor, seated him upon a throne, made vacant by a family squabble-royal, where, owing to Napoleon giving all authority to his marshals, he never had any real power, and had actually been compelled to fly from Madrid, three times after he had been proclaimed King of Spain and the Indies and assumed the Spanish crown, July 24, 1808. A month later in August of the same year, the battle of Vimicra was fought, resulting in the defeat of the Duke d'Abrantes by Sir Arthur Wellesley, in which the former lost three thousand men and thirteen cannon, including possibly the one under consideration. These were afterward sent with other trophies to England, and from thence during our War of 1812, to Canada, to operate on our northern frontier. These troops under General Provost, during the summer of 1814, were signally defeated at the battle of Plattsburg by the American forces under General McComb and among the "spoils of war," with other Neapolitan cannon, was included the gun we have been endeavoring to place in its proper position, among the arms captured during the last war with England. There was a simultaneous naval engagement on Lake Champlain, off Plattsburg, when General Provost met with defeat, in which the brave young Commodore McDonough defeated the British fleet, in an engagement lasting two hours and twenty minutes, when the flagship, having lost its commander, Commodore Downie, struck her colors. In this action nearly all the British ships were sunk or taken. The statement that the guns, large and small, captured at Plattsburg, were distributed gratuitously to the different States of the Union, is incorrect. The general government, with an old-fashioned economy contrasting strongly with the extravagance of more recent years, far from giving, sold them to the several States where purchasers could be found, and the latter, profiting, if in no other way, by such an example of business thrift, sold in turn the various arms in stock, cannon, muskets, etc., to the different counties where there happened to be a demand for them. The accounts of the Quartermaster General's office show that three thousand dollars were paid by the county of Salem for the guns and accoutrements in its arsenals; that considerable sum having accrued from the fines imposed upon those citizens who were derelict in responding to orders for the musters and trainings then held at stated intervals to which all males within certain ages were, as a military service, bound by law to attend. These gatherings were a perpetuation of the "Wapin-Schaw" (weapon show) of Saxon times, centuries ago; but in New

Jersey patriotic ebullition had simmered down during long years of peace, so that compulsory measures of a financial character were invoked, in order to stimulate by an appeal to the purses of the citizens larger congregations on such occasions; hence the accumulated fund of which they were mulcted for persistent absence.

Although the bays, symbols of fictitious fame, were already sere when borne from the unconscious object of a misplaced pride, the historic incidents associated, directly and indirectly, by participation and otherwise during the century and a half of its existence, render this exquisite weapon a rare and undoubtedly unique example of a bond uniting thrilling events of universal interest, from which its true record can detract nothing, but on the contrary add much to its intrinsic value, as a relic of the momentous past; and should the glamor of Revolutionary associations, now dissipated, dispel the interest hitherto attached to it in the minds of the "Daughters of the Revolution" to the extent of disposing them to part with what was once the recipient of a laudable attachment and care—in behalf of the Historical Society of this county—I would venture to accept it, as a martial emblem of the historic Muse, an aegis or bulwark defending the repository of the annals of topics and events germane to our aims; and its muzzle inscribed with the legend, "Captured from the British at the Battle of Plattsburg, 1814," together with its invisible biography as I have endeavored to outline it, imprinted indelibly upon its brazen barrel, to stand a sentinel over the chronology of years, erect and free from ought but honor and renown, literally a monument of enduring brass—"Exegis monumentum aere perennius," and, touched by the nascent spirit of perpetual youth, to remain immutable and permanent, when all beside shall have changed and passed away.

Salem, New Jersey, 1909.

—E. S. S.

CHAPTER V.

SALEM COUNTY IN CIVIL WAR.

This county during the Civil War did not have repeated the experience of the Revolutionary struggle, that of being invaded by the enemy; nevertheless the time came when it was not without apprehension of the occurrence of such an event. Before the local situation came to be gravely considered, the opening guns of the long war fired from Fort Sumter, roused the patriotism of the county citizenry, and at the first call to arms by the government more than the specified quota volunteered for service. On very short notice a meeting was held in the Court House on April 17, 1861, at which patriotic resolutions were adopted, and many subscribed to the amount of one thousand dollars. A military company was formed with Robert C. Johnson, captain; Clement H. Sinnickson, first lieutenant, and George T. Ingham, second lieutenant. The company left for Trenton as early as April 25. At that place Captain Johnson was promoted, the above-named officers also, and Henry F. Chew became second lieutenant. The company was at first known as the Johnson Guards, then Company I, 4th New Jersey, later on, it became a company in the Twelfth Regiment, and when it left Trenton it had, in addition to the above-named officers: Sergeants Edward A. Acton, Samuel Canby, Jr., Nathaniel S. Stretch, William C. Harris; corporals, Charles H. Miller, Henry Jones, Henry Frankenfield, and Henry Rocap; with sixty-five privates. Also a company of Home Guards was organized with Dr. Joseph H. Thompson, captain; William B. Robertson, first lieutenant; Owen L. Jones,

second lieutenant. Other companies were formed at other places in the county, later preparatory to any defense that might be necessary against invasion.

As the war increased in intensity and the second and later calls were made for men and means, the response was as general as at first. The large element of Friends at that time in the county, while belonging to a religious body that deprecated war, did not hesitate in most cases to contribute freely from their wealth to the necessity of the day. Younger members, despite warnings of disownment by their meetings, the disapprobation of some older persons, relatives or close friends, disregarded all such hindrance and promptly enlisted in their country's cause.

Women too, did their "bit" at that time, and after speeding the departure of their loved ones for the front, with the best face possible under the circumstances of the uncertainty of the outcome to the individual and after the departure of the various quotas, the women, who organized into Ladies' Aid Societies, prepared many kinds of articles of necessity and comfort which were forwarded with continuity during the period of the war. The name of one woman must be mentioned, Cornelia Hancock, sister of Captain William N. Hancock, of Lower Alloways Creek Township, who early went into the field as a volunteer nurse, in a day when such a proceeding was very unusual in this part of the world. She continued her ministrations until the end of the war, and then engaged in various works of welfare during the remainder of her life.

The Board of Chosen Freeholders took early action, as shown by the minutes of the annual meeting held in May, 1861, when two resolutions relative to the war were adopted, one appropriating about one thousand dollars for side arms for the Johnson Guards, and another to pay bills incurred in fitting out that body. In July, 1862, a special meeting of the board appropriated a fund from which to pay bounties to volunteers to the Twelfth Regiment, each individual to receive thirty dollars. Over twenty-two thousand dollars were made available by later resolutions, and the bounty raised to fifty dollars. In August of the following year a call was made in the county for two hundred and fifty-eight men and by resolution, the bounty per man was raised to three hundred dollars. In May, 1864, two hundred and two men was the quota fixed by the government for the then pending draft, and the same rate of bounty continued. In the details of the work of the Freeholders' committee, it had the assistance of three citizens from each township. All the quotas made up for the county were filled by voluntary enlistment. The various amounts raised for war purposes aggregated larger sums than could be met from emergency appropriations, and temporary loans, so county bonds were issued, and it has been estimated that about five hundred and fifty thousand dollars was raised by taxation in the county for war purposes, all of which was discharged within a score of years after the close of the conflict.

The so called Underground Railroad has been given more or less publicity since the close of the Rebellion and it may at least be stated that a branch crossed this county. Geographical reasons aided this route; the short distance from the Maryland line to the river across the State of Delaware, then the western jutting of this county to the same stream; the character of its population—freedom loving; and those of Quaker ancestry could look back to 1696 for a precedent when slavery was discouraged by that society. Many

incidents have been related of the narrow escapes, subterfuges, and mystery surrounding the concealed passage of colored people across the county.

The Spanish-American War—This war made little impression on the county during the comparatively brief period of its continuance; however Fort Mott having been modernized in its ordnance together with its neighboring forts as the defenses of the lower Delaware River, was garrisoned, and several different bodies of troops were quartered there while awaiting transfer. In the summer of 1898, the Fourteenth Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, Colonel Glenn commanding, was there, and upon one occasion they were entertained by the women of Salem, when they marched into the city and partook of a luncheon served in the Ingham Orchard, then between the rear of the Broadway residences and Wesley Street, and west of a line about where the east property line of New Market Street is now.

CHAPTER VI. PRESENT-DAY SALEM.

The advancement of the industrial activities of several firms, in the making of glass, floor covering, canned goods, and condiments, of several firms, as already noted, has been steady and continuous from the very beginning.

In the city of Salem are two steam grist mills, a foundry, a machine shop, specializing in machinery for use in the canning of fruits and vegetables, a sash factory, and several plants devoted to the manufacture of garments for women. At Carney's Point are the immense plants of the Du Pont Company; the powder plant is reduced in size since the close of the World War, when they gave employment to over twenty thousand persons at the peak of production, but is still making commercial explosives of a large scale, and then the more recently established dye works at Deep Water Point, that after a period of experimentation that was long and costly, now produces dyes in great quantities, not only for domestic trade, but also for export, so that the value of the annual products are still great. The canning of fruits and vegetables continues to be carried on in the county at a number of places, and steam grist mills are numerous, generally being situated by a pond, but the water power has mostly been superseded by machinery. The ponds having been stocked with fish, offer great attraction to those piscatorially inclined. Ice manufacturing and cold storage are carried on, together with the kindred manufacture of ice cream, the product of which in this county has been carried on for many years, and enjoys a deserved reputation for quality and extends well over the southern part of the State and to the neighboring ones across the Delaware.

One industry has retrogressed,—shad fishing, which a few years since gave employment to many hardy and skilled men during the season allowed for fishing for this delectable fish, when the cost of the necessary nets and boats ran into large figures; the annual interest in the "first run of shad" and the weight of the earliest caught were treasured in the memory of the men who had spent the winter in knitting nets in anticipation of profitable hauls when the proper temperature arrived; but of this fish there are not as many as of yore, but enough to return to the river each spring to confirm the fact of their excellence as a feast, and a shad of say ten pounds, just from the water and planked at once, makes a dish long to be remembered and one that cannot be duplicated except under similar conditions. Other fish, in variety,



SALEM NATIONAL BANK

are caught in the waters that leave the county bounds, and sturgeon fishing was for a time very profitable, by reason of the demand for roe for the preparation of caviar.

Varieties of fur-bearing animals abounded in the early days, but became less numerous as the land was more fully occupied; the great extent of marshes formed a habitat for musk-rats which have been taken in the winter from the early days, but the increasing demand for their fur has led to the rental of marsh to the trappers at prices which seem high when compared with the former freedom allowed them. Many kinds of game in season may be had, but owing to the frequent changes of law, it requires attention to know the open season from year to year, and indeed sometimes a Federal and a State law are at variance. Deer are protected, English pheasants are numerous, together with the usual smaller wild animals and the migratory birds. The quality of the poultry shipped from the county to the cities has long been such as to bring the top of the market prices; naturally adapted for the purpose, experience in breeding, care, and feeding is added, and then by well-timed movements, but few hours elapse from the making ready for market until placed on sale in a city.

The "Salem Gazette" was the first newspaper in this county, beginning in 1816. Isaac Kollock published it for three years. In the same year that the "Gazette" ceased publication, the "Salem Messenger" was first issued, on September 19, by Elijah Brooks. There was the "American Standard," issued during General Jackson's campaign for the Presidency. Then, after four years, both were purchased by James M. Hannah and merged into the "Union," which continued until 1836, when he sold it to the "Freemen's Banner," which had appeared two years earlier. In 1840 the name was changed to the "National Standard." The "South Jerseyman" was published from 1881 to 1904, when it was consolidated with the "Standard" and since then has been entitled the "Salem Standard and Jerseyman." The "Salem Sunbeam" commenced in 1844, Isaac Wells, publisher. Robert Gwynne, and later his son conducted the paper for fifty-three years; indeed, had the elder Gwynne lived eleven days longer he would have completed fifty years of service. In 1902 the paper was taken over by the Sunbeam Publishing Company and its weekly issue continues on Fridays. Woodstown has the "Monitor-Register," dating as to the last name from 1853. The "Elmer Times" attends to the needs of the eastern section of the county, while the "Pennsgrove Record" performs the same service for the western section.

The financial needs of the county are served by five banks and four trust companies, located in Salem, Woodstown, Penn's Grove, and Elmer. The Salem National Banking Company is the oldest institution of its kind in the county, succeeding the Salem Steam Mill and Banking Company, which was chartered in 1822, but the present bank dates from 1825. All these institutions have been successful from their inception and have gradually grown into an enviable position in their respective communities, no loss ever having been suffered by depositors, and the amounts on deposit in the longer established banks bring commendatory comment from travelers who view them in comparison with the population. A Building and Loan Association assists citizens in the lines permitted such an institution, and success has likewise followed the careful and conservative management that it has always had.

An armory is being erected by the State, a substantial brick building, which will be the headquarters of Company I, 114th Infantry, National

Guard of New Jersey. The United States has purchased a site for a Federal Building in which the post office will be housed when funds become available for its erection. There are twenty free delivery routes in the county. The Salem County Historical Society was organized in 1884 and incorporated in 1895, and during its existence it has done much to create interest in the notable history of the county and the preservation of documentary evidence. Its collection is said to be larger than that of any other of the societies in the southern part of the State. At present it has its habitat in the Alexander Grant House, on Market Street, which was built by him in 1721. A Women's Club affords an outlet for the literary inclinations of members, and prominent speakers attend the meetings bringing the latest information on literary and scientific subjects. A Society for Organized Charity, the outgrowth of older associations under other names but devoted to the same charitable ends, performs useful service in dispersing funds to the best advantage where and as needed.

The World War—When the United States declared war in April, 1917, the response in this county was similar to that of the precedents established by that with another foreign country, Spain, and also the Civil War, in that many enlisted as volunteers from the time the news was spread about, continuing through the brief period that elapsed before the Selective Service Law was put in operation two months later, and considering the great amount of work to be accomplished in setting up the machinery of the selections, it is amazing how it was done within so short a time. Under this law, as applied to this county, the local board was formed with the sheriff as chairman, the county clerk as secretary, and the county physician for the third member. The work of the board is of such comparatively recent date that little need be said about it other than perhaps a few points in which the duty differed from that of the average board.

At the first registration there were five thousand seven hundred and seven names enrolled, which was a larger number in comparison with the total population of the county, which was caused by the great number of men employed at the Carney's Point powder plant. Among them were many of other nationalities, some of them able to speak but little of our language, the work of this board being made more arduous on that account, and in addition each of its members was fully occupied with the duties of their regular offices or in the case of the physician, with his practice, and during the epidemic of influenza in 1918 all the medical men of the county kept on the go to the limit of endurance at times. So many cases became serious in the city that a temporary hospital was opened in a room on the property of the First Baptist Church.

The first selected men left Salem in September for Camp Dix to which camp a majority of the later contingent were ordered. Company F, Third Regiment, National Guard of New Jersey, an organization several years old, went to the State Camp at Sea Girt and afterwards to Anniston, Alabama, before leaving for overseas. The number of selected service men sent from the county was 1,205. As the men were ordered to camp from time to time, similar scenes to those occurring all over the country were enacted here, with the sorrowful leave takings at the last, behind which however was the "silver lining" of the paramount duty to the country to be performed. Calculations have been recently published which show that the percentage of both selected men and volunteers from this county exceeded the average for the United States.

With the experience of the influenza of recent memory, when the thoughts of the people were turned to the subject of some fitting recognition of the services the young men of the county had rendered during the war, that of a hospital was taken up, with several other forms of expression also considered, but soon the plan of a hospital took precedence, and action was taken towards bringing such an institution to a reality. Fortunately a suitable building in Salem was then available, a comparatively modern brick structure, that had been used as a hotel; after organization was effected, the building was taken over, necessary alterations made and the institution began its work of alleviating the sufferings of humanity, under the title of The Salem County Memorial Hospital. The number of cases received from the first was surprisingly large and they have increased with the years, until, when reading an annual report, a layman wonders at the inconvenience, not to mention danger, that was caused by the necessity of having emergency cases distributed to distant places.

With the growth of the work of this Memorial, it is increasingly apparent that wisdom directed those whose efforts made it possible, not only as related to the war period, to the memory of those native sons of the county who died for their country, and the larger number wounded, together with the two thousand men that represented the county in various branches of the armed forces of the United States, but also to the present time when its doors are open, not only to those who took part in the conflict and members of their families, but also to the residents of the county needing such ministration as is offered there, and it is hoped and expected that this beneficent institution may continue to increase its field of usefulness during future years.

Population and Other Statistics—The earliest census of the county was in 1726 at which time the population was three thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven; there were three others taken before 1790, in which year the count was under the direction of the Federal Government, and the number of the inhabitants at that time was ten thousand four hundred and thirty-seven, since which there has been a gradual but steady increase to the last census period, i. e., 1920, for which year the total was thirty-six thousand five hundred and seventy-two. For some sixty years the State conducted a census in the fifth year between that of the Federal Government in each decade. By the 1920 census, Salem City had a population of seven thousand four hundred and thirty-five. Penn's Grove Borough occupied the second place in towns, having six thousand and sixty, although Upper Penn's Neck Township had one hundred and ninety-nine more people who lived in several different communities near manufacturing plants, which was the cause of the large increase in population within a decade of the two divisions above named. The other townships of the county showed little change, although in several cases the population was shown to be slightly smaller; it merely represented the use being made of improved roads by farm help, who by various forms of locomotion, answered the growing country-wide habit of dwelling in towns.

As to farming operations, in the decade from 1910 to 1920 there was an increase in the value of land, farm buildings, live stock, and machinery of about forty-eight per cent., amounting in the latter year to approximately eighteen million dollars. During the same period the number of farms decreased slightly, owing to large areas being cultivated under one management. Two hundred and one farmers were foreign born and in accor-

dance with the trend in other occupations there were forty-one women farmers reported.

This county has two navigable streams and shares with its northern neighbor, Gloucester County, Oldman's Creek. Salem River is the more important of the trio, both from its depth, length and breadth, and also because of the city on its left bank. As stated, navigation on this stream began with the colony and continued to increase with the growth of the county until the establishment of manufactures in the city of Salem necessitated the use of boats of greater draught than had theretofore been needed, so as to move the tonnage in an economical manner and to deliver the same on time to coastwise and foreign lines sailing on schedule from the port of Philadelphia.

As there was shallow water at low tide at the mouth of Salem River, which empties into Salem Cove of the Delaware River, efforts were made to have the channel through the cove deepened by the Federal Government, and after continued pressure for several years, the first examination was made in 1870 and a report of the findings made the same year. In 1884 the project of permanent protective works at the mouth was duly considered, but while declared to be entirely feasible, it was advised that the amount of commerce would not warrant the expense. By 1894 a report on the preliminary examination for the general improvement of the river was made and received favorable consideration. Three years later a survey with estimate of cost was made, the items of suggested changes amounting to thirty-one thousand five hundred dollars. Then ten years passed by before an appropriation was made by the river and harbor act of 1907. Two years later another examination was ordered, but no further increase was approved other than the maintenance of the work begun under the act of 1907. By 1912 the project of a cut off received the attention of the engineers but was not then recommended on account of the expense. In 1920 a public meeting was held in Salem to further the plan of the cut-off across the bend below the city, between Devil's Reach and Sinnickson's Landing, which would eliminate difficulties in navigation caused by the tidal flow in the sharp bends as well as shortening the distance between the city and the Delaware River by more than a mile. During the next year the matter still claimed the attention of the engineers, and in 1922 another survey was made as a result of which early in 1923 approval of the cut-off was made through the northeast division engineer to the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, with the proviso that local interests should construct a terminal and pay one-half of the cost of a direct twelve-foot channel at an estimated cost of sixty-five thousand dollars. The above-named officer reported to the Secretary of War and he to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and then it was referred to the committee on rivers and harbors.

In 1917 the water-borne commerce of Salem River was reported as eighty-three thousand tons. Later it had decreased somewhat in amount but in 1922 showed an increase of over five times that of the preceding year, and the amount that would be drawn to use the improved waterway may only be conjectured. There are thirteen wharves on the water front of the city with a freight railroad running parallel thereto, serving the manufacturers.

The city of Salem owns more than a quarter of a mile of water front, about one-half of which it is purposed to use in the development of a modern terminal having machinery for the rapid movement of various kinds of freight between the railroad and vessels at the wharf. The proposed depth of the



COURT HOUSE, SALEM



OLD CENTRAL VIEW IN WOODSTOWN

new channel, as one of the plans has been estimated on, is that of twelve feet at mean low water, from the municipal wharf to deep water in the Delaware River, and as the mean range of tide is about six feet, it will be noticed that passage would be open for boats of some size, and furthermore, the mouth of Salem River would be nearly opposite the mouth of the Delaware River, and Chesapeake Canal on the western shore of the Delaware River, now under construction by the Federal Government, when completed, will have a like depth of water, so that boats from the south may readily proceed to Salem wharves and discharge bulk cargoes for distribution by direct railroad connections to all South Jersey destinations.

Thus it comes to pass that the stream up which John Fenwick sailed two hundred and forty-eight years ago and the place he founded are still focal points in the county, with prospects of an increasing growth in usefulness to its inhabitants, let it be hoped, for at least another quarter millenium.

County, City and Borough Officers—County officers: State senator, J. Gilbert Borton; assemblyman, J. Emmor Robinson; county judge, Hon. Charles Mecum; sheriff, Robert W. Kidd; deputy sheriff, Warren Burgess, Sr.; county clerk, Walter P. Ballinger; deputy county clerk, Benjamin E. Harris; surrogate, T. B. Reed Pancoast; deputy surrogate, W. A. W. Grier; prosecuotr, Daniel W. Beckley; clerk of grand jury, D. R. Stratton; county treasurer, H. Norris Mangan; county engineer, Howard B. Keasbey; assistant county engineer, James S. Sparks; county superintendent of public schools, Henry C. Dixon; helping teacher, Miss Mae Stilwell; county supervisor of roads, Richard B. Griscom; county board of taxation, Charles L. Richmond, George Schalick; county solicitor, Howard B. Keasbey; court crier, Charles P. Farnkopf; county farm demonstrator, J. C. Crissey; county club agent, Frederick J. Goggin; superintendent of weights and measures, Howard C. Hitchner; county auditor, A. H. Powell; county physician, Dr. R. M. A. Davis; superintendent of court house, Alfred A. Jenkins; coroners, Roy J. Allen, Daniel C. Christy, and Hollis F. Ashcraft; county board of elections—President, Firman H. Lloyd; secretary, James J. Sullivan; Edwin B. Moore, and Earl Davidson; jury commissioner, A. K. Brandriff; fish and game wardens, G. Irving Hall, Chatham Mizell; county probation officer, William T. Galloway; inheritance tax supervisor, D. Harris Smith; member of State Board of Education, D. Stewart Craven; member board of visitors, State Agricultural College, Charles R. Hires; trustee of the Training School for Feeble Minded, Vineland, D. Stewart Craven; fire wardens, M. L. Fox, G. P. Hancock, George Houseman, H. J. Mickel, A. A. Sims, J. L. Downs; almshouse trustees, John H. Hall, George Hillman, Frank W. Crispin, Lemuel Howell, Albert M. Carll, Morris L. Fox, Edgar C. Moore, S. M. Heritage, Frank G. Ward, Irvin Wright, Lewis Waddington, Samuel Doughten, Frank J. Gaventa. Steward, James Newell. Director of the Board of Chosen Freeholders, George Gaventa; clerk of the Board of Chosen Freeholders, Ervin G. Ochs.

Officers of the City of Salem—Mayor, F. Newlin Acton; councilmen, Albert H. Hall, William F. Ayars, Isaac H. Bacon, Wilbur D. Brandiff, John M. Gayner, William H. Harris, Jr., J. Hildreth Stretch, Harry J. Mangan; city recorder, W. B. Dunn; city treasurer, Arthur S. Taylor; water superintendent, Wesley Sheppard; street commissioner, John A. Warner; city engineers, Keasbey and Sparks; city solicitor, W. A. W. Greir; city auditor, A. H. Powell; fire chief, Oscar O. Smith; assistant chiefs, Frank B. Morrison, Dr.

N. S. Hires, Norris Trullender, Charles Sharp; chief of police, W. Howard Reeves; policemen, Edward H. VanMeter, Charles Anderson, William S. Hall; engineers, water department, Dennis Ryan, chief; Joseph Rankins, first assistant; George Rankins, second assistant; board of assessors, S. French Banks, Jr., C. Otis Hewitt, Fred Bassett; constables, Edward H. VanMeter, William S. Ray, Moses Myers, Jr., George W. Brown, John M. Buckalew, Elwood Collins; board of health, president, Charles E. Markley; vice-president, George P. Dixon; treasurer, J. Clifford Butcher; secretary, Eugene Taylor; inspector, Sylvanus Carll, Harry A. Crispin, Wilbur C. Springer, Dr. L. H. Hummel, George Riley; board of education, William H. Hazelton, Mrs. Oakford W. Acton, Mrs. William B. Sickler, J. Dale Dilworth, Dr. William T. Hilliard; sinking fund commission, president, Richard W. Ware; secretary, W. B. Dunn; treasurer, Arthur S. Taylor; Mrs. Jeanette H. D. Brown, James L. Tuohy; the mayor, ex-officio; free library commission, J. Bernard Hilliard, Rev. E. J. Perot, Mrs. Walter S. Baker, William H. Hazelton, Joseph S. Sickler; river and harbor commission, D. Stewart Craven, Edward J. Gayner, Robert N. Vanneman, Dale S. Taylor, Joseph S. Sickler, secretary; shade tree commission, president, William F. Miller; secretary, W. B. Dunn; James S. Sparks, Walter Hall; overseer of the poor, J. Walter Miller; justice of the peace, D. Harris Smith, Charles Williams.

Borough Officers—Elmer—Mayor, Charles F. Hitchner; clerk, Evan S. Prickett; assessor, Charles H. Gibson; collector, Charles P. Creamer; council, Charles H. Nichols, L. L. Bignell, S. M. Bignell, Walter A. Johnson, Peter H. Miller, Earl Buzby; treasurer, Joseph M. Hitchner; solicitor, John C. Edmunds.

Penn's Grove—Mayor, Jere H. Long; clerk, Milton H. Claire; assessor, Joseph Layman; collector, David P. Featherer; treasurer, David P. Featherer; chosen freeholder, Samuel M. Layman; council, Robert M. Walker, Albert W. Sailor, Mark C. Dolbow, Howard J. Dolbow, Edward H. Keen, Charles P. Kidd; solicitor, W. B. Surran.

Woodstown—Mayor, D. G. Humphreys; collector, Leo Pancoast; treasurer, Leo Pancoast; assessor, J. M. Clayton Richman; solicitor, S. Rusling Leap; council, Charles H. Driver, Howard Crispin, B. A. Bassett, Frank Richman, Charles M. Miller, L. D. Horner.

Township Officials—Alloway—Assessor, Dr. William T. Good; collector, Lewis Ayars; treasurer, Joseph W. Yoerger; clerk, Joseph W. Yoerger; chosen freeholder, Charles R. McCarson; township committee, John Crawley, Joseph H. Drummond, Joseph Emmell.

Elsinboro—Assessor, Owen C. Ogbin; collector and treasurer, Charles P. Farnkopf; clerk, David B. Fox; chosen freeholder, Harold H. Smith; township committee, J. Lin Smith, Mason Hogate, Joseph Schrier.

Lower Alloways Creek—Assessor, John Ridgway; collector, Frank H. G. Shimp; treasurer, Edward Shimp; clerk, Harry E. Baker; chosen freeholder, Joseph Pancoast; township committee, David Parkell, George Cobb, Ross Fogg.

Lower Penn's Neck—Assessor, Joel H. Jenkins; collector, Henry W. Stanley; treasurer, William Hannah; clerk Herbert G. Fogg; chosen freeholder, Edward A. Heron; township committee, Charles Humphreys, Arthur C. Brandriff, George F. Harvey.

Mannington—Assessor, Elmer Griscom; collector, Samuel Thomas; treasurer, Samuel Thomas; clerk, Walter B. Crispin; chosen freeholder, Charles R. Hires; township committee, Joseph B. Crispin, Charles F. Hackett, William F. Tyler.

Oldmans—Assessor, David G. Henderson; collector, Harry S. Justice; treasurer, Harry S. Justice; clerk, T. Earl Firestone; chosen freeholder, George Gaventa; township committee, Harvey Gaventa, Frank Dietrich, Raymond Hunt.

Pilesgrove—Assessor, M. W. Buzby; collector, G. K. DuBois; treasurer, C. B. McAllister; clerk, Samuel Buzby; chosen freeholder, William H. Reeves; township committee, William Coombs, Thomas McAllister, W. C. Richman.

Pittsgrove—Assessor, Arthur P. Shalick; collector, James W. Golder; treasurer, B. B. Timberman; clerk, B. B. Timberman; chosen freeholder, C. Harry Ward; township committee, Charles S. Hughes, Frank Ward, Raymond M. Lipman.

Quinton—Assessor, Chester A. Miller; collector, Joseph Thompson, Jr.; treasurer, George M. Pierpont; clerk, R. M. Irelan; chosen freeholder, Andrew S. Harris; township committee, Joseph B. Finlaw, William R. Lawrence.

Upper Penn's Neck—Assessor, Robert L. Hurley; collector, Herman A. Day; treasurer, Herman A. Day; clerk, Charles Troupe; chosen freeholder, John M. Weldon; township committee, Howard R. Witt, Hubert P. Layton, Alfred J. Dunn.

Upper Pittsgrove—Assessor, R. A. Robinson; collector, Robert C. Cole; treasurer, Otis H. Elwell; clerk, M. J. Paulding; chosen freeholder, Harry P. Grey; township committee, Rollins F. Hackett, Elmer C. Dare, Robert J. Summerill.

Salem County Chamber of Commerce—President J. Gilbert Borton; secretary, Wallace S. Roberts; treasurer, John D. Summerlin.

Salem City Chamber of Commerce—President, Collins B. Allen; vice-presidents, John D. Summerlin, Isaac C. Smashey; secretary, Hubert C. Berry; treasurer, Harry J. Mangan; financial secretary, James L. Tuohy.

Salem County Medical Society—President, Dr. Franklin H. Church; vice-president, Dr. George A. Davies; secretary-treasurer, Dr. John F. Smith; reporter, Dr. William H. James.

Salem County Historical Society—Honorary president, Dr. Edward S. Sharpe; vice-presidents, Mrs. Mary R. C. Clayton, Mrs. M. Augusta Pettit; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Thomas J. Craven; recording secretary, Walter Hall; treasurer, Oakford W. Acton; librarian, Mrs. M. Augusta Pettit.

Salem County Board of Agriculture—President, J. Gilbert Borton; vice-president, Carleton E. Moore; secretary, H. Norman Fogg; treasurer, Richard W. Ware.

Salem County Schools—County superintendent, Henry C. Dixon; helping teacher, Mae Stillwell; clerk, Mrs. Miriam G. Taylor.

Alloway—President, B. C. Drummonds; clerk, John R. Powell; custo-

dian, W. D. Couth; medical inspector, Dr. W. T. Good. Schools and teachers: Cohansey, Herbert Trostle; Friesburg, Florence W. Sheppard; Aldine, Wilhelmina J. Newcomb, Mary A. Bonham; Alloway, M. Elizabeth Remster, Mrs. Annie S. Myers, Alice Patrick, Anna Dodrer, Mrs. Mildred A. Ewan, Mary W. Collins.

Elmer Borough—President, L. H. Greenwood; clerk, A. C. Strang; custodian, Charles P. Creamer; medical inspector, Dr. H. S. Bramble; attendance officer, John Berry. Schools and teachers: Main Street, Mrs. Iva B. Woolman, Mrs. Mary D. Mills, Annie A. Taylor, Elizabeth Souders, Althea Bates; Broad Street, Hannah Shultz.

Elsinboro—President, Owen C. Ogbin; clerk, J. Lin Smith; custodian, Charles P. Farnkopf. Schools and teachers: Union, Bessie A. Richie; Elsinboro, Arthalinda Pancoast; Independent, Edith Harmon.

Lower Alloways Creek—President, H. Norman Fogg; clerk, Clifford Hancock; custodian, Edmund Shimp. Schools and teachers: Hancock's Bridge, Myrtle H. Ridgway, Mrs. Helen L. Carll, Mrs. Hannah D. Sims; Harmersville, Pearl D. Cobb; Canton, Mrs. Dorothy N. Ridgway, Florence Hogate, Greta F. Robinson; Cross Roads, Elizabeth S. Lilly.

Lower Penn's Neck—President, Moses Wright; clerk, Earl C. Kennedy; custodian, Henry W. Stanley. Schools and teachers: Harrisonville, Mrs. Bessie Reeves; Finn's Point, Caleb B. Ayars; Pennsville, Mrs. Margaret B. Davis, Mrs. Helena G. White, Mrs. Beryl H. Brown, Mildred Freas; Deep Water, Samuel Trostle, Olga Beebe, Mary Freas, Sadie Miller.

Mannington—President, Charles E. Zelle; clerk, Collins B. Allen; custodian, Samuel Thomas. Schools and teachers: Claysville, Charles Giles; Wyncoop, Frances Simpkins; Town Hall, Helen H. Thompson; Haine's Neck, Dorothy M. Jones; Marshalltown, Evelyn Henry; Halltown, Susie Crim; Concord, Lillian Erdner; Compromise, Viola Yard; Mt. Zion, Mrs. Mary E. Parker.

Oldmans—President, George S. Justice; clerk, Ralph S. Smith; custodian, Harry S. Justice. Schools and teachers: Auburn, Mrs. Mary B. Farley, Elizabeth Peil; Pedricktown, George Laws, Nettie Picken, Thelma Waters, Anne Pancoast, Hilda Swaverly, Hannah Harker.

Penn's Grove Borough—President, Simon Cunningham; clerk, Walter A. Hunt; custodian, David P. Featherer; medical inspector, Dr. J. C. Dyer; attendance officer, Engel Pedrick; school nurse, Charles R. Leonard. Schools and teachers: Merritt Jenkins, supervising principal; high school, Mrs. M. Alma Lewis, Ethel E. Peterson, Carolyn R. Smith, Florence Turner, Mrs. Florence Conine, Mrs. Pluma Batten, Helen L. Osborne, Mrs. Blanche Jenkins, Lizzie J. Kidd, Mrs. Grace Sailor Fenton, Isabella Hewitt, Mrs. Edna C. Davenport, Mrs. Charlotta Hall, Magdalen Stepler; Harmony Street, Helen Campbell, Myrtle Pape, Grace Locuson, Emma Simpkins, Susie W. Charlton, Mrs. Ella M. White, Mrs. Verna Hunt, Anna C. Locuson, Marion Sparks, Elizabeth Diver, Mrs. Henrietta Stanton, Victorine Stirling, Josephine Martell, Lena Hutchinson.

Pilesgrove—President, Walter Silverster; clerk, Jesse Lippincott; custodian, P. LeGrand Wriggins; medical inspector, Dr. E. E. DeGrofft; atten-



PENN'S GROVE

Penn's Grove National Bank

Broad Street

People's Bank

dance officer, A. T. Peacock. Schools and teachers: M. Burr Mann, supervising principal; Woodstown, Rebekah Sheaffer, S. Elma Gallagher, Witmer Diffenbaugh, John L. Schuler, Miriam D. Boeshore, Albert D. Spaeth, Anna K. Scholl, Emma L. Passmore, Tracy O. Fling, Mary Shoemaker, Ethel Seehousz, Mrs. Minnie Barnshaw, Marguerite Peterson, Emma R. Burt, Cornelia Pettit, Irma Currie, Alinda Reeve, Madeline F. Dodge; Kindergarten, Harry M. Stanton; music, Mrs. Florence Pool Clayton; physical training, Margaret V. Hannum, George Sipe, Edna S. Gallagher; South Woodstown, Ella J. Weakley, Anna B. Corse, Edward Richardson, Myrtle C. Hill; Sharptown, Alice Ware, Mary Waddington, Ruth Crispin.

Pittsgrove—President, George Schalick; clerk, J. Howard Creamer; custodian, James W. Golder; medical inspector, Dr. H. S. Bramble. Schools and teachers: Greenville, Marion Harris; Centreton, R. Boyd Golder; Olivet, Esther Yeagle, Mrs. Elizabeth Shull; Union Grove, Mildred Cassady, Mrs. Bessie Astle; Good Hope, Mrs. William S. Potter; Alliance, Albertson Creamer, Anna Pasalich; Norma, Mrs. Agnes Lezenby, Rebecca April, Sadie Berkowitz, Mary Goldstein.

Quinton—President, Harlan B. Kelty; clerk, George Myers; custodian, Joseph Thompson, Jr.; medical inspector, Dr. William T. Good; attendance officer, LeRoy Horner. Schools and teachers: Elizabeth Holme, Helen Finlaw, Marjorie Robinson, Mrs. Mary N. Fogg.

Salem City—President, Dr. William T. Hilliard; secretary, Powell R. Smith; custodian, Arthur S. Taylor; medical inspector, Dr. David W. Green; attendance officer, Warren Trullender. Schools and teachers: A. J. Dohner, city superintendent; high school, Howard S. Eitzel, principal; Mrs. Elizabeth M. Clarke, Margaret Jones, Marion E. Holmes, Elizabeth J. Parsons, Esther E. Hampson, Emma L. Garwood, Laura N. Stackhouse, Sara Hartman, Marie Oehrle, Aileen Riley, Anna H. Shivers, Inez Noble, Robert M. Goodier; grammar school, Eleanora Pierpont, May Dixon, Kathryn H. Ryan, Mina R. Klein, Fame I. Penton, Mrs. Mary P. Garwood, Mrs. Mary Riley, Bernice Bernard, Mrs. Elizabeth Snelbaker, Alice Griscom, Edna Plummer, Mrs. Irene Ferrell Craft, Iva S. Carl; R. M. Acton School, Anna M. Hewitt, Elizabeth Bauknecht, Mrs. Marion Hall, Mary E. Rairdon, Charilla Bates, Helen Rairdon, Willmina Stanley, M. Margaret Griscom, L. Mae Pierpont, Mary Hamilton, Elsie V. Leonard, Kindergarten; Broadway Kindergarten, Frances Green; Griffith Street School, Eleanor G. Holme, Ora F. Penton, Mrs. Helen Kates, Hannah Harris, Abbie Thomas, Mrs. Alfreda F. Shimp; Grant Street School, William C. Anderson, Mrs. Alice Warrick, Mrs. Reba A. Nichols, Jennie Ashton, Mrs. Helen T. Lee, A. Marion Scott, Charles Chapman, Edna E. Henderson, Margaret Scott, Mrs. Lydia V. Streetz. Special teachers: Gladys Tatem, domestic science; H. Craig Morse, physical training; Eleanor Acton, drawing; Russell D. Stauffer, manual training, mechanical drawing; Ella M. Brady, sewing; Maude Wescott, music; Mrs. Kate H. Weeks, sub-normal.

Upper Penn's Neck—President, Albert C. Burdick; clerk, J. B. Layton; custodian, H. A. Day; attendance officer, Walter West. Schools and teachers: Joseph M. Wright, supervising principal; Lafayette, Clara T. Layton, Stella Wainwright, Laura D. Jaquette, Effie Jaquette, Edna Shoemaker, Mrs. Sara R. Faddis, Ada Truncer, Pauline Stelle, Mrs. Helen H. Curriden, Edith Sparks; du Pont No. 1, Mary P. Elwell, Esther W. Johnson, Helen

Clancy, Mrs. Sara Jaquette, Mary Homan, Dorothy Frederick, Mrs. Verna Dowling, Jeannette Shoemaker, Esther Eshelman, Kindergarten; du Pont No. 3, Bertie Burton. Special teachers: Ryda B. Beck, music, drawing; William J. Braman, Jr., manual training; Joseph Crockett, physical training; Lucy Gaskill, sewing, domestic science.

Upper Pittsgrove—President, John M. Woolman; clerk, J. H. Mayhew; custodian, R. C. Cole; attendance officer, J. H. Mayhew. Schools and teachers: Daretown, Sarah Clement, Fern Bonham, Jessie Holtzhauser, Minerva Chew, Laura K. Ayars; Monroeville, Mrs. Minnie Rachor, Harriet Boyd, Mrs. Mary E. Creamer, Mrs. Verna R. Murphy.

Salem Parent-Teachers' Association—President, Rev. G. W. Abel; first vice-president, Prof. Howard S. Eitzel; second vice-president, Mrs. Thomas Gayner; third vice-president, Mrs. Charles E. Wood; treasurer, Miss Laura Stackhouse; secretary, Mrs. George W. Ayres.

Salem County Memorial Hospital—President, William H. Chew; vice-president, W. A. W. Grier; treasurer, Benjamin E. Harris; secretary, William B. Dunn; board of managers, J. Gilbert Borton, Woodstown; Robert N. Vanneman, Salem; Charles P. Farnkopf, Elsinboro; Joseph S. May, Pittsgrove; William H. Ward, Elmer; John M. Weldon, Upper Penn's Neck; Edmund Shimp, Lower Alloway's Creek; Lucius E. Hires, Salem; William Richman, Pilesgrove; John W. Dunham, Alloway; Edward A. Heron, Lower Penn's Neck; William C. Hancock, Mannington; William Plummer, Quinton; Frank J. Gaventa, Penn's Grove; R. Wyatt Wistar, Salem; Harry Walton, Oldmans; Preston S. Foster, Elmer; W. D. Barrett, Upper Pittsgrove; A. D. Snelbaker, Woodstown; L. C. Streeter, Upper Penn's Neck; J. Milton Featherer, Penn's Grove. Medical and Surgical Staff, Dr. C. M. Sherron, president; Dr. C. L. Flemming, Dr. J. M. Husted, Dr. W. T. Good, Dr. David W. Green, Dr. R. M. A. Davis, Dr. Warren L. Ewen, Dr. L. H. Hummel, Dr. William H. James, Dr. William T. Hilliard, Dr. Franklin H. Church, Dr. L. H. Miller. Dental Staff, Dr. Mary A. Morrison, Dr. Oscar S. Ayars, Dr. A. Ralston Green, Dr. W. Reeves Robinson, Dr. David A. Mulford. Superintendent, Miss Hannah B. Harris, R.N.; assistant superintendent, Miss Josephine Eiwel, R.N.

Harry P. Morrison Post No. 75, American Legion—Commander, J. Otis Wheeler; first vice-commander, Irwin Weston; second vice-commander, Thomas McCafferty; adjutant, Wiswell O'Neil; finance officer, G. Raymond Mangan; chaplain, Powell H. Norton; sergeant-at-arms, James McMahan; service officer, T. B. Reed Pancoast.

Members.

F. Newlin Acton	Reba K. Beckley
J. W. Acton	David Blacklock
Fred Allen	Carroll S. Brown
Charles W. Anderson	James Billings
Herbert Anderson	Thomas F. Benner
Finni J. Ascola	Clifford N. Baker
J. Tracy Atkinson	Archer W. Bowen
John Atkinson	Leroy P. Burt
Albert L. Baner	William Burkhardt, Jr.
Jerome Batchelor	

Harry Curriden	William H. Harris, 3rd
Ernest C. Carapanos	Austin W. Harris
Harold Cheeseman	Farrand House
Edward C. Conover	Nathan Halter
John H. Crow	Joseph R. Hughes
Edward Crow	Walter E. Hill
Morris Crist	Otto P. Houdart
Roland B. Crist	Norman J. Hogate
Dr. William H. Carpenter	Luther R. Hoffman
John C. Crissy	Arthur Hoffman
A. Atwood Collins	A. M. Hall
Meade Coleman	Clarence M. Hall
Willard Darlington	Joseph N. Hall
Paul Dawson	Richard K. Hall
Ernest Dorrell	Dr. William T. Hilliard
Norman J. Denn	Roscoe Harvey
Eric S. Dixon	Norman K. Hurley
Walter J. Driscoll	Stanley M. Hawks
John W. Dean	Walter G. Hamlon, Jr.
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Robert L. Davis	Asa B. Isaacs
Joseph Dwyer	Robert K. Jaquette
Lester M. Evans	Robert F. Jean
Elton Essler	Fred C. King
Winfield T. Ernest	C. Merris Keen
Walter Entenman	William A. Kelly
Leslie Flemming	William F. Kennedy
Elmer Flemming	Howard B. Keasbey
Frank M. Flemming	Oscar Lanning
Fred Farnkopf	Irving Lloyd
Furman M. Fox	Firman H. Lloyd, Jr.
Charles Forrest	Andrew Lomaris
Luke S. Fithian	George Lucas
William P. Fowser	Edward Lummis
Leonard Freas	George Lundy
John Fahrner	Eugene Lynch
Benjamin M. Finlaw	Stanley Leskie
David Fogg	Robert B. Mankins
Edward T. Fogg	Harvey MacDonald
Norman A. Fogg	Thomas Maxwell
Richard M. Fogg	Earl E. Mitchell
Raymond Gandy	Russell S. Morton
Russell D. Goslin	James M. Mecum
Norman L. Green	Harry E. Mayhew
Dr. A. Ralston Green	John M. McCoubrie
Frank K. Green	Albert J. Magee
Dr. David W. Green	J. Walter Miller
Charles Griner	H. Norris Mangan
Russell B. Harris	G. Raymond Mangan
J. Carl Harris	Thomas McCaffrey
Hannah B. Harris	David W. Moxie
Clifford W. Harris	James F. McMahon

Harvey Meadows
 William Mowers
 Frank Minsky
 Vincent Munree
 Thomas L. Murphy
 Charles D. Nelson
 John G. Naglee
 Charles C. Nelson
 William C. Newlin
 Charles Newsome
 Ralph S. Newkirk
 Ford Newkirk
 Powell H. Norton
 Joseph Notkowitz
 Ervin G. Ochs
 James Lane
 Frank Link
 Wiswell O'Neil
 J. R. O'Brien
 Earl Osborn
 Earl W. Osborn
 Francis Pancoast
 John M. Pancoast
 R. W. Pettingill
 Harry Pankoke
 Edwin R. Pettit
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 Ed. Powell
 Carlton H. Plasket.
 John L. Pappas
 Gus N. Paras
 Jesse M. Plummer
 Willim B. Plasket
 John Randall
 Arthur Rascher
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 Hildreth S. Reeves
 Carll Rau
 Edward D. Rankin
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 C. Neale Rossman
 John Rutter
 Harold Shields
 J. Ward Sheppard

James B. Sheppard
 Frank Sheppard
 Charles J. South
 Alex S. Smith
 John E. Shute
 James Sellars
 Joseph S. Sickler
 Clifford Simpson
 William D. Smith
 Roy S. Shimp
 A. Schuyler Slack
 Elmer J. Smick
 Edward E. Sharp
 Daniel J. Sullivan
 Ephraim C. Smith
 Christopher Shay
 Mulford Sanderlin
 John Shuman
 Benjamin S. Stanley
 John D. Summerlin
 Joseph I. Smith
 Arthur C. Shields
 Olin H. Thompson
 Eugene R. Taylor
 William H. Thompkins
 Arthur S. Taylor
 Frank Tondon
 Morris S. Tussey
 William B. Vanneman
 Charles Walters
 Walter E. Ward
 Amos Weigle
 J. Otis Wheeler
 Amos W. Wentzell
 Herbert Walters
 Ernest Weiser, Jr.
 D. Irwin Weston
 Willard A. Whitaker
 Arthur Woolbert
 Carl J. Yoerger
 William Yarrow
 Allan S. Zane
 William Zanes
 William Zaiser

The American Legion Auxiliary—President, Mrs. Jane W. Newkirk; first vice-president, Mrs. Lizzie J. Baker; second vice-president, Mrs. Ethel B. Harris; secretary, Mrs. Aurora S. Taylor; treasurer, Mrs. Edna W. M. Simpson.

Personnel of Co. I, 114th Infantry, N. J., N. G.—Captain, William H. Harris, 3rd; first lieutenant, Allen S. Zane; first sergeant, John C. Thompson;



SALEM COUNTY MEMORIAL HOSPITAL



SALEM HIGH SCHOOL.

supply sergeant, Luther R. Hoffman; sergeant, John Crow; sergeant, Edward Sickler; sergeant, Charles Rain; sergeant, Earl Sullivan; sergeant, Frank Simpson; corporal, Jesse Plummer; corporal, John Shuman; corporal, Norman Wentzell; corporal Earl Kline; private, first class, Clifford Bennett; private, first class, William Dilks; private, first class, Charles Massaro; private, first class, Edward Sweeney; privates, Frank Apgar, David Banks, William Burke, Richard Casperson, Wilbur Campbell, John Counsellor, Harold Counsellor, George Davis, Charles Denny, Raymond Dilks, Theodore Ebinger, Edgar Griscom, Edward Gillanders, Daniel S. Harris, Lester Harris, Ephraim Harris, Jacob Halter, Clement Houseworth, Harold Husted, Howard Johnson, Robert Johnson, Sidney Kemp, Lawrence Lamb, Cyrus Land, George Laffin, Harry Link, Earl McCullough, Edward Mitchell, James Mifflin, John Manning, Francis Parker, Harry Passoff, Willis Peterson, Frank Pharo, Orlando Pompper, Alvin Price, Harry Scott, Frank Stancliffe, Paul Stevenson, James Studer, George Toms, Herschel Thomas, Paul Tompkins, Luke Turner, Elmer Viele, Charles Williams, Ralph Willis.

The Society for Organizing Charity in the City of Salem, New Jersey—Mrs. J. S. Kedney, president; Mrs. D. W. C. Clement, vice-president; Mrs. Cleayton Wistar, vice-president; Miss Julia A. Carpenter, general secretary; Salem National Banking Co., treasurer; Mrs. D. W. C. Clement, auditor.

Central Committee: Miss Sara B. Boon, Miss H. H. Gibbon, Miss Hannah M. Allen, Miss Anna V. Cooper, Mrs. D. H. Smith, Mrs. W. H. Hazelton, Miss Bessie K. Hires, Mrs. H. C. Whitehead.

Representative Members: Miss Emily H. Woodnutt, Benevolent Society; Mrs. D. W. C. Clement, Coal and Wood Fund; Mrs. James H. Mecum, Needlework Guild; Mrs. Robert M. Fogg, Child Welfare Association; Mrs. Howard C. Whitehead, Red Cross and Memorial Hospital.

District Superintendents: Mrs. Thomas Sinnickson, Jr., Mrs. Maria S. Bitter, Mrs. A. H. Slape, Mrs. D. Harris Smith, Miss Sara B. Boon, Mrs. E. J. Gayner, Miss Bessie K. Hires, Miss Carrie W. Patterson, Mrs. Josiah Miller, Mrs. Harry L. Finlaw, Miss Hannah M. Allen, Mrs. Walter S. Baker, Mrs. Jonathan T. Smith, Mrs. Cleayton Wistar, Miss Emily H. Woodnutt.

Salem Child Welfare Association, Incorporated—Miss Ann Calley, nurse in charge; Mrs. Robert M. Fogg, chairman; Mrs. J. Morris Reeves, secretary; Mrs. Clinton Brown, treasurer; Mrs. William H. Chew, chairman of supplies committee; Mrs. William H. Hazelton, chairman of medical committee; Mrs. Howard B. Keasbey, chairman of infant layette committee; Mrs. James H. Mecum, chairman of nursing committee; Mrs. Hubert C. Berry, volunteer helper in baby clinic.

Salem Relief Association—James L. Tuohy, president; William T. Mifflin, vice-president; George Reeves, recording secretary; George Kirk, financial secretary; J. Thomas Gayner, treasurer; Clark T. Dilks, doorkeeper.

Salem County Health Association, (Executive Committee)—Mrs. H. C. Whitehead, chairman, Salem; Mrs. Jerome Plummer, secretary, Quinton; Dr. R. M. A. Davis, treasurer, Salem; Mrs. Gertrude M. Stowell, nurse, Salem; J. Gilbert Borton, Woodstown; Henry C. Dixon, Salem; Miss Mae Stilwell, Salem; Miss Anne Calley, Salem; Mrs. Bessie Parks, Woodstown; Mrs. B. Noel Gross, Penn's Grove; Frank J. Gaventa, Penn's Grove.

Franklin Loan and Building Association, of Salem—President, Arthur

B. Smith; vice-president, John W. Foster; secretary, A. H. Powell; treasurer, Arthur S. Taylor. Directors: D. Harris Smith, Harry J. Mangan, Benjamin F. Darlington, J. Clifford Butcher, George P. Dixon, William H. Hazelton, John F. Dwyer. Auditors: W. B. Dunn, C. W. Lounsbury, B. A. Hilliard.

Chamber of Commerce—President, James S. Sparks; vice-president, James L. Tuohy; secretary, Harry J. Mangan; treasurer, H. C. Berry.

Rotary Club—President, William H. Chew; past president, Howard B. Newkirk; secretary, W. B. Dunn; treasurer, Hubert C. Berry.

Country Club—President, Dr. C. M. Sherron; vice-president, Dr. R. M. A. Davis; secretary, W. B. Dunn; assistant secretary, Miss Carrie C. Miller; financial secretary, Miss Verna B. Loveland; treasurer, Charles W. Lounsbury. Board of Governors: William H. Andrews, I. Oakford Acton, John B. Campbell, William B. Vanneman, J. Forman Sinnickson, James H. Mecum, W. Herman Morris.

Young Men's Christian Association—William T. Galloway, general secretary.

Excelsior Lodge, No. 54, Free and Accepted Masons—Henry G. Nicholson W.M.; William B. Plasket, S.W.; Clarence M. Parvin, J.W.; Wilbur C. Springer, P.M. Treasurer; Joseph Miller, P.M. Secretary; Alfred S. Wordsworth, S.D.; Albert H. Hall, J. D.; Henry P. Fuhs, S.M. of C.; Howard S. Eitzel, J.M. of C.; Harry K. Skinner, S.S.; Roy J. Allen, J. S.; Williard A. Whitaker, Marshal; Smith Bacon, Tyler; Trustees: Charles B. Robinson, George W. Ayres, R. Harry Woodnutt.

Joppa Chapter No. 53, R. A. M.—Isaac Plasket, E.H.P.; William L. Hillman, E.K.; William B. Plasket, E.S.; Albert Steiner, Treasurer; R. W. Clement, Secretary; Willard Darlington, C. of H.; Albert H. Hall, P.S.; N. J. Whitesell, R.A.C.; A. S. Wordsworth, 3v; Howard S. Eitzel, 2v; Rudolph G. Ward, 1v; A. H. Powell, P.H.P., Chaplain; William B. Plasket, Organist; George Riley, Tyler. Trustees—Harry H. Hawkins, Wilbur C. Springer, Charles B. Robinson.

Forrest Lodge No. 7, Knights of Pythias—Martin Campbell, C.C.; Raymond Opperman, V.C.; Norman Kline, M. at A.; Charles R. Whitesell, M. of W.; Elmer R. Wood, Prelate; A. H. Powell, M. of Ex.; Albert Steiner, M. of F.; Charles E. Markley, K. of R. and S.; Frank Hewitt, I.G.; William G. Clark, O.G.

Shalom Chapter No. 75, Order of Eastern Star—Worthy patron, Norman J. Whitesell; worthy matron, Mrs. Alma Crispin; associate worthy matron, Mrs. Bertha Vining; conductress, Mrs. Daisy Clement; associate conductress, Mrs. Ethel Westcott; warder, Mrs. Margaret Parvin; chaplain, Mrs. Miriam Finlaw; organist, Miss Margaret Parvin; marshal, Mrs. Aurora S. Taylor; Adah, Mrs. Frances Sheppard; Ruth, Mrs. Helen Kates; Esther, Mrs. Beatrice Kelty; Martha, Mrs. Estelle Skinner; Electa, Mrs. Estelle Brown; sentinel, Harry A. Crispin.

Fenwick Lodge No. 164, Independent Order of Odd Fellows—Frank Henderson, N.G.; John C. Thompson, V.G.; Carl S. Fogg, recording secretary; Joseph Miller, financial secretary; A. H. Powell, treasurer; A. S. Wordsworth, R.S.; I. Fowler Powers, L.S.; John F. Ridgway, warden; Charles P.

Swain, R.S.S.; Isaac Klein, L.S.S.; Clarence Mulford, O.G.; Samuel H. Shorts, I.G.; Hugh J. Seabock, chaplain; Morris T. Crist, R.S. to V.G.; Charles R. Sharp, L.S. to V.G.

Ivanhoe Castle No. 5, Knights of the Golden Eagle—Robert S. Reeves, N.C.; John H. Link, V.C.; George W. Green, M. of R.; Wilbur D. Brandiff, C. of Ex.; Clarence Reinfried, K. of Ex.; Frank P. Green, Sir H.; George W. Green, Howard C. Dunn, George P. Dixon, trustees.

Salem Forest, No. 23, Tall Cedars of Lebanon—William L. Hillman, G.T.C.; Wilbur T. Couch, S.D., G.T.C.; W. A. W. Grier, Jr. D., G.T.C.; Harry M. Hitchner, scribe; Albert Steiner, treasurer; Irvin G. Ochs, preceptor, P.C.T.C.; J. Evan Hitchner, sentinel; Harry Sickler, outer guard; Rev. B. Harrison Decker, chaplain; Dr. L. H. Hummel, Charles B. Robinson, Jr., John Pancoast, trustees; stewards, Smith Bacon, Albert Steiner; orchestra director, Edmund H. Friebe; district representative, District No. 5, Ralph E. Jerrell.

Salem Council No. 203, Junior Order United American Mechanics—William Moriarty, Jr., councillor; Sumner Collins, vice-councillor; George W. Green, secretary; William H. Clifton, financial secretary; Joseph F. W. Croft, treasurer; Edward Griscom, conductor; Ralph Moriarty, warden; Jesse Thomas, inside sentinel; George E. Blair, outside sentinel, William Moriarty, Sr., chaplain; John M. Davis, Frank P. Green, G. Irving Hall, trustees.

Spreading Oak Chapter No. 89, Daughters of America—Miss Jennie Flanagan, councillor; Mrs. Lillie Lodge, assistant councillor; Mrs. Ella Buclalew, vice-councillor; Mrs. Reba Gandy, assistant vice-councillor; Miss Olive Tonden, secretary; Miss Emma Whitaker, financial secretary; Mrs. Adell Robinson, treasurer; Miss Margaret Hall, conductress; Miss Mabel Cook, warden; Miss Helen Ayars, inside sentinel; Mrs. Mary Magill, outside sentinel.

Old Oak Lodge No. 68, Loyal Order of Moose—Lewis H. Sheets, dictator; Joseph F. Croft, vice-dictator; Isaac Kline, prelate; John W. Harris, treasurer; George Kirk, secretary; trustees, Samuel J. Archer, John F. Dwyer, William W. Stepler.

Mohave Tribe No. 243, Improved Order of Red Men—William G. Beatty, P.; Edward D. Sickler, S.; Francis Straughn, Jr. S.; Joseph M. Hutton, Sr. S.; Jacob M. Scheerer, first S.; Robert Simpkins, second S.; Joseph Magill, C. of R.; J. Harry Crist, C. of W.; A. H. Powell, K. of W.; trustees, Jacob M. Scheerer, Robert Simpkins, Charles Seagraves.

Washington Camp No. 72, P. O. S. of A.—Harry M. Hitchner president; Challis S. Hoffman, vice-president; S. French Banks, Jr., recording secretary; George Kirk, financial secretary; A. H. Powell, treasurer; William F. Stockton, M. of F.; Charles B. Robinson, Sr., guard; trustees, Howard C. Dunn, Anderson Welch, William Stockton.

Fraternal Order of Eagles, No. 1966—William Hague, president; Smith H. Vining, vice-president; Samuel Crist, secretary; Eugene F. Sullivan, treasurer, chaplain; trustees, Irvin L. Baetzel, William O'Day, William Hague.

County Board, Ancient Order of Hibernians in America—Hugh O'Hagan, president; Peter A. Hopkins, vice-president; George M. Eyerman, secretary; F. X. Donahue, corresponding secretary; John F. Dwyer, treasurer; Rev. Thomas L. Hennessey, worthy chaplain.

Division No. 1, Ancient Order of Hibernians—Martin Flannigan, president; Samuel J. Archer, vice-president; William O'Dea, recording secretary; Eugene F. Sullivan, financial secretary; Thomas A. Rairdon, treasurer; Michael Kealey, sentinel.

Oak Tree Chapter, Daughters American Revolution—Regent, Mrs. A. T. Beckett; first vice-president, Mrs. L. P. Plummer; second vice-president, Mrs. Wilbur Cutch; secretary, Mrs. Abner S. Hires; treasurer, Mrs. Wilbur C. Springer; registrar, Miss Carrie W. Patterson; historian, Miss Ellen E. Jaquett.

Salem Woman's Club—President, Miss Sara A. Smith; vice-president, Mrs. Biddle Hiles; recording secretary, Mrs. Powell R. Smith; financial secretary, Mrs. William Morris; treasurer, Miss Ida K. Lawrence; director, Mrs. Elmer Smith; custodian, Miss Cornelia Prior.

Branch No. 6, Glass Bottle Blowers' Association—William Beatty, president; Edward C. Wilson, vice-president; Thomas Fair, recording secretary; Charles Biddle, financial secretary; Samuel Lumley, John T. Mossbrooks, Edward C. Wilson, trustees.

Salem Lodge No. 542, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America—William S. Bradway, president; C. C. Fithian, vice-president; Isaac Fowler, financial secretary; C. Otis Hewitt, recording secretary; Norris Trullender, treasurer.

Penn's Grove Lodge No. 1358, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks—Samuel D. Rosenbloth, exalted ruler; James W. Duffy, esteemed leading knight; Francis Coneeny, esteemed loyal knight; Howell Stradley, esteemed lecturing knight; Walter Edgar, secretary; Charles E. Rinda, treasurer; Dr. W. H. Sharp, chaplain; trustees, William T. Mifflin, Harry S. Barber, E. S. Kilmer.

Woodstown Chamber of Commerce—A. D. Snelbaker, president; P. L. Wriggins, vice-president; H. C. Hitchner, secretary; M. Burr Mann, corresponding secretary; W. S. Roberts, financial secretary; W. C. DeGroffit, treasurer; S. Rusling Leap, solicitor. Directors: A. D. Snelbaker, H. C. Hitchner, Horton Jones, E. C. Waddington, A. R. Gemberling, S. L. Shanaman, Joseph C. Andrews.

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